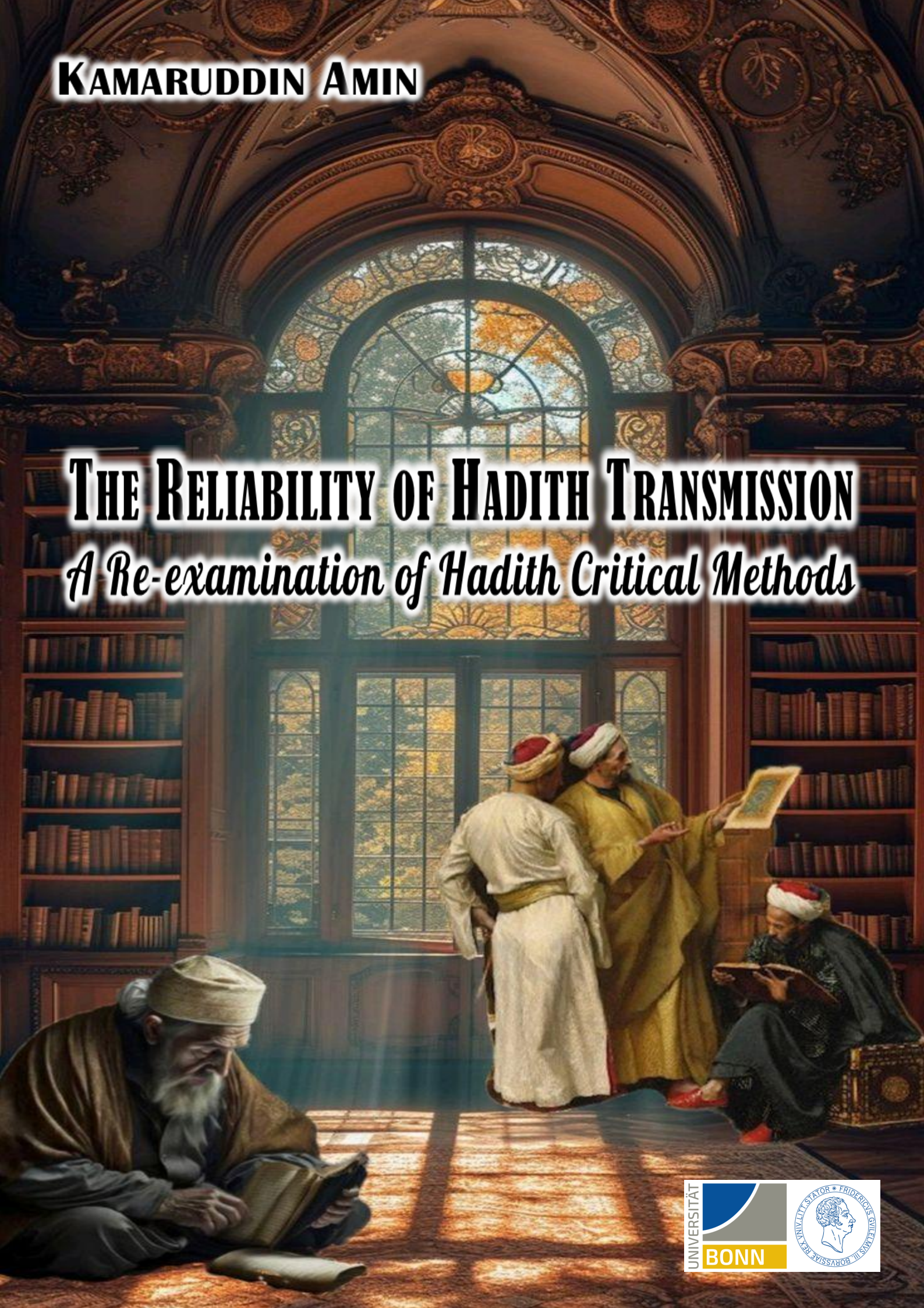


**KAMARUDDIN AMIN**

# **THE RELIABILITY OF HADITH TRANSMISSION**

## *A Re-examination of Hadith Critical Methods*



UNIVERSITÄT



BONN







UNIVERSITÄT **BONN**

**The Reliability of *Ḥadīth* - Transmission  
A Re-examination of *Ḥadīth* - Critical Methods**

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By  
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## The Reliability of *Ḥadīth*-Transmission A Re-examination of *Ḥadīth*-Critical Methods

### I. Introduction.

The majority of Muslims believe that *ḥadīths* are the carrier of the *sunna* of the Prophet and that<sup>1</sup> they are an indispensable guide to an understanding of the divine will.<sup>2</sup> As one of the sources of Islamic authority, which is only second in importance after the Qur'ān, the immense corpus of *ḥadīth* continues to exercise a decisive influence. It has become a source of law and religious inspiration. Islamic scholarship has devoted tremendous efforts to gathering and classifying the *ḥadīths* and distinguishing the authentic from the false ones.<sup>3</sup> While Muslim scholars have been decisively motivated to study *ḥadīth* by the central role played by *ḥadīths* as the source of their law and theological doctrine, the interests of modern Western scholars in the study of *ḥadīth* literatures have essentially been historical. Similarly, when they study Islamic law, for example, they tend to approach it as a mode of thought rather than as a body of rights, obligations and rules of procedure. In other words, they are not lawyers but students of culture.<sup>4</sup>

Since the 19th century, questions about the authenticity, originality, authorship, provenance and the correctness of *ḥadīth* have appeared, and they have become of central importance to the study of Islam, especially to those concerned with Islamic law. These questions arose from Western scholars and Muslim scholars alike. Abū Rayya, for example argues that the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet has been corrupted and his exact words have been

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<sup>1</sup> H. A. R. Gibb, *Mohammedanism*, Oxford 1949, pp. 74-5; Ahmad Hasan, "The *Sunna*, its Early Concept and Development", in *Islamic Studies*, (vol. 7, 1968), p. 48

<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī, *Kitāb al-risāla*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Ṣhākīr, Cairo, 1358/1940, p. 84; Muḥammad Muḥammad Abū Zahw, *al-Ḥadīth wa-l-Muḥaddithūn*, Cairo, 1957/1378, p. 11. There is a discussion about whether the *sunna* should be classified as *ilhām* (inspiration) rather than *wahy* (revelation) See William A. Graham *Divine Word and Prophetic Word in Early Islam: A Reconsideration of the Sources, with Special References to the Divine Saying or ḥadīth Qudṣī*, The Hague, 1977, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> The major collections are: Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Bukhārī (d. 256 A.H.), *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*; Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 261), *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*; Abu Dāwūd (d. 275), *Kitāb al-sunan*; al-Tirmidhī (d. 279), *Sunan*; al-Nasā'ī (d.303), *Kitāb al-sunan*; Ibn Māja (d.273), *Kitāb al-sunan*; al-Dārimī (d. 225), *Kitāb al-sunan*.

<sup>4</sup> R. Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic History. A Framework for Inquiry*, Princeton, 1991, p. 209.



lost because of the *riwāya bi-l-mā'nā* (transmitting the sense rather than the exact wording).<sup>5</sup> Gustav Weil suggested that a European critic is required to reject at least half of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.<sup>6</sup> The first serious challenges to the authenticity of Muslim *ḥadīth* literature by Western scholars began with Alois Sprenger,<sup>7</sup> who expressed his skepticism about the reliability of *ḥadīth* as a historical source. This attitude was followed by William Muir, who also maintained a critical attitude toward the authenticity of *ḥadīth*.<sup>8</sup> European scholarship of *ḥadīth* culminated in the work of Ignaz Goldziher, whose work was unquestionably the most important critique of *ḥadīth* in the nineteenth-century. Goldziher was the first scholar to subject the *ḥadīth* to a systematic historical and critical study.<sup>9</sup> Instead of considering *ḥadīths* as reliable sources for the rise of Islam, he regarded them as invaluable source for the beliefs, conflicts and concerns of the later generations of Muslims and put the *ḥadīths* into circulation. As he himself put it:

*"Das Ḥadīṭ wird uns nicht als Dokument für die Kindheitsgeschichte des Islam, sondern als Abdruck der in der Gemeinde hervortretenden Bestrebungen aus der Zeit seiner reiferen Entwicklungsstadien dienen; es bietet uns ein unschätzbare Material von Zeugnissen für den Entwicklungsgang, den der Islam während jener Zeiten durchmacht, in welchen er aus einander widerstrebenden Kräften, aus mächtigen Gegensätzen sich zu systematischer Abrundung herausformt".*<sup>10</sup>

Goldziher's skepticism was adopted by Leone Caetani and Henri Lammens who were of the opinion that almost all the traditions about the Prophet's life were apocryphal.<sup>11</sup> Other scholars who refused *ḥadīth* as authentic materials for the historical reconstruction of the time of the

<sup>5</sup> Maḥmūd Abū Rayya, *Adwā 'alā l-sunna al-muḥammadiyya*, Cairo 1958. p. 55.

<sup>6</sup> Gustav Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Mannheim 1846-62, vol. 2. p. 291.

<sup>7</sup> Alois Sprenger, "On the Origin and Progress of Writing Down Historical facts among the Musulmans," *Journal and Proceeding of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 25 (1856), pp. 303-329, 375-381; "Die Sunna" in Alois Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, lxxvii-civ. Berlin, 1861-1865.

<sup>8</sup> William Muir. *The Life of Mahomet and the History of Islam to the Era of Hegira*, 4 vols. London, 1861; reprint. Osnabruck, 1988. First serialised in *Calcutta Review* 19 (January-June, 1853)

<sup>9</sup> Ignaz Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, 2 vols. Leiden, 1889-1890. Trans. S. M. Stern as *Muslim Studies*, 2 vols. London, 1967.

<sup>10</sup> Ignaz, Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, p. 5

<sup>11</sup> L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, vol. 1, Milan, 1905, pp. 28-58, 121-43, 192-215 and passim; H. Lammens, "Qoran et tradition. Comment fut composée la vie de Mahomet", in: *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, 1 (1910), pp. 27-51, quoted by Harald Motzki, *The Biography of Muhammad. The Issue of the Sources*, Brill, 2000, p. xii.

Prophet and the first Islamic century are John Wansbrough,<sup>12</sup> Patricia Crone and Michael Cook.<sup>13</sup> Although in Western scholarship Goldziher's *Muhammedanische Studien* was considered to be the first milestone among Western efforts to depict the history of *ḥadīth*, he met with criticism from Muslim scholars.<sup>14</sup> In western scholarship, Goldziher's book, published in 1890, was not followed by similar studies and remained unrevised in any significant way until Joseph Schacht's *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* appeared in 1950. Schacht dealt especially with legal tradition and its development.<sup>15</sup> His thesis that *isnāds* have a tendency to grow backwards and his "common link theory" have influenced the Western scholars who came after him. Like Goldziher, he assumed that few if any *ḥadīths* originated with the Prophet. He believed, however, that it was possible by careful study to arrive at a rough estimate of when a particular *ḥadīth* was put into circulation. Schacht's approach has been adopted by J. van Ess<sup>16</sup> and has been revived in a large scale by G. H. A. Juynboll, even though he differs from Schacht in several significant points.<sup>17</sup> This is reflected in Juynboll's method of dating a *ḥadīth* by invariably posing three questions: Where and at what time did a certain *ḥadīth* originate and who may be held responsible for bringing it into circulation.<sup>18</sup> By posing the three questions, in his view, the problems of chronology, provenance and authorship of a certain *ḥadīth* can be assessed. Juynboll's method of dating a certain *ḥadīth* by analysing the *isnād* of a single tradition has become a powerful tool of research. Both Schacht and Juynboll are of the opinion that the common link is the fabricator of *ḥadīth*.<sup>19</sup> Schacht's premises and methods of investigation as well as Juynboll's method of dating a *ḥadīth* by analyzing

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<sup>12</sup> J. Wansbrough, *The Sectarian Milieu, Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History*, Oxford 1978.

<sup>13</sup> P. Crone and M. Cook, *Hagarism. The Making of the Islamic World*, Cambridge 1977.

<sup>14</sup> Muṣṭafā. M. Azmi. *Studies in Early ḥadīth Literature with a Critical Edition of Some Early Texts*, Beirut 1968. This book has been translated into Arabic with the title *Dirāsāt fī l-ḥadīth al-nabawī wa-tārīkh tadwīnīhī*, Beirut 1968; Muṣṭafā al-Sibā'ī. *Al-sunna wa-makānatuhā fī l-tashrī' al-islāmī*, Cairo 1961, pp. 365-420.

<sup>15</sup> Joseph Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950.

<sup>16</sup> Joseph van Ess, *Zwischen Hadīth und Theologie. Studien zum Entstehen prädestinationischer Überlieferung*, Berlin/New York 1975.

<sup>17</sup> G. H. A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition. Studies in Chronology, Provenance and Authorship of Early Ḥadīth*, Cambridge 1983; *Studies on the Origins and Uses of Islamic Ḥadīth*, 1996.

<sup>18</sup> G. H. A. Juynboll, "Some isnād analytical methods illustrated on the basis of several women-demeaning sayings from *ḥadīth* literature" in: *al-Qantara. Revista de estudios arabes*, 10 (1989), pp. 343-383; repr. in *Studies on the Origins and Uses of Islamic Ḥadīth*, Aldershot 1996.

only the *isnāds* have been subjected to criticism.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps the most significant challenges to their conclusions may be found in Harald Motzki's works.<sup>21</sup> Unlike Schacht and Juynboll, Motzki is inclined to regard the common links not as the fabricators of *ḥadīths* as Schacht and Juynboll do, but rather as the first systematic collectors of traditions who transmitted the *ḥadīths* in regular classes of students out of which an institutionalized system of learning developed.<sup>22</sup> Opposition to Schacht's and Goldziher's assumptions about the *ḥadīths* may also be found in the works of M. Sibā'ī, N. Abbott, M. M. Azami and F. Sezgin. They argue for an early and continuous practice of writing down *ḥadīth* in Islam. In their opinion the Companions of the Prophet kept written records of *ḥadīths*, and most of these *ḥadīths* were transmitted in written form until the time they were compiled in the canonical collections.<sup>23</sup> Motzki and Schoeler have also pointed out, what Schacht and Juynboll denied, that some *ḥadīths* can be dated to the first century. However, whether or not they can be ascribed to the Prophet, they could not prove.<sup>24</sup>

The fact that there were unreliable *ḥadīths* beside reliable ones was not only and first realized by Western scholars. Muslim scholars were already aware of it at the end of the first century A.H. or even earlier. It has been assumed that the corpus of *ḥadīth*, which developed in the first centuries,<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Schacht, *Origins*, pp. 171-172. Juynboll, "Some-*isnād* analytical methods"

<sup>20</sup> Michael Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma. A Source Critical Study*, Cambridge 1981, pp. 109-111 and "Eschatology and Dating of Traditions", in: *Princeton Papers in Near Eastern Studies* I (1992), pp. 23-47.

<sup>21</sup> Harald Motzki, "Quo vadis, *Ḥadīṭ* Forschung? Eine kritische Untersuchung von G. H. A. Juynboll: "Nafi", the *mawlā* of Ibn 'Umar, and his Position in Muslim *ḥadīth* Literature" in: *Der Islam* 73 (1996) 40-80 und 193-229; "The *Muṣannaf* of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī as a Source of Authentic *Aḥādīth* of the First Century A.H. in: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 50/1 (1991), pp. 1-21; *Die Anfänge der islamischen Jurisprudenz. Ihre Entwicklung in Mekka bis zur Mitte des 2./8. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1991; "Der Fiqh des Zuhri: die Quellenproblematik" in *Der Islam* 68 (1991), p. 1-44.

<sup>22</sup> Motzki, "Quo vadis", p. 45; "Der Prophet und die Schuldner. Eine *ḥadīṭ* - Untersuchung auf dem Prüfstand" in: *Der Islam* 77 (2000), p. 9. "Methoden zur Datierung von islamischen Überlieferungen", Nijmegen 2001, pp. 10-12.

<sup>23</sup> Nabia, Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri II: Qur'anic Commentary and Tradition*, The University of Chicago Press, 1976; M. M. Azami, *Studies in Early Ḥadīth Literature: With a Critical Edition of Some Early Texts*. 1968. 3rd ed. Indianapolis 1992; Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums, Band I: Qur'ānwissenschaften, Hadīṭ, Geschichte, Fiqh, Dogmatik, Mystik bis ca. 430 H.*, Leiden 1967.

<sup>24</sup> For traditions dated in the first century cf. Harald Motzki, "The Prophet and the Cat: On Dating Mālik's *Muwatta* and Legal Traditions" in *JSOI* 22 (1998) p. 18-83; *Die Anfänge*; "Der Fiqh des Zuhri", p. 1-44; "The *Muṣannaf*", p. 1-21; "The Prophet und die Schuldner"; Gregor Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie der muslimischen Überlieferung über das Leben Mohammeds*, Berlin 1996.

<sup>25</sup> See note 23.



was a mixture of both reliable and unreliable *ḥadīth*. As a response to this, early Muslims created a system of evaluating the *ḥadīth* so that the true and the false might be distinguished.<sup>26</sup> The classical science of *ḥadīth* criticism consisted of three branches. The first dealt with the *riwāyāt*, i.e. investigated the chains of transmission to establish the continuity of their constituent links. The continuity of the *isnāds* was evaluated for missing or unknown *muḥaddiths* or for stopping at a Companion or Successor and not going back to the Prophet. The second branch was concerned with *asmā' al-rijāl*, i.e. provided biographical information on the *ruwāt* (transmitters) of *ḥadīths* as a basis for judgments of their reliability. The attention focused on the date and place of birth, familial connections, teachers, students, journeys, moral behavior, religious beliefs, literary output, and date of death. This allowed the determination not only of their reliability but also the contemporaneity and geographical proximity of the transmitters. This helped to determine whether or not the transmitters could have come in contact with each other.<sup>27</sup> The third branch of Muslim *ḥadīth* criticism considered the content of a *ḥadīth* i.e. whether or not it was in accordance with the *Qur'ān* and with *ḥadīths* that were considered reliable.

The methods of the *muḥaddithūn*, however, have been subjected to criticism. The objections to their efficiency in ascertaining the authenticity of *ḥadīth* came from Muslim and non-Muslim scholars. Ibn Khaldun (d. 808/1406) was of the opinion that when traditionists scrutinized religious accounts, they based their judgement only on the bearers of the information. If they were trustworthy, then the information they transmitted was automatically considered to be authentic. Ibn Khaldūn, therefore, believes that the scrutiny of *ḥadīths* that has been done by traditionists is restricted to the scrutiny of *isnāds* alone.<sup>28</sup> The Egyptian writer, Aḥmad Amīn (d. 1373/1954) states that the traditionists when

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<sup>26</sup> The most famous of the early ones being *al-Risāla* by al-Shāfi'ī (204). Later ones are *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil bayna l-rāwī wal-wā'ī* by al-Rāmahurmuzī (d. 360), *Ma'rifat 'ulūm al-ḥadīth* by al-Ḥākim al-Naysabūrī (d. 405), *al-Kifāya fī qawānīn al-riwāya* and *al-Jāmi' li-ādābil-rāwī wa-akhlāqil-sāmi'* both by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463), *Ulūm al-ḥadīth* by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245).

<sup>27</sup> Biographical dictionaries contain an entry for each transmitter. One of the earlier examples of biographical dictionaries is *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* of Muhammad b. Sa'd (d. 230/844), which has some 4,300 entries.

<sup>28</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn*, p. 37.

scrutinizing the *ḥadīth*, paid more attention to the *isnād* than to the *matn*.<sup>29</sup> Abu Rayya argues that the *muḥaddithūn* were concerned only with the continuity of the transmission and the character of the transmitters, and they completely ignored the essential content of traditions and they failed to look at the historical evidence.<sup>30</sup> These views of Ibn Khaldun, Aḥmad Amīn and Abu Rayya have been refuted by Muṣṭafā al-Sibā'ī, Muḥammad Abū Shuhba and Nūr al-Dīn 'Itr. They are of the opinion that the '*ulamā*' of *ḥadīth* did not neglect the *matn* at all. This can be seen in the criteria laid down by the traditionists in which it is stated that the *ḥadīth* can be regarded to be authentic only if its *sanad* and *matn* are not *shādhdh* (strange or isolated) and are free from '*illa* (sickness, i.e., any consideration which impairs the *ṣiḥḥa* or 'soundness' of any *ḥadīth*).<sup>31</sup>

This controversy reminds us of the fact that the issue of the reliability and historicity of the *ḥadīth* is far from being resolved. In Western scholarship a number of methods for dating *ḥadīths* have been developed in the last two decades: 1) The *isnād* analysis of single traditions which has been developed by Juynboll.<sup>32</sup> 2) The analysis of the *matns* of *ḥadīths* by investigating the textual variants of a certain *ḥadīth* and comparing them with the *isnāds*. This approach has been developed by van Ess, Motzki and G. Schoeler.<sup>33</sup> In the present study these methods will be discussed and compared with that of the *muḥaddithūn*.

One of the problems of Islamic *ḥadīth* literature is that the texts were

<sup>29</sup> Aḥmad Amīn, *Fajr al-Islām*, p. 217-218; *Duḥā al-Islām*, vol 2, pp. 130-134.

<sup>30</sup> Maḥmūd Abū Rayya, *Aḍwā 'alā l-sunna al-muḥammadiyya*, p. 4-6; Ahmad Khan, *Maqālāt*, I, 27-28 quoted by Daniel W. Brown, *Rethinking Tradition in Modern Islamic Thought*, Cambridge 1996 p. 97. Similar to the view of Abu Rayya is that of 'Abd Mun'im al-Bāhī. He maintains that the scrutiny of the *matn* is only considered by the traditionists. This view quoted by Nūr al-Dīn 'Itr in *al-Madkhal ilā 'ulūm al-ḥadīth*, p. 14.

<sup>31</sup> Nūr al-Dīn 'Itr, *al-Madkhal ilā 'ulūm al-ḥadīth*, pp. 15-17; Introduction to Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ in *'Ulūm al-ḥadīth li-Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ*, pp. 13-14; al-Sibā'ī, *al-Sunna wa-makānatuhā*, pp. 296-303.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. for example Juynboll, "Some *isnād* analytical methods

<sup>33</sup> Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīth und Theologie*; H. Motzki. '*Quo vadis Ḥadīth*-Forschung' and 'The Prophet and the Cat'; 'The Murder of Ibn Abī l-Ḥuqayq': On the Origins and Reliability of Some Maghāzī Reports, in: Idem *The Biography of Muḥammad*, p. 170-238; G. Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie der muslimischen Überlieferung*; In his article "Early Islamic Society as reflected in its use of isnāds, in: *Le Museon* 107 (1994), 151-194, G. H. A. Juynboll makes steps in this direction as well.

codified much later than the events they narrate. This fact leads to the issue of the gap between *ḥadīth* literature and the events they describe. Historical questions must be asked: To what extent does the *ḥadīth* literature reflect the actual events they narrate? Does *ḥadīth* literature provide really transmitted *ḥadīths* or are these *ḥadīths* nothing but reflections of interests, which evolved in early Islam? To put it in more technical terms: Do the *matns* of *ḥadīths* reflect the actual words of the Prophet or Companions, or do they constitute a verbalization of what, much later, came to be realized as being Prophetic *sunna*? Do the *isnāds* attached in *ḥadīth* literature to guarantee the authenticity of the *matns* represent the genuine lines of transmission, or do they constitute forgeries intended to legitimize statements first circulated at a later time? Does the occurrence of a certain *ḥadīth* in the canonical collections prove the historicity of its ascription to the Prophet, which would make further research superfluous? The above questions lead the present study to re-examine the methods of the *muḥaddithūn* to determine the authenticity of *ḥadīth* and to reconsider the contribution of Western scholars' methods to reconstruct the transmission history of particular *ḥadīths*.

The second chapter deals with the classical methodology of the *muḥaddithūn*. This chapter begins with Muslim scholarship's criteria for reliable *ḥadīths* and is followed by a discussion on the historicity of solitary (*āḥād*) and *tawātur* (widespread) traditions. The '*adāla*' of the Companion and *matn* criticism alike are discussed in this chapter.

The third chapter elaborates the methods that modern Muslim scholars used to determine the authenticity of *ḥadīth*. Two scholars have been chosen to be the object of investigation: Nāṣiruddīn al-Albānī and Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Saqqāf. In this chapter, an attempt has been made to investigate to what extent the methods of these scholars have deviated from the classical Muslim scholarship. The questions of how consistent they are and what the consequences might appear to be when their methods are applied to the *ḥadīth* collections are dealt with in this chapter.

The fourth chapter discusses the opinions of Muslim scholars, who are familiar with Western scholarship of *ḥadīth*. Fuat Sezgin and M. M. Azmi have been taken as the object of the discussion. Their views on the historicity of the *ḥadīth* ascription to the Prophet are discussed. To what



extent do they rely on the *isnāds*? In this chapter, the opinions of Western scholars who support their opinions are also discussed.

Chapter five deals with the approach of Western non-Muslim scholars to *ḥadīth* literature. In this chapter, the use of *argumentum e silentio* by Western scholars is discussed. The concepts of common link and single strand are dealt with at the end of this chapter.

The sixth chapter scrutinizes the historicity of the “*ṣawm ḥadīth* (*amal ibn ādam kulluhu labu...*)” according to the methods of classical Muslim scholars. Four channels of transmission found in al-Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* have been studied here.

The seventh chapter investigates the “*ṣawm ḥadīth*” in the light of the methods of non-Muslim scholars. It specifically deals with the recent *isnād* analytical method of G. H. A. Juynboll. In this chapter an effort has been made to identify who might be considered to be the real common link, according to Juynboll’s recent methodology.

The eighth chapter which is the essential part of this work deals with the application of the *isnād cum matn* method to the “*ṣawm ḥadīth*”. This is to reconstruct the transmission history of the *ḥadīth* with the *isnād cum matn* method. How far back we can go in our dating of the *ḥadīth*’s variants by means of this method, is the central question dealt with in this chapter. After a long and detailed examination of the numerous versions of this *ḥadīth*, the chapter finishes with a summary of the findings. Finally, this study will end with a general conclusion.

## II. The classical Methodology of the MUḤADDITHUN

### 1. Criteria for reliable ḤADĪTHS according to Muslim scholarship

In the following, the criteria for reliable *ḥadīths* according to Muslim scholarship will be discussed critically. On what grounds are the criteria based? Did they develop speculatively or were they based on a critical evaluation of *ḥadīth* transmission itself? To what extent are these methods problematic in the light of scrutiny by Muslims?

With regard to the *riwāya* or transmission of *ḥadīth*, the *Risāla* of al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 204/820) is the earliest treatise preserved. It was followed by *al-Muḥaddith al-fāsil bayna l-rāwī wal-wā‘ī* of al-Rāmahurmuzī (d. 350/961), *Ma‘rifat ‘ulūm al-ḥadīth* and *al-Madkhal ilā ma‘rifat al-iklīl*<sup>34</sup> of al-Hākim al-Naysabūrī (403/1012), *al-Kifāya fī ‘ilm al-riwāya* of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071), *al-Ilmā‘ ilā ma‘rifat uṣūl al-riwāya wa-taqyīd al-samā‘* of al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ (d. 544/1149). After them, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245) compiled his book *‘Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, in which he added his own observations to the material gathered by his predecessors. Other scholars who have written books on *‘ulūm al-ḥadīth* are al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277) Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852/1449), Ibn Kathīr (d. 774), al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) and others.

Early Muslim traditionists until the third century of the Hijra, did not explicitly give a definition of what could be considered to be an authentic *ḥadīth*. Instead, they laid down the criteria for information, which could be trusted. They stated, for example the following. (1) The transmission of *ḥadīth* cannot be accepted, unless it is transmitted by trustworthy people (*thiqāt*). (2) The transmission of those who often lie, follow their emotional desires, or do not understand correctly what has been transmitted, is rejected. (3) We have to pay a great deal of attention to the personal behavior and prayers of those who transmit a *ḥadīth*. (4) If they are accustomed to behaving badly and do not pray regularly their transmissions are to be rejected. (5) The transmissions of those who are not known for being well versed in the science of *ḥadīth* are unacceptable. (6) The transmissions of those whose testimony is rejected are also unacceptable (*lā tuḥaddithū ‘amman lā tuqbalu shahādatuhu*).<sup>35</sup> These criteria

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<sup>34</sup> This book has been translated into English by James Robson: *An Introduction to the Science of Tradition* (London 1953)

<sup>35</sup> Al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-jarḥ wa-l-ta‘dīl*, Beirut 1371/1952, vol. 2, pp. 27-30.

were related to the transmitters' quality and character, and accordingly their transmissions are to be accepted or to be rejected. These criteria, however, did not yet include all the requirements fixed later for an authentic *isnād*, let alone an authentic *matn*. These criteria rest merely on ascription *isnād*. To some scholars there is no conclusive evidence whether the traditionists of the first and second centuries really adopted these criteria or not let alone the criteria of the classical *uṣūl al-ḥadīth*. Accordingly, an investigation of their traditions must be undertaken.

It was al-Shāfi'ī (d. 204/820) who strictly defined and forcefully argued that the minimum required to establish a basis of proof is the information from one man going back to the Prophet or someone next to the Prophet. Differently put, a *ḥadīth* can be considered authentic only if it has an *isnād* that can be traced, in an unbroken line, to the Prophet himself. But there are certain requirements for the validity of its transmitters. Al-Shāfi'ī has described the qualifications necessary for a transmitter of a *ḥadīth* as follows: (1) He must be considered reliable in his religion (*an yakūna man ḥaddatha bihi thiqatan fī dīnih*), (2) He must be well known for his truthfulness in what he reported (*ma'rūf bi-l-ṣidqi fī ḥadīthihī*). (3) He should understand its contents, should know well how the change in expression affects the ideas expressed therein (*'āliman bimā yuḥīlu ma'ānī al-ḥadīth min al-laḥẓi*). (4) He must be someone who reports verbatim what he learnt from his teacher, and not narrate in his own words the sense of what he had learnt (*yakūna mimman yu'addi l-ḥadīth bi-ḥurūfihī kamā sami'a, lā yuḥaddithu bihi 'alā l-ma'nā*). (5) He must possess a retentive memory if he transmits from memory and should remember his written text well if he reports from it (*ḥāfiẓan in ḥaddatha bihi min ḥifẓihī, ḥāfiẓan li-kitābihī in ḥaddatha min kitābihī*) (6) His report must be in agreement with what has been reported by those who are recognized as having good memory, if they have also transmitted these reports (*idhā sharika ahl al-ḥifẓi fī l-ḥadīthi wāfaqa ḥadīthahum*), and he must refrain from giving reports from the Prophet which reliable transmitters give differently. (7) He should not make a report on the authority of those whom he met, without having learnt it from them (*bariyyan min an yakūna mudallisan*). These requirements must be met by all transmitters from the first tier to the last

one.<sup>36</sup>

It is clear from al-Shāfi‘ī’s criteria that he emphasized both the transmitters and the nature of the transmission of the *ḥadīth*. The criteria deemed indispensable in determining the acceptability of *ḥadīth* are not merely based on the transmitter’s capacity but also on the nature of the transmission, i.e. an uninterrupted chain of transmission. As far as the *matn* (the content) of *ḥadīth* is concerned, al-Shāfi‘ī does not seem to have given any special attention to it. This does not mean, however, that the *matn* does not concern him at all. His stress on verbatim transmission and his emphasis on the importance for the transmitter to understand the content and to know how changes in expression affect the ideas expressed therein indicate his concern with the *matn* of *ḥadīth*.

Although al-Bukhārī’s (d. 256) and Muslim’s (d. 261) *Ṣaḥīḥs* are regarded as the most reliable works of *ḥadīth*,<sup>37</sup> nowhere have they directly mentioned the criteria they applied to test the authenticity of *ḥadīth*. Later scholars, however, have tried to infer al-Bukhārī’s and Muslim’s requirements for authentic *ḥadīth*.<sup>38</sup> It was inferred that the requirements by both of them are the same to a large extent. But to some extent they are different. The conditions they have in common are as follows (1) The chain of transmission from the first transmitter to the last one must be uninterrupted (*an yakūna l-ḥadīth muttaṣil al-isnād*). (2) The transmitters must be well known for their *thiqa*, i.e., ‘*adl* (righteous conduct) and *ḍabt* (high literary accuracy) from the first tier to the last one (*bi-naql al-thiqa ‘an thiqa min awalibi ilā muntabāhu*) (3) The transmitted *ḥadīth* must be free from ‘*illa* (defect) and *shudhūd* (irregularness) (*sālīman min al-shudhūd wa-l-‘illa*). Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ said that if these condition are met by a particular *ḥadīth*, then it would be considered authentic by the traditionists (*ahl al-*

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<sup>36</sup> Al-Shāfi‘ī, *Al-Risāla*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, Cairo 1358/1940, pp. 369-372, Al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta’dīl*, pp. 29-30, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-kifāya fī ‘ilm al-riwāya*, Hyderabad 1357, p. 24

<sup>37</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bā‘ith al-ḥathīth*, Cairo n.d., p. 25; al-Qaṣṭalānī, *Irshād al-sārī li-sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Bagdād 1304, pp. 19-20.

<sup>38</sup> Al-Qaṣṭalānī, *Irshād*, p. 19-20; Maḥmūd al-Taḥḥān, *Taysīr mustalaḥ al-ḥadīth*, Beirut 1399/1979, p. 45; M. Syuhudi Ismail, *Kaedah Kesabihan Sanad Hadis. Telaah Kritis dan Tinjauan dengan Pendekatan Ilmu Sejarah*, Jakarta 1988, p. 107; Muḥammad Zubayr Ṣiddīqī, *Hadīth Literature. Its Origin, Development and Special Features*, Cambridge, 1993, p. 56; Ibrāhīm b. al-Ṣiddīq, *Maqālāt wa-muḥāḍarāt fī l-ḥadīth al-sharīf wa-‘ulūmihi*, Beirut; Dār al-bashā’ir al-islāmiyya, 2002/1423, pp. 7-33.

*ḥadīth*) without any disagreement.<sup>39</sup>

The essential difference of al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's requirements for authentic *ḥadīth* lies in the continuity of the chain of transmission, i.e., the necessity for establishing a meeting between two transmitters. Al-Bukhārī held that a tradition cannot be accepted unless it is known that the transmitter encountered the man whose authority he quotes, even if they met only once (*lā budda min thubūt al-liqā'*). The proof of being contemporaries (*mu'āṣara*) alone is considered insufficient by al-Bukhārī. Muslim, however, did not require the proof of meeting between them. The proof of being contemporaries is, in his view, enough.<sup>40</sup> In other words, if a non-*mudallis* transmitter relates a *ḥadīth* with a word indicating direct contact (*samā'*), such as *akhbaranā*, *anba'anā*, *sami'tu* etc, both al-Bukhārī and Muslim alike accept the *ḥadīth*. But in the case that a non-*mudallis* transmitter relates a *ḥadīth* from a transmitter with a word which might imply both *samā'* (direct contact) and indirect transmission, such as “*an fulān*” etc, then al-Bukhārī and Muslim hold different opinions. While al-Bukhārī requires that the transmitter encounter the informant from whom he transmitted the *ḥadīth* (*an'ana*) even though only once, Muslim is content with their being contemporaries and only the probability of encounter. As to the transmission of a *mudallis* with the term “*an*” both al-Bukhārī and Muslim reject it if the *mudallis*' hearing of the *ḥadīth* in question is not clear to them. In such a case, both al-Bukhārī and Muslim require the proof of hearing (*thubūt al-samā'*) for each *ḥadīth* transmitted by a *mudallis*. Accordingly, if they provide an *isnād* of “*an'anat mudallis*” they give an additional *isnād* in order to remove the possibility of *tadlīs*.<sup>41</sup> Yet the fact that there are, as will be shown, a large number of *ḥadīths*, found in the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim which were related by allegedly *mudallis* transmitters, and using the word “*an*”, one may wonder how consistent al-Bukhārī and Muslim were in the application of their alleged method. Based on the investigation of the 194 *ḥadīths* transmitted by Abū al-Zubayr from Jābir found in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* and 43 *ḥadīths* transmitted

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<sup>39</sup> Quoted by al-Nawawī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim bi-sharḥ al-Nawawī*, Beirut, n.d., vol. 1, p. 15.

<sup>40</sup> Badr al-Dīn Abī Muḥammad Maḥmūd Ibn Aḥmad al-ʿAynī, *ʿUmdat al-qārī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Beirut, n.d., vol. 1, p. 5; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bāʾith al-ḥathīth sharḥ ikhtisār ʿulūm al-ḥadīth li-l-ḥāfiẓ Ibn Kathīr*, n.d., p. 25; Al-Ḥāfiẓ al-ʿIrāqī, *Sharḥ al-fiyat al-ʿIrāqī*, p. 40; al-Qaṣṭallānī, *Irshād*, p. 20.

by al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī from different Companions found in the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, I argue that for both al-Bukhārī and Muslim, the terminology of transmission used by the first century scholars was not a decisive criterion to determine the reliability of a particular *ḥadīth*.<sup>42</sup>

Later traditionists such as Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245), al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), Ibn Kathīr (d. 774) Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449), Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) and others have given definitions of *ḥadīth ṣaḥīḥ* (reliable *ḥadīth*). Their definitions, although differently worded, essentially represent what al-Bukhārī and Muslim have allegedly adopted. They can be summarized as follows: (1) Continuity of transmission (2) all transmitters in the *isnād* must be *ʿadl* (3) all transmitters must be *ḍābiṭ* (4) *isnād* and the *matn* must be free from *shudhūd* (5) *isnād* and *matn* must be free from *ʿilla*.<sup>43</sup> These requirements will be critically elaborated in the following section.

#### a. The continuity of transmission

It has been stated above that the continuity of transmission is one of the principal requirements for a *ḥadīth* to be regarded as reliable. The continuity of the chain of transmission means that all transmitters in the chain from the first tier (compiler) to the last one (Companion) have transmitted the *ḥadīth* in a reliable manner in the light of *taḥammul wa-adaʿ al-ḥadīth*, i.e., each transmitter in the chain transmitted the given *ḥadīth* directly from the preceding transmitter, and all transmitters in the chain are *thiqa*, i.e., *ʿadl* and *ḍābiṭ*.

To know whether there is continuity of transmission, the biography of each transmitter required careful scrutiny. This scrutiny focused on the transmitter's date and place of birth and his date and place of death. His behavior and religious belief had also to be evaluated very carefully. This information allegedly helped the critical scholars not only in their attempt

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<sup>41</sup> Ibrāhīm b. al-Ṣaddīq, *Maqālat wa-muḥāḍarāt fī al-ḥadīth al-sharīf*, pp. 17-8.

<sup>42</sup> For more detail see the following chapter on al-Albānī and al-Saqqāf.

<sup>43</sup> al-Shahrazūrī, *Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, ed. Nūr al-Dīn ʿItr, Madīna, n.d., p. 10; Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī fī sharḥ taqrīb al-Nawawī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, Madīna, 1972/1392, p. 63; Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, *Sharḥ Alfiyyat al-Suyūṭī fī ʿilm al-ḥadīth*, Beirut, n.d., p. 3; Al-Ḥāfiẓ al-ʿIrāqī, *Sharḥ alfiyyat al-ʿIrāqī al-musammā bi-l-taḥṣīrat wa-l-tadhkirat*, vol. 1, p. 12; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bāʿith al-ḥathīth*, p. 21.



to establish the *thiqa* (reliability) of transmitters, but also to ascertain the probability or improbability of transmitters having come in contact with their informants. With regard to the relation of respective transmitters, the examination of words connecting the transmitter with their preceding authority were extremely important, because the words used by the transmitters are thought to imply how the given *ḥadīth* was transmitted. The words often used were *sami'tu*, *ḥaddathanī*, *ḥaddathanā*, *akhbaranī* *akhbaranā*, 'an, *anna* and so on. These words allegedly implied different meanings, which reflected the various possible relationships between the transmitter and his preceding informant.

In order to be able to grasp any information on transmitters, sources containing biographical information had to be available. One may wonder whether such sources existed when the *ḥadīths* were critically collected. Such early books as *al-'Ilal* of Alī al-Madīnī (d. 234/848), *Kitāb al-'ilal wa-ma'rifat al-rijāl* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241) *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* by Ibn Sa'd<sup>44</sup> (d. 230/844), *Ta'rīkh al-kabīr* of al-Bukhārī (d. 256) may answer this question. Moreover, the appearance of some early critical *ḥadīth* experts like Shu'ba b. al-Ḥajjāj<sup>45</sup> (d.160/777), Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān,<sup>46</sup> (d. 198/813) Yaḥyā Ibn Ma'īn (d. 233/847), 'Alī Ibn al-Madīnī (d. 234/848, al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Karābīsī (d. 245/859), al-Jūzjānī (d. 256/870), al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870, Abū Ḥātim (d. 277/890), Ya'qūb b. Sufyān al-Fasawī (d. 277/890),<sup>47</sup> may well suggest that the beginning of *ḥadīth* criticism were made before the *ḥadīths* were collected into corpora claiming to contain only reliable traditions. Another question, which has to be answered, is whether the information on the transmitters available in the biographical dictionaries enabled collectors like al-Bukhārī and Muslim to form a clear judgment about the transmitters' characters and qualities? In

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<sup>44</sup> Although this book does not specifically deal with *al-jarḥ wa-al-ta'dīl*, it is considered to be a reliable source of *rijāl al-ḥadīth*, see Maḥmūd al-Ṭaḥḥān, *Uṣūl al-taḥkīr wa-dirāsāt al-asānīd*, p. 153.

<sup>45</sup> *Wa-buwa awwalu man fattasha bi-al-'Irāq 'an amr al-muḥaddithīn wa-jānaba al-ḍu'afā' wa-l-matrākīn wa ṣāra 'ilman yuqtadā bihi wa-tabi'ahu 'alayhi ba'dahu ahl a-'Irāq*, Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabḥḥib*, iv, p. 345; Cf. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, p. 20.

<sup>46</sup> *Awwalu man takallama fī al-rijāl Shu'ba thumma tabi'ahu* (Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd) al-Qaṭṭān (198/813) *thumma* Aḥmad (b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal, d. 241/855) wa-Yaḥyā (b. Ma'īn, d. 233/848). *Awwalu man jumi'a kalāmuhu fī dhālika* (sc. *fī al-jarḥ wa-al-ta'dīl*) Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān. Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, I. p. 5, al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, I. p. 25. Cf. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, p. 20.

<sup>47</sup> For some other names see Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, Appendix IV.

the following section I shall show that the information of the biographical dictionaries enables us to grasp some further information on the transmitters, and reference to it is indispensable for historical reconstruction. Some of their information, however, need to be reconstructed and must be approached critically.

According to the "science of *ḥadīth*" there were eight forms of transmitting *ḥadīth*: (1) *Samā'*, i.e., the student attends the lectures of a traditionist, which may take the form of a simple narration of the traditions, or be accompanied by their dictation, either from memory or from a book. The terminology to be used in this kind of transmission was *samī'tu*, *ḥaddathanī*, *akhbaranā*, or *anba'anā*. (2) *Qirā'a*, i.e., the student reads to the traditionists the traditions which have been narrated or compiled by the latter. The terminology to be used were *akhbaranī* or *qara'tu 'alā*. (3) *Ijāza*. That is, to obtain the permission of a scholar to narrate to others the traditions compiled by him. The terminology to be used in this case was *akhbaranī* or *ajāzanī*. (4) *Munāwala*. That is, to obtain the compilation of a tradition together with the compiler's permission to transmit its content to others. The term to be used in this case was usually *akhbaranī*. (5) *Mukātaba*. That is, to receive certain written traditions from a scholar, either in person or by correspondence, with or without his permission to narrate them to others. The term used in this kind of transmission was *kataba ilayya* or *min kitāb*. (6) *I'lām al-rāwī*, that is, the declaration of a traditionist to a student that he received certain specified traditions or books from a specified authority, without giving the student permission to transmit the material. The terms used were *akhbaranī* or *'an*. (7) *Waṣīya*, i.e., to obtain the works of a traditionist by his will at the time of his death. The terms used were *akhbaranī waṣīyyatan 'an* or *waṣṣānī*. (8) *Wijāda*, i.e., to find certain traditions in a book, perhaps after a traditionist's death, without receiving them with any recognized authority. The terms used were "*wajadtu*", "*qāla*", "*ukhbirtu*", "*ḥuddithu*".<sup>48</sup>

Nevertheless, these terminologies and their meanings are

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<sup>48</sup> For more detail see Al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, Cairo 1966, pp. 4-92; Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. 1, Leiden 1967, p. 58-60; Ṣiddīqī, *Ḥadīth Literature*, p. 86. James Robson, "Standards Applied by Muslim Traditionists" in: *The John Rylands Library* 43, Manchester, 1960-61, pp. 470-474; Ṣabrī al-Mutawallī, *Ilm al-ḥadīth al-nabawī*, Cairo 2003, pp. 86-96.

historically problematic, because, as will be shown, it seems, that in early Islam there was no fixed terminology for the different forms of transmission. In other words, the terms were sometimes used interchangeably.<sup>49</sup> This may reduce the specific meanings of the terms. This does not mean, however, that these terms do not have any historical value. These terms have to be evaluated critically in every scrutiny of a particular *ḥadīth*. Furthermore, in imparting and receiving a particular *ḥadīth*, the transmitters might have used the terminology, which was usually used for *samāʿ*, although they did not receive the *ḥadīth* in that way. This might have happened when the transmitter was not reliable.<sup>50</sup>

In addition to the continuity of transmission, the reliability (*thiqa*) of a transmitter is an absolute requirement for an uninterrupted *ḥadīth*. To be reliable, one must first be *ʿādil*, i.e. of righteous conduct. In other words, the transmitter's character must be acceptable from the Islamic point of view. The *ʿādil* transmitter must not have committed a grave sin nor have been prone to commit minor sins.<sup>51</sup> The scholars of *ḥadīth* have further specified the requirements for those to be called *ʿādil*. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī mentions five conditions<sup>52</sup> i.e. fear of God (*taqwā*), morally well behaved (*murūʿa*), freedom from guilt for major sins, not performing *bidʿa*, not being *fāsiq*. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ has mentioned five conditions as well: *Muslim*, adult (*bāligh*), sane (*ʿāqil*), behaving morally (*murūʿa*), not being *fāsiq*<sup>53</sup> Thus, *ʿadāla* is a gift that always keeps someone behaving piously and invariably prevents him from having a bad character.<sup>54</sup> Subsequently, it leads someone be able to tell the truth. One may wonder, however, whether this quality of *ʿadl* actually prevents someone from making mistakes by the grace of God, because mistakes are not necessarily made consciously.

The transmitter must also be *ḍābiṭ*, i.e. having high literary accuracy as transmitter. To determine the accuracy of the transmitters,

<sup>49</sup> See also Harald Motzki, *Die Anfänge*, p. 92-95

<sup>50</sup> For example see, Syuhudi Ismail, *Kaedah Kesabihan Sanad Hadis*, p. 191-194

<sup>51</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Jāmiʿ al-uṣūl fī aḥādīth al-rasūl*, n.d., vol. 1, p. 74.

<sup>52</sup> Ibn Hajar, *Nuzhat al-naẓar*, p. 13. For other scholars who have proposed requirements for being called *ʿadl* see, al-Ḥākim al-Naysabūrī, *Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, p. 53; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth*, p. 94; al-Nawawī, *al-Taqrīb*, p. 12; , Nūr al-Dīn ʿItr, *Manhaj al-naqd fī ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, p. 79-80.

<sup>53</sup> Ibn al-Salah, *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth*, p. 4. See also, Syuhudi Ismail, *Kaedah Kesabihan Sanad Hadis*, p. 115.

<sup>54</sup> Muḥammad Qāsim al-ʿUmarī, *Dirāsāt fī manhaj al-naqd ʿinda l-muḥaddithīn*, Yordan 2000, p. 250.

the *muḥaddithūn* used at least two methods: consulting the scholars' judgments about a transmitter and comparing his transmission with other transmissions. These methods are reflected in the statements ascribed to early scholars. Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī, a late successor (68-131) is reported to have said for example: "If you wish to know the mistakes of your teacher, then you ought to study with others as well." "To reach an authentic statement concerning authenticity of tradition, one needs to compare the words of scholars with each other"<sup>55</sup>. This method of comparing the report of a transmitter with those of others can be found in the basic handbook of classical Islamic *ḥadīth* criticism, in Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's *Muqaddima*. He says:

"Whether or not the narrator is accurate can be ascertained by comparing his material with the narration of sound narrators (*thiqāt*) who are well-known for their control of their material and their thoroughness. If (1) we find his narration to be in accord with their narration, even if only in content or (2) we find that his narrations are usually in accord with their narrations and that he rarely differs from them, then we will know that he is in control of his material and is reliable (*ḍābiṭ*). But if we find that he often differs from the sound narrators we will know that he is not reliable and we will not use his *ḥadīth* as basis for argumentation. God knows best".<sup>56</sup>

By this method of comparison, the *muḥaddithūn* were allegedly not easily misled by seemingly sound *isnāds*. Al-Hākim (d. 405/1014) in his *Ma'rifat 'ulūm al-ḥadīth* quoted an *isnād* whose men are all trustworthy, but pointed out that the *ḥadīth* attached contained inaccuracies. He quoted the *isnād* Mālik from al-Zuhri from 'Urwa from 'Āisha, and said it was false as far as Mālik's tradition is concerned, although it was handed down by *imāms* and trustworthy persons. He argued that what is sound is known not only by its transmission, but also by understanding, learning by heart and hearing a great deal. He also argues that other *ḥadīths* with seemingly sound *isnāds* can be accepted as free from defect only after discussion with people who have knowledge of

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<sup>55</sup> Azami, *Studies in Ḥadīth Methodology and Literature*, p. 52

<sup>56</sup> In 'Abd Raḥīm b. Ḥusayn al-'Irāqī's (d. 805) *al-Taḥfīd wa-sharḥ muqaddimat Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ*, al-Maktaba al-salafiyya, 1996, p. 166

the subject<sup>77</sup>. In the following an example of *ḥadīth* criticism is given in which a comparison is made between the *ḥadīths* of different students of one scholar:

Ibn Maʿīn (d. 233) went to ʿAffān, a pupil of the great scholar Ḥammād b. Salama, to read the books of Ḥammād to him. ʿAffān asked him whether or not he had read those books to any other students of Ḥammād. Upon which Ibn Maʿīn replied: ‘I have read those books to seventeen students of Ḥammād before coming to you’. ʿAffān said: ‘By Allah I am not going to read these books to you’. Ibn Maʿīn answered that by spending a few *dirhām* he would go to Baṣra and read them there to the students of Ḥammād. He went to Baṣra to Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl, another pupil of Ḥammād. Mūsā asked him ‘Have you not read these books to anybody else? He said I have read them completely to seventeen students of Ḥammād and you are the eighteenth one’. Mūsā asked him what he was going to do with all those readings. Ibn Maʿīn replied: Ḥammād b. Salamah made mistakes and his students added some more mistakes to his. So I want to distinguish between the mistakes of Ḥammād and those of his students. If I find all the students of Ḥammād making the same mistake, then the source of mistake is Ḥammād. If I find the majority of Ḥammād’s students say something, and some of them say something else, then this mistake was committed by that particular student of Ḥammād. In this way I make a distinction between the mistakes of Ḥammād and those of his students.<sup>78</sup> It is evident that by his method of comparison Ibn Maʿīn could indeed discover the mistakes of, and to assess the accuracy of, both Ḥammād and his students.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Cf. James Robson, *The Isnād*, p. 25

<sup>78</sup> Azami, *Studies in Ḥadīth Methodology*, pp. 52-53.

<sup>79</sup> A similarly method was applied by Iftikhar Zaman. He has succeeded in showing the possibilities of reaching judgments regarding the transmitters of a certain text by scrutinising the variations of the text which are transmitted through different transmitters. To corroborate his theory he has analysed the *ḥadīth* regarding the Prophet’s visiting Sa’d b. Abī Waqqāṣ while the latter was ill. After analyzing the variant versions of the *ḥadīth*, he argued (1) “The significance of the mass of the textual material known as *ḥadīth* is best understood and explained in the light of such a science of *rijāl* (2) Evaluating the factual contents of *ḥadīth* with the use of such a science will lead to results which are much more reliable than any of the methods modern scholars have proposed for the study of *ḥadīth*”. See Iftikhar Zaman “The science of *Rijāl* as a method in the Study of *Ḥadīth*” in *Journal of Islamic Studies* 5:1 (1994) p. 1. The same method has been used by H. Motzki in his works “Der Fiqh des Zuhri”, “Qua vadis”, “The Prophet and the Cat”, “The Murder of Ibn Abī l-Ḥuqayq”. This method will be elaborated in detail and applied in the “*ṣawm ḥadīth*” in the next chapter.

On the other hand, in practice the *ḍabt* of a transmitter has been mostly determined on the basis of the judgments of scholars. This procedure faces the problem that the judgments of scholars on a transmitter often differ. Some scholars, in judging the transmitters, are *mutashaddid* (having a stern viewpoint), some are *mutasāhil* (lenient) and some others are *mutawassit* (in the middle). These different attitudes of scholars led to different judgments. The diversity of scholars' knowledge on a particular narrator led also to the variety of judgments. According to some a transmitter may be *thiqa*, but according to others he may not.

Furthermore, we may wonder how early the method of comparing transmitters' narrations to determine their accuracy was used and whether it was applied on a large scale. Are the *ḥadīth* collections the result of applying this method? Was the statement ascribed to Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181)<sup>60</sup>, an early Muslim scholar of *ḥadīth*, stating "To reach an authentic statement concerning the authenticity of tradition, one needs to compare the words of scholars with other's" always adopted in early Islam? Was it merely the opinion of a single scholar or a norm generally hold? Was the method, which was adopted by Ibn Maʿīn, generally practiced in early Islam? These questions lead us to a problematic and controversial issue of research. It seems difficult to imagine that the *ḥadīth* literature, i.e., the classical collections, are the result of such a systematical procedure. Had scholars of *ḥadīth* applied the system consistently from the beginning, many inauthentic *ḥadīths* had not found their way into the *ḥadīth* collections. Accordingly, it seems justified to ask whether the classical rules of *ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* were applied generally and consistently before this "science" was established.

Az(a)mi is of the opinion that the method of Ibn Maʿīn was practiced from the beginning of Islam. To corroborate his claim, Azami puts forward some examples. Abū Bakr, ʿUmar b. Khaṭṭāb, Abū Hurayrah and ʿĀʾisha, according to Azami, practiced the method<sup>61</sup>. It should be stated, however, that what Abū Bakr and other Companions did to compare the

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<sup>60</sup> Khaṭīb, *Jāmiʿ*, 5a, quoted by Azami, *Studies in Ḥadīth Methodology*, p. 52.

<sup>61</sup> Azami, *Studies in Ḥadīth Methodology and Literature*, pp. 53-55.



transmission is different from that of Ibn Maʿīn. Ibn Maʿīn tried to reconstruct the original text of a *muḥaddith*, which had been transmitted through the latter's students. He did it systematically by collating and comparing as far as possible the transmission of students, whereas Abū Bakr and other Companions tried to find out the truth of an assertion in an *ad hoc* manner. It was not a systematic procedure of *ḥadīth* criticism in the way that Ibn Maʿīn did. This might have also been done by everyone else in the same situation. This procedure to find out the truth by asking witnesses was used by the judge. So, Azmi's claim that both methods are the same kind needs to be reconsidered. It is probably justified to assume that the practice of comparing one transmission with others was inspired very early on, but Ibn Maʿīn's method as a systematic procedure of *ḥadīth* criticism was probably only applied in the second century of Islam. The *ḥadīth* collections do not seem to allow us to be sure, that this method was strictly and generally practiced in early Islam. Had the method been applied consistently, there would have been no forgery and contradictory transmission in *ḥadīth* literature. Whether or not the compilers of the allegedly authentic *ḥadīth* collections have applied Ibn Maʿīn's method can only be tested by a critical investigation of the collections.

With regard to the scrutiny of the narrators' characters and qualities a number of sources have become available<sup>62</sup>. These books, however, were written later than the persons they describe. Again, we encounter an epistemological problem. To what extent can we lay credence on the information available in the biographical dictionaries (*kutub al-rijāl*)? This question has been answered in different ways. The majority of Muslim scholars regards the books as historical sources, while most Western scholars reject them or are, at best, skeptical about them. Those who reject those sources as not providing historical facts distrust the capacity of the authors of the biographical reports and their collections to judge the character of the *ḥadīth* transmitters. These biographical sources are, in their opinion, subject to weaknesses and corruption. How

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<sup>62</sup> *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* by Ibn Saʿd, (d. 230), *Tarīkh al-kabīr* by al-Bukhārī (d. 256), *Al-jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl* by Ibn Abī Hātim (d. 327), *Uṣd al-ghābat fī maʿrifat al-ṣaḥāba* by Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630), *Tahdhīb al-kamāl* by al-Mizzī (d. 742), *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* and *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ* by al-Dhahabī (d. 748), *Al-Iṣāba fī tamyiz al-ṣaḥāba*, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb* by Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852) *Al-istīʿāb fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb* by Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (d. ?), to name only the

is it possible to ascertain the reliability of *ḥadīths* on the basis of transmitters whose reliability is uncertain?<sup>63</sup> They even argue that although the *muḥaddithūn* did their best to get all the relevant information, they could not be sure of what they did, for it is not easy to judge people who have been dead for a long time.<sup>64</sup> Therefore *‘ilm al-rijāl*, in their opinion, is only an approximate science.<sup>65</sup>

#### b. Free from *SHUDHŪDH*

A *shādhdb* (irregular) *ḥadīth* according to al-Shāfi‘ī is a *ḥadīth* which is transmitted by a trustworthy transmitter, but contradicts the narration of the people who are regarded as more reliable than him<sup>66</sup>. A *ḥadīth* transmitted by only one reliable transmitter and not confirmed by any other transmitters cannot be seen as *shādhdb*.<sup>67</sup> In other words, the absolute singleness of transmission (*fard muṭlaq*)<sup>68</sup> does not affect the reliability of a *ḥadīth* as long as it has been transmitted by a reliable transmitter. In the light of this definition, the well-known *ḥadīth*, "actions are (judged) according to their intentions", is not considered *shādhdb*, despite the fact that it was related by only one transmitter at each stage: Yahyā b. Sa‘īd from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taymī from ‘Alqama from ‘Umar, all of whom are trustworthy authorities. A *ḥadīth* is considered to be *shādhdb* when (1) all of its transmitters are reliable (*thiqa*), (2) it has more than one transmitter, but (3) its *matn* or its *sanad* contradicts other transmissions, which are considered more reliable.<sup>69</sup>

Al-Ḥākim is stricter in this regard. A *shādhdb ḥadīth* in his view is that which is reported by only one reliable transmitter, without being

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most important.

<sup>63</sup> Sidqī, "Kalimāt fī al-naskh," in *al-Manār* 11 (1908): 693.

<sup>64</sup> Ahmad Khan, *Maqālat*, I, 27-28, quoted by Daniel W. Brown, *Rethinking Tradition in Modern Islamic Thought*, p. 97.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Wael B Hallaq, "The Authenticity of Prophetic *ḥadīth*: a Pseudo Problem" in *Studia Islamica* 89 (1999), p. 75-90.

<sup>66</sup> If a narration that goes against another authentic *ḥadīth* is reported by a weak narrator, it is known as *munkar* (denounced).

<sup>67</sup> Al-Shāfi‘ī's statement is transmitted by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ in his *‘Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, p. 68 and al-Ḥākim in his *Ma‘rifat ‘ulūm al-ḥadīth*, p. 148; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bā‘ith al-ḥathibh*, p. 56; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrib al-rāwī*, I, p. 232.

<sup>68</sup> If a particular *ḥadīth* is solely transmitted by *ahl Makka*, or only by *ahl Madīna*, or exclusively by *ahl Baṣra* or Kūfa or by other centre and not transmitted by any other centres, this kind of transmission is called *fard nisbī*. See al-Suyūṭī, I, pp. 248-251.

confirmed by any other reliable transmitters<sup>70</sup>. In other words, the absolute singleness of transmitter (*fard muṭlaq*), no matter how reliable he is, causes a certain *ḥadīth* to have the status of *shādhah*. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, al-Nawawī and other later scholars are in agreement with al-Shāfi‘ī.<sup>71</sup>

If al-Ḥākim’s view is adopted, many *ḥadīths* that have been considered by the majority of traditionists to be *ṣaḥīḥ* might turn out to be not *ṣaḥīḥ*,<sup>72</sup> because, as Juynboll has rightly pointed out, the general feature of *ḥadīth* literature is that *ḥadīth* was generally transmitted by single persons in the generations of the Companions and Successors. It was only after these generations that *ḥadīth* was massively transmitted. This is not to say, however, that nowhere in *ḥadīth* collections can we find a *ḥadīth* that was transmitted on a large scale in the generation of Companion and Successors. Indeed, it is not difficult to find such a *ḥadīth*.<sup>73</sup> Yet the fact that *ḥadīth* was allegedly transmitted by a large number of people belonging to the generation of the Companions does not necessarily mean that its ascriptions to the Prophet is trustworthy. It is necessary to investigate whether the ascription of transmitters from the last transmitter (collector) to the earliest one (Companion) are historical. I do not argue against the possibility that later generations mistakenly ascribed *ḥadīths* to certain Companions or purposely invented them. I only argue against the total rejection of the possibility that there are *ḥadīths* which go back to Companions. In other words, the claim of each transmitter to have received a particular *ḥadīth* from his informant must be investigated to establish whether or not it is true. Yet, like many scholars, I argue that if there is conclusive evidence that a particular *ḥadīth* goes back to two or more Companions and the latter claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from the Prophet, then their ascription must be regarded as trustworthy.

If the view of al-Shāfi‘ī is preferred, we encounter the question of how much we can trust the transmission line of a single transmitter. This question is closely related to the issue of how we can assess, with some

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<sup>69</sup> Syuhudi Ismail, *Kaedah Kesabihan Hadis*, p. 123.

<sup>70</sup> Al-Ḥākim, *Ma‘rifat ‘Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, p. 119; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrib al-rāwī*, p. 233.

<sup>71</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *‘Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, pp. 68-70; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrib al-rāwī*, I, pp. 232-238; Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *‘Ulūm al-ḥadīth wa-muṣṭalahuhu*, Dimashq 1973, p. 196-203.

<sup>72</sup> Syuhudi Ismail, *Kaedah Kesabihan Sanad Hadis*, p. 124.

<sup>73</sup> See the following discussion on the “*ṣawm ḥadīth*”. This *ḥadīth* was reportedly massively transmitted in the generation of the Companions.

degrees of certainty, the reliability of a transmitter, which has been explained above. In Western scholarship this kind of transmission is known as "single strand",<sup>74</sup> and its historical reliability is debated. Juynboll rejected the historicity of such a transmission. In his view, it is historically improbable to imagine that in early Islam a certain transmitter gave his *ṣaḥīfas* to just one pupil to be copied, and the latter passed them on similarly to just one pupil to be copied and the last mentioned passed them on to another single pupil to be copied again in the same fashion, because in early Islam, according to Juynboll, *ṣaḥīfas* are described as going from hand to hand, even if there was no formal master-pupil relationship between the original compiler and later transmitters. Motzki interprets the phenomenon of single strands differently. A single strand, in his view, does not necessarily mean that it was the only way, through which the *ḥadīth* was transmitted. Single strand exclusively means that when spreading *ḥadīths*, common links<sup>75</sup> or collectors mentioned only one way of transmission.<sup>76</sup> This difference of interpretation will be dealt with in more detail in the next chapter.<sup>77</sup>

The traditionists admitted the difficulties of detecting *shādhdb ḥadīths*. This is because the transmitters of an irregular *ḥadīth* are considered reliable by scholars of *ḥadīth*, and the transmission seems to be uninterrupted. It can only be discovered after research in depth by, for example, comparing many *isnāds* and *matns* of related *ḥadīths*. Only those who are well-trained and well-versed in the scrutinizing of *ḥadīths* can detect *shādhdb ḥadīths*.

*Shudhūd* can happen to both *sanad* and *matn*. Al-Suyūṭī provides an example of a *ḥadīth* that is "irregular" because of its *isnād*. It is the following:

"*Anna rajulan tuwuffiya 'alā 'abdi rasūl Allāh wa-lam yada' wāriṭhan illā mawlā huwa a'taqahu.*"<sup>78</sup> The *matn* of this *ḥadīth* has several *isnāds*. It was

<sup>74</sup> This term is coined by Juynboll. What it really means will be explained in the next chapter.

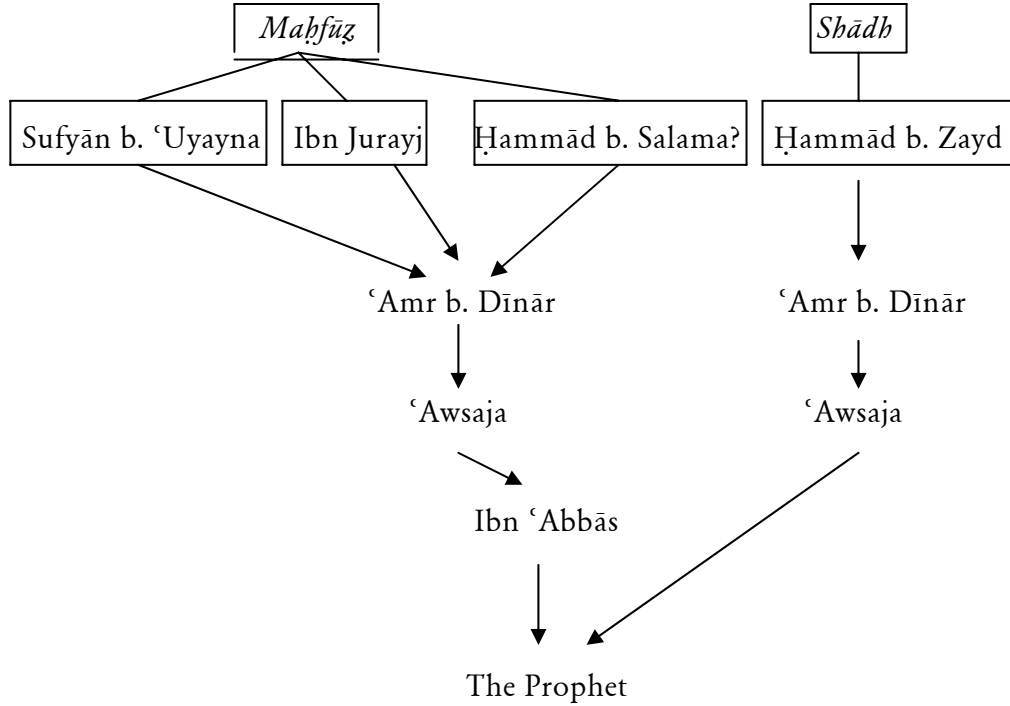
<sup>75</sup> The meaning of this term and how it works will be elaborated in the next chapter.

<sup>76</sup> Harald Motzki, "Quo vadis, *Ḥadīth* Forschung?", pp. 45-46.

<sup>77</sup> See the following discussion on the concept of „common link“.

<sup>78</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 1, p. 221; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, *al-farā'id*, 8:7; al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, *al-farā'id*, 14; al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 27:1, 2; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, *al-farā'id*, 11. al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 5, 194. The versions of the *ḥadīth* differ slightly from one another.

transmitted through Sufyān Ibn ‘Uyayna,<sup>79</sup> Ibn Jurayj<sup>80</sup> Ḥammād b. Salama?<sup>81</sup> and Ḥammād b. Zayd.<sup>82</sup> See diagram.



All transmitters of the *ḥadīth* are considered by the *ḥadīth* critics to be reliable (*‘udūl* and *ḍābiṭūn*). While the transmission of Ibn ‘Uyayna, Ibn Jurayj and Hammad b. Salama goes through ‘Amr b. Dīnār - ‘Awsajah - Ibn ‘Abbās - and then to the Prophet, the transmission of Ḥammād b. Zayd goes through ‘Amr b. Dīnār - ‘Awsaja - and direct to the Prophet, without quoting Ibn ‘Abbās. Ibn ‘Abbās is the Companion of the Prophet, whereas ‘Awsaja is, according to some scholars, Companion, and according to others not<sup>83</sup>. If the status of ‘Awsaja as a Companion (*ṣaḥābī*) was agreed by all scholars, his transmission, which directly quotes the Prophet without mentioning Ibn ‘Abbās, though he received it from the latter, would be

<sup>79</sup> There are four transmission lines going back to Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna: those of Ibn Abī ‘Umar found in al-Tirmidhī’s *Sunan*, Qutayba found in al-Nasā’ī’s *Sunan*, Ibn Ḥanbal found in his *Musnad*, Isma‘īl b. Mūsā found in Ibn Māja’s *Sunan*.

<sup>80</sup> It is found in al-Nasā’ī’s *Sunan*.

<sup>81</sup> It is found in Abu Dāwud’s *Sunan*, *al-farā’id*, 8:7. It is not clearly stated, however, which Ḥammād is meant. Yet in al-Mizzī’s *Tuḥfa*, it is stated as Ḥammād b. Salama

<sup>82</sup> I failed to find this *ḥadīth* in the canonical collections. Al-Suyūṭī does not mention either, where this version can be found. Al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, p. 235.

<sup>83</sup> For the status of ‘Awsaja’s *ṣaḥāba* see, al-‘Asqalānī, *Kitāb al-iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba*, vol, III, p. 182.

accepted and regarded as uninterrupted. That is called *mursal ṣaḥābī*.<sup>84</sup> Accordingly, Ḥammād b. Zayd's transmission, which contradicts the *isnāds* of the other transmissions is *shādhah*, whereas the latter, which are more reliable,<sup>85</sup> are *maḥfūz*.

An example of a *ḥadīth* which is *shādhah* because of its *matn* is the one which Abū Dāwūd and al-Tirmidhī transmit through the following *isnād*:

‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād – al-A‘mash – Abū Ṣāliḥ – Abū Hurayra – the Prophet He said ”When one of you perform the two *rak‘as* before the dawn prayer, he should lie down on his right side (*Idhā ṣallā aḥadukum rak‘atay al-fajr fal-yadṭaji‘ alā yamīnihi*)”. According to al-Bayhaqī, ‘Abd al-Wāḥid contradicts a large number of people with this narration, for they have transmitted the above *ḥadīth* as an act of the Prophet, and not as his saying. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid is alone amongst the trustworthy students of al-A‘mash in narrating these words<sup>86</sup>. It is inconsistent that on the one hand, the transmission of ‘Abd al-Wāḥid is *shādhah*, whereas the transmission of A‘mash’s other students is *maḥfūz*,<sup>87</sup> and on the other hand, ‘Abd al-Wāḥid is considered a trustworthy (*dābiṭ*) transmitter. This happens because ‘Abd al-Wāḥid is judged, on the basis of scholars’ judgments, as reliable before comparing his transmission with other transmissions. Thus, it is clear from the above explanation that the occurrence of *shādhah ḥadīths* in the *ḥadīth* literature may result from the method of assessing the transmitters’ capacity which is mainly on the basis of the judgments about persons, not on a comparative study of their transmission. This does not mean, however, that *kutub al-rijāl*, *kutub al-ṭabaqāt*, and *kutub al-jarḥ wa-l-ta’dīl*, which provide information on transmitters of *ḥadīth* must be left aside. They have proven to be too important to be neglected. Yet they must be treated critically. The transmitters’ capacities must be reconstructed by, for

<sup>84</sup> *Mursal ṣaḥābī* is a *ḥadīth*, whose *isnād* is interrupted at the stage of *ṣaḥāba*, and it is the *ṣaḥābī* who interrupted it. This sort of *ḥadīth* is regarded as uninterrupted and considered by the majority of scholars as *ṣaḥīḥ* if other conditions are met. For more information see, Syuhudi Ismail, *Kaedah*, p. 127.

<sup>85</sup> If the transmission of a single reliable transmitter contradicts the transmission of a number of reliable ones, the transmission of the first is defeated by that of the latter.

<sup>86</sup> Al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, I, p. 235. See also Syuhudi Ismail, *Kaedah*, p. 128.

<sup>87</sup> The opposite of *shādhah* is called *maḥfūz*.



example, comparing their transmissions with those of others. By this method we do not rush to judge a given transmitter.

### c. Free from ‘ILLA.

A *ma‘lūl ḥadīth* (defective *ḥadīth*) is one that appears to be sound at first sight, but when studied more carefully a disqualifying factor becomes obvious. Such factors can be: (1) declaring a *ḥadīth musnad*<sup>88</sup> when it is in fact *mursal*,<sup>89</sup> or *marfū‘*<sup>90</sup> when it is in fact *mauqūf*<sup>91</sup>; (2) that a transmitter narrated a *ḥadīth* from a *shaykh* (teacher) when in fact he did not meet the latter; or attributing a *ḥadīth* to a certain Companion when in fact it comes from another Companion.<sup>92</sup> This defect can happen not only to the *isnād* but also to the *matn*.<sup>93</sup> Only those who are well versed, having excellent memories and are expert of *isnāds* and *matns* can distinguish defective *ḥadīths* from reliable ones. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī (d. 194) even said that in order to be able to reveal a *ma‘lūl ḥadīth*, one needs intuition (*ilhām*).<sup>94</sup> Ibn al-Madīnī (d. 234) and al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463) said that a defect in the *isnād* can only be revealed if all *isnāds* of a particular *ḥadīth* are collated and analyzed<sup>95</sup>. Being a very complicated branch of *muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth*, only a few scholars such as Ibn al-Madīnī (d. 234), Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 327), al-Khallāl (d. 311) and Dāruquṭnī (d. 385) have compiled books about it. Based on the above explanation, it may be justified to say that it is not safe to judge transmitters as reliable or unreliable before checking what they transmit. The judgment, whether or not the transmitter of a particular *ḥadīth* is reliable, which is solely based on scholars’ judgment without checking it, leads potentially certain sound *ḥadīths* to be considered as

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<sup>88</sup> A *ḥadīth* which a traditionist reports from his teacher from whom he is known to have heard (*ḥadīths*) at a time of life suitable for learning, and similarly in turn for each *shaykh* (teacher), until the *isnād* reaches a well-known Companion, who in turn reports from the Prophet, see al-Ḥākim, *Ma‘rifat ‘ulūm al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1937, p. 17.

<sup>89</sup> "Hurried", i.e., when a Successor says "The Prophet said..."

<sup>90</sup> A narration from the Prophet

<sup>91</sup> A narration from a Companion only.

<sup>92</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *‘Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, pp. 81-82; al-Suyūṭī *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, p. 252; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bā‘ith al-ḥathībīth*, p. 65.

<sup>93</sup> For examples of defective *ḥadīths* see Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *‘ulūm al-ḥadīth*, p. 83; al-Ḥākim, *Ma‘rifat ‘ulūm al-ḥadīth*, pp. 112-118; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bā‘ith al-ḥathībīth*, pp. 67-71.

<sup>94</sup> Al-Ḥākim, *Ma‘rifat ‘ulūm al-ḥadīth*, p. 113; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, I, p. 252.

<sup>95</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *‘Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, p. 82; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, I, p. 253; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bā‘ith al-ḥathībīth*, pp. 65.

defective *ḥadīths* when scrutinized more thoroughly or vice versa.

A *ḥadīth* that does not meet the above mentioned requirements cannot be regarded as reliable *ḥadīth*, and cannot have religious authority.<sup>96</sup>

On account of the occurrence in the canonical collections of unreliable *ḥadīth* and in the light of the above-mentioned criteria, one may wonder whether the criteria of the collectors of *kutub al-ḥadīths* were exactly the same as the criteria by which those *ḥadīths* are assessed by later scholars. In other words, the above mentioned criteria were developed later than the time when the *kutub al-ḥadīths* were compiled. Moreover, a strict and consistent application of *‘ulūm al-ḥadīth* to *ḥadīth* collections may uncover a large number of unreliable *ḥadīths*, which have hitherto been regarded by Muslim scholars as authentic. This fact may lead us to wonder whether the theoretical criteria reflect the earlier practice of *ḥadīth* transmission and criticism.

## 2. The historicity of solitary traditions (ĀḤĀD)

In view of the number of reporters involved in each stage of *isnād*, *ḥadīth* is according to the classical classification, divided into two categories, i.e., *mutawātir* and *āḥād*. *Mutawātir* is a *ḥadīth*, which is reported by such a large number of people that they cannot all be expected to agree unanimously to a lie. *Āḥād* is a *ḥadīth*, which is narrated by people whose number does not reach that of the *mutawātir*. It is, according to classical classification, further divided into: *mashhūr* (famous), *‘azīz* (strong) and

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<sup>96</sup> The final verdict on a *ḥadīth* is whether it is *ṣaḥīḥ* (reliable), *ḥasan* (good), *ḍa‘īf* (weak) or *mauḍū‘* (fabricated, forged). Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ classifies *Ḥasan ḥadīths* in two categories: (1) One with an *isnād* containing a reporter who is *mastūr* ("screened", i.e., no prominent person reported from him) but is not totally careless in his reporting, provided that a similar text is reported through another *isnād* as well (2) One with an *isnād* containing a reporter who is known to be truthful and reliable, but is of lesser degree in his memory of *ḥadīth* in comparison to the reporters of *ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīths*. In both categories Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ requires that the *ḥadīth* be free of any *shudhūd* (Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *‘Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, p. 27-28). A *ḥadīth ḍa‘īf* is one of discontinuity in the *isnād*, in which case the *ḥadīth* could be *mursal*, *mu‘allaq*, *mudallas*, *munqaṭi‘* or *mu‘ḍal*. *Mauḍū‘* (fabricated), is a *ḥadīth* whose text goes against the established norms of Prophet's saying, or its reporters include a liar. It can also be recognized by external evidence related to a discrepancy found in the dates or times of a particular incident. The division of *ḥadīths* into *ṣaḥīḥ*, *ḥasan* and *ḍa‘īf* was first introduced by al-Tirmidhī (d. 279). This division was not known before him. See Ibn Taymiyya, *‘Ilm al-ḥadīth*, Beirut 1985, p. 20.

*gharīb* (strange). *Mashhūr* is reported by more than two reporters, *‘azīz* is reported by two reporters and *gharīb* is reported by one reporter at any stage of the *isnād*.<sup>97</sup> To what extent did the *muḥaddithūn* give credence to the transmission of *āḥād* traditions? How consistent were classical *muḥaddithūn* in judging their historicity? How great was the gap between the later theory and the earlier practice of the *mukharrijūn* (collectors) in collecting their *ḥadīth*? The following pages try to answer these questions.

According to Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, the transmission of a single reliable transmitter (*ḥadīth gharīb* or *ḥadīth fard* (solitary)) is classified in three categories: 1) Transmission of a reliable reporter which goes against the transmission of those who are more reliable. This is to be rejected and considered *shādh*.<sup>98</sup> 2) The transmission of a reliable transmitter, which is not contrary to those of other reliable transmitters. This transmission is accepted. 3) The transmission, which lies in the middle of these two transmissions. For example, adding a word in the *ḥadīth*, which is not mentioned by all the others who transmit the *ḥadīth*. For example, the *ḥadīth*, which is narrated by Mālik from Nāfi‘ from Ibn ‘Umar "*Anna rasūl Allāh (s) farāḍa zakāt al-fīṭr min ramadān ‘alā kulli ḥurrin aw ‘abdin dhakarīn aw unthā min al-muslimīn*" Mālik is reported to have been the only transmitter among the transmitters of the *ḥadīth* who added the word "*min al-muslimīn*". ‘Ubayd Allāh Ibn ‘Umar, Ayyūb and others narrated the *ḥadīth* from Nāfi‘ without this addition. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ did not give any judgment on this third category.<sup>99</sup> Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī has no objection to considering the addition to be reliable as long as it is transmitted by a *thiqa*. He even claims to follow the view of the majority of *fuqahā’* and *ahl al-ḥadīth* in this respect.<sup>100</sup> According to Ibn Kathīr (701-774) as far as the addition (*ziyādat al-thiqa*) is concerned, it is accepted by the majority of *fuqahā’* but rejected by the majority of *muḥaddithūn*. Al-Tirmidhī in *al-‘Ilal*, however, regarded it as sound when

<sup>97</sup> Al-Ḥakīm an-Naysabūrī, *Ma‘rifat ‘ulūm al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1937, pp. 92-102. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ; *‘Ulūm al-ḥadīth li-Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ*, ed. Nūr al-Dīn ‘Itr, Madina 1966, p.243; Al-Suyūṭī, *Alfiyyat al-Suyūṭī fi ‘ilm al-ḥadīth*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, Cairo n.d., pp. 42-49; Nūr al-dīn ‘Itr, *Manhaj al-naqd fi ‘ulūm al-ḥadīth*, Damaskus 1981, pp. 399-416; Subḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *‘Ulūm al-ḥadīth wa-muṣṭalahātuh*, Damaskus 1963, pp. 226-235; Aḥmad ‘Umar Hāshim, *Qawā‘id uṣūl al-ḥadīth*, Beirut 1983, pp. 143-160.

<sup>98</sup> See the foregoing discussion on the criteria for reliable *ḥadīth* (free from *shūdhūdh*).

<sup>99</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *‘Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, ed. Nūr al-dīn ‘Itr, pp. 86-87.

<sup>100</sup> Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-kifāya fi ‘ilm al-riwāya*, Heiderabad 1357 A.H., p. 322-323.

the addition was made by one, whose memory is trusted.<sup>101</sup>

The *ḥadīth gharīb or fard* (solitary) can be known from three ways: 1) The people of one locality only are known to narrate the *ḥadīth*; 2) A single transmitter is found reporting it from a well-known Imam; 3) Narrators from one locality report the *ḥadīth* from narrators of another locality, such as the people of Makka reporting from the people of Madina.<sup>102</sup> al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī,<sup>103</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ,<sup>104</sup> as-Suyūṭī,<sup>105</sup> Ibn Kathīr<sup>106</sup> follow the view of al-Shāfi‘ī that the soundness of a single transmission depends on the reliability of the transmitter.<sup>107</sup> To put it in a different way, to judge whether or not a particular *ḥadīth gharīb* is reliable depends on whether or not it fulfills the conditions of *ḥadīth ṣaḥīḥ*. Thus, the historicity of transmission is mostly determined by the quality of the transmitters. The number of transmitters at every stage is important but does not determine the judgment of whether the transmission is historical or a forgery. That is to say, the singleness of reliable transmitters at every stage does not necessarily lead to regarding the transmission as a forgery.

But again we may ask the question of how one determines the reliability of transmitters and their methods. The classical critics of *ḥadīth* and the majority of modern Muslim scholars rely in their judgments about transmitters on the judgments found in the books of *al-jarḥ wa at-ta’dīl*.<sup>108</sup> The following is an example of classical methodology for determining the authenticity of a *ḥadīth*, which is backed up by a single strand transmission applied by a modern scholar.<sup>109</sup>

*Akhbaranā Ismā‘īl b. Mas‘ūd qāla ḥaddathanā Khālīd b. al-Ḥārith qāla: ḥaddathanā Ḥusayn al-Mu‘allim ‘an ‘Amr b. Shu‘ayb ‘anna abāhu*

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<sup>101</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bā‘ith al-ḥathīb*, p. 61-62.

<sup>102</sup> For detailed explanation and examples see al-Ḥākim al-Naysabūrī, *Ma‘rifat ‘ulūm al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1937, pp. 96-102; Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *‘Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, pp. 227-229.

<sup>103</sup> *Kitāb al-kifāya*, pp. 425.

<sup>104</sup> *‘Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, pp. 78-71.

<sup>105</sup> *Alfiyat as-Suyūṭī*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākīr, Cairo, n.d, pp. 42-43.

<sup>106</sup> *Al-Bā‘ith al-ḥathīb*, pp. 56-58.

<sup>107</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *‘Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, p. 68; al-Ḥākim, *Ma‘rifat ‘ulūm al-ḥadīth*, p. 119.

<sup>108</sup> E.g. *Al-Tārikh al-kabīr* of al-Bukhārī (d. 256), *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta’dīl* of Ibn Abī Ḥātim (d. 327), *al-Kamāl fī asmā’ al-rijāl* of al-Ḥāfiẓ ‘Abd al-Ghanī b. ‘Abd. al-Wāḥid al-Ḥanbalī (d. 600), *Tahdhīb al-kamāl* of al-Mizzī (d. 742), *Siyar a’lām al-nubalā’* and *al-Kāshif* of al-Dhahabī (d. 748), *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb* and *Taqrib al-tahdhīb* of Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852), to name only the most important.

<sup>109</sup> Maḥmūd al-Ṭaḥḥān, *Uṣūl al-takhrīj wa-dirāsāt al-asānīd*, 3rd ed. Riyad 1996, pp. 190-198.

*ḥaddathabū ‘an ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr qāla: lammā fataḥa rasūl Allāh (SAWS) Makka qāma khāṭiban fa-qāla fī khuṭbatihī: Lā yajūzu li-mra’atin ‘aṭiyyatan ‘illā bi ‘ithni zawjihā.*<sup>110</sup>

The *isnād* of this *ḥadīth* consists of six people. They are: Ismā‘il b. Mas‘ūd, Khālīd b. al-Ḥārith, Ḥusayn al-Mu‘allim, ‘Amr b. Shu‘ayb, Shu‘ayb (the father of ‘Amr) and ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr [b. al-‘Āṣ]. What do the *ḥadīth* critics tell us about the transmitters? Ismā‘il b. Mas‘ūd (d. 248 A.H.) is *thiqa* (reliable) according to them.<sup>111</sup> Khālīd b. al-Ḥārith (d. 186 A.H.) is *thiqa thabat* (reliable).<sup>112</sup> Ḥusayn al-Mu‘allim (d. 145 A.H.) is *thiqa*, *rubbamā wahama* (sometimes he made errors)<sup>113</sup> ‘Amr b. Shu‘ayb (d. 118 A.H.) is, according to Ibn Ḥajar, *ṣadūq* (truthful).<sup>114</sup> In *al-Kāshif* of al-Dhahabī it is reported: “al-Qaṭṭān said if a reliable transmitter reports from him he is *thiqa*. Aḥmad [b. Ḥanbal] said *rubbamā iḥtajajnā bih* (we sometimes based our argument on him). Al-Bukhārī said I saw Aḥmad, ‘Alī, Ishāq, Abū ‘Ubayd and the majority of our colleagues base their argument on him. Abū Dāwūd said *laysa bi ḥujja* (he cannot be considered to be an authority).<sup>115</sup> Shu‘ayb b. Muḥammad, the father of ‘Amr, is *ṣadūq* (truthful)<sup>116</sup>, and *thiqa* according to Ibn Ḥibbān.<sup>117</sup> ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ is a prominent Companion, whose *thiqa* is, according to the majority of Muslim scholars, beyond criticism.

If we are inclined to give credence to what the *kutub al-rijāl*, the books on transmitters, tell us about, then it is clear that the *‘adāla* and the *ḍabt* of transmitters as conditions for a sound *ḥadīth* is established, for the first three transmitters are *thiqa* (*‘udūl* and *ḍābiṭūn*). The fourth,

<sup>110</sup> *Sunan al-kubrā* of al-Nasā‘ī, *Kitāb al-zakāt*, 60, II, p. 178. This *ḥadīth* is also transmitted by Abū Dāwūd with the transmitters: Abū Kāmil - Khālīd b. al-Ḥārith – Ḥusayn - ‘Amr b. Shu‘ayb - Shu‘ayb - ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ. *Sunan Abī Dāwūd, kitāb al-buyū‘*, II, p. 110. Cf. Al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vi, p. 309 (n. 8683)

<sup>111</sup> Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Taqrīb at-taḥdhīb*, I, p. 74. Al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, I, 128.

<sup>112</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb*, I, pp. 211-212; al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, I, p. 266-267. It is said *ilayhi al-muntahā fī al-taḥabbut bil-Baṣra*.

<sup>113</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb*, I, pp. 175-176; al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, I, 230.

<sup>114</sup> *Taqrīb*, II, p. 72.

<sup>115</sup> *Al-Kāshif*, II, p. 332.

<sup>116</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb*, I, 353.

<sup>117</sup> Al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta‘dīl*, iv, pp. 351-352; Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb*, I, 353. Al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, II, 13-14. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabdhīb at-taḥdhīb*, iv, p. 356-357. Al-Bukhārī in *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr* does not give any judgment on the transmitter. He merely says that Shu‘ayb's son (‘Amr) transmits from Shu‘ayb. *Al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, iv, p. 218. Shu‘ayb's date of death is not found in the *kutub al-rijāl*.

‘Amr b. Shu‘ayb, is judged differently, but those who do not declare that he was reliable do not say either that he was unreliable.<sup>118</sup> He is in principle *thiqa* as well.<sup>119</sup> The fifth, Shu‘ayb b. Muḥammad, is also reliable, and the sixth is a Companion.

What about the continuity of transmission which is required for a reliable transmission? *‘Ulūm al-ḥadīth* obliges us to consider the terms used by the transmitters in their transmission of a *ḥadīth*. Al-Nasā’ī, the one who transmitted the *ḥadīth* made use of the word “*akhbaranā* Ismā‘īl b. Mas‘ūd”, and Ismā‘īl used the term “*ḥaddathanā* Khālīd b. al-Ḥārith”, and Khālīd used the word “*ḥaddathanā* Ḥusayn al-Mu‘allim”. These terms (*akhbaranā*, *ḥaddatanā*) should be, according to the “science of *ḥadīth*”, used by the *muḥaddithūn* in their *qirā’a* and *samā’* from the *shaykh*, i.e., the teacher. Therefore, this transmission is uninterrupted up to this point. Ḥusayn al-Mu‘allim used the word “*‘an* ‘Amr b. Shu‘ayb”. This term used by Ḥusayn is considered to be a continuous transmission, for Ḥusayn is not termed a *mudallis*, i.e., person who suppressed faults in *isnād*, and his transmitting from ‘Amr b. Shu‘ayb is well known in the biographical dictionaries. ‘Amr b. Shu‘ayb declared that his father told him “*ḥaddathahu*”. The transmission to this point is still uninterrupted. Although Shu‘ayb b. Muḥammad is sometimes described as *mudallis*, his use of “*‘an*” here is still regarded as having been transmitted through “*samā’*” (hearing), because he rarely made “*tadlīs*” and *thabata samā’uhu min jaddihi* ‘Abd Allāh (his hearing from his grand father ‘Abd Allāh is established). The *isnād* is, therefore, uninterrupted. The total reliance on the terms and their supposed historical implications faces, however, the danger that a transmitter may have used the term *ḥaddathanā/nī* for a transmission, which he received through other ways of transmission than *samā’*<sup>120</sup> and or that the form of transmission was not accurately remembered or written down. Again the quality of a transmitter determines the quality of his transmission.

What is about the *shudhūd* and the ‘*illa* of the *ḥadīth*? As was stated in the foregoing discussion, the scrutiny of both problems is a

<sup>118</sup> *Ṣaḍūq* is of lesser degree than *thiqa*.

<sup>119</sup> Maḥmūd al-Ṭaḥḥān, *Usūl al-takhrīj wa-dirāsāt al-asānīd*, p. 195.

<sup>120</sup> See the foregoing discussion.

difficult and a time consuming job. It needs extensive readings and research on both *matn* and *isnād*. This *ḥadīth*, however, in Maḥmūd al-Ṭaḥḥān's approach, has no *shudhūd* nor *'illa*.<sup>121</sup> It is perfectly clear from the scrutiny of the *ḥadīth* made by Maḥmūd al-Ṭaḥḥān, that he bases his judgment on the information provided by the writers of *kutub ar-rijāl* and that the single strand transmission appears to be unproblematic in his judgment. This procedure of scrutinizing a particular *ḥadīth* to assess its historicity has been applied by the majority of Muslim scholars. However, although the single transmission through reliable transmitters is regarded by the majority of *muḥaddithūn* as reliable, it is theoretically rejected by some scholars. Al-Ḥākim, for example, would consider it to be *shādh*, which makes a particular *ḥadīth* untrustworthy.<sup>122</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal is reported to have said "do not write down these *aḥādīth gharā'ib*, for they are *manākir* and the majority of them have been transmitted from weak transmitters".<sup>123</sup> It is reported that the critics of *ḥadīth* rejected the transmission of single reporters from the end of the second century. For example 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī b. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (135-194) was one of the most reliable transmitter and one of the most knowledgeable of his time. He transmits "*al-Muwatta'*" from Mālik. He was the only one to report a *marfū'* *ḥadīth* from Mālik which the other transmitters of *Muwatta'* did not narrate. The critics of *ḥadīth* rejected it because of its *'illat al-tafarrud* (defective because of its singleness). They wondered how Ibn Maḥdī could memorize the *ḥadīth* without it being confirmed by any other transmitters of *Muwatta'*. Asad Sālim Tayyīm, a modern Muslim scholar, argues that the critics of *ḥadīth* rejected generally the *ḥadīth gharīb*. The *aḥādīth gharā'ib*, which they sometimes accepted were exceptional, and not the normal of judgment. Thus, in principle they are rejected or judgment on them is suspended.<sup>124</sup> Tayyīm, being reluctant to recognize the reliability of single strand transmissions, argues that single reliable transmitter might have made mistakes when the path of transmission spread out, and when journeys to other countries for

<sup>121</sup> Maḥmūd al-Ṭaḥḥān, *Usūl al-takhrīj wa-dirāsāt al-asānīd*, pp. 190-198.

<sup>122</sup> Al-Ḥākim, *Ma'rīfāt*, p. 119; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Op. cit.*, p. 99.

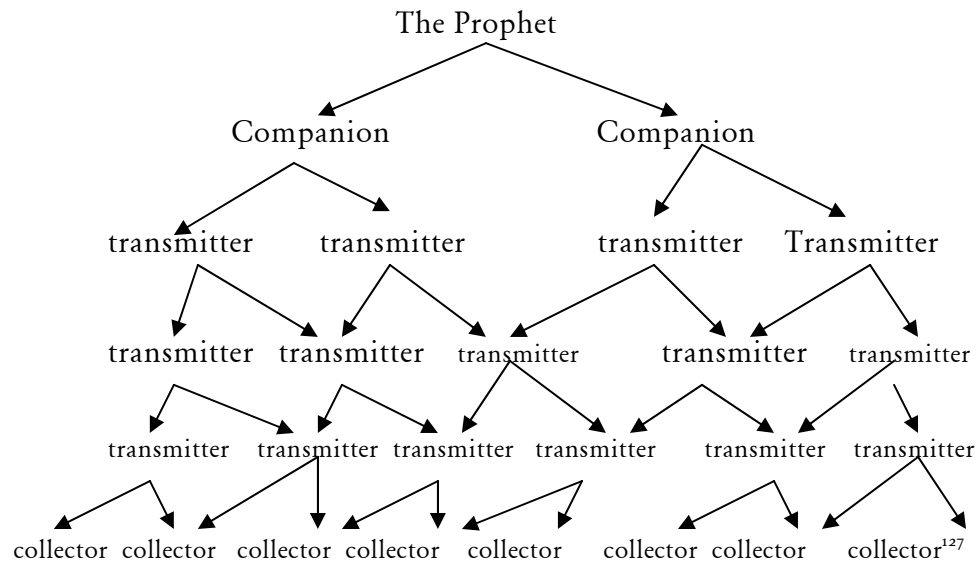
<sup>123</sup> *Ulūm al-ḥadīth li-Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ*, ed. Nūr al-Dīn 'Itr, Dār al-fikr 1983, p. 271.

<sup>124</sup> Asad Sālim Tayyīm, *Takhrīj ḥadīth al-thaqafī fī faḍl al-jum'at wa-bayān 'illatih*, Jordan 1999, p. 30-34. What Western scholars tell us about single strand transmissions will be



scholarly pursuit were made by students of *ḥadīth*.<sup>125</sup> This claim by Tayyīm, however, that the *gharīb* was generally rejected goes against the fact that there are a large number of *aḥādīth* in canonical collections, which have been transmitted in a single strand transmission. Even al-Bukhārī and Muslim, according to Abū Shuhba, did not require that a *ḥadīth* be transmitted by more than one reliable transmitter at every stage. Abū al-Faḍl al-Muqaddasī (d. 507) is reported to have said that Bukhārī and Muslim included in their *Ṣaḥīḥs* a *ḥadīth*, which was transmitted by a single person if the way of transmission was sound.<sup>126</sup> This controversy reminds us of the fact that there is a gap between theory and practice, between norms and reality.

What about the *ḥadīths* termed *mashbūr* and ‘*azīz*? It has been stated above that a *ḥadīth* ‘*azīz* is reported by two transmitters and *mashbūr* is reported by three transmitter at every stage. If we visualize the definition of a *ḥadīth* ‘*azīz* it looks as follows:



Indeed, if the condition is to be applied in the first two stages, the *ḥadīth* *mashbūr* and ‘*azīz* are probably rare in our *ḥadīth* collections. The *ḥadīth*

dealt with in the next chapter.

<sup>125</sup> Asad Sālim Tayyīm, *ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Abū Shuhba, *Iʿlām al-muḥaddithīn*, Dār al-kutub, Cairo 1963, pp. 118-119.

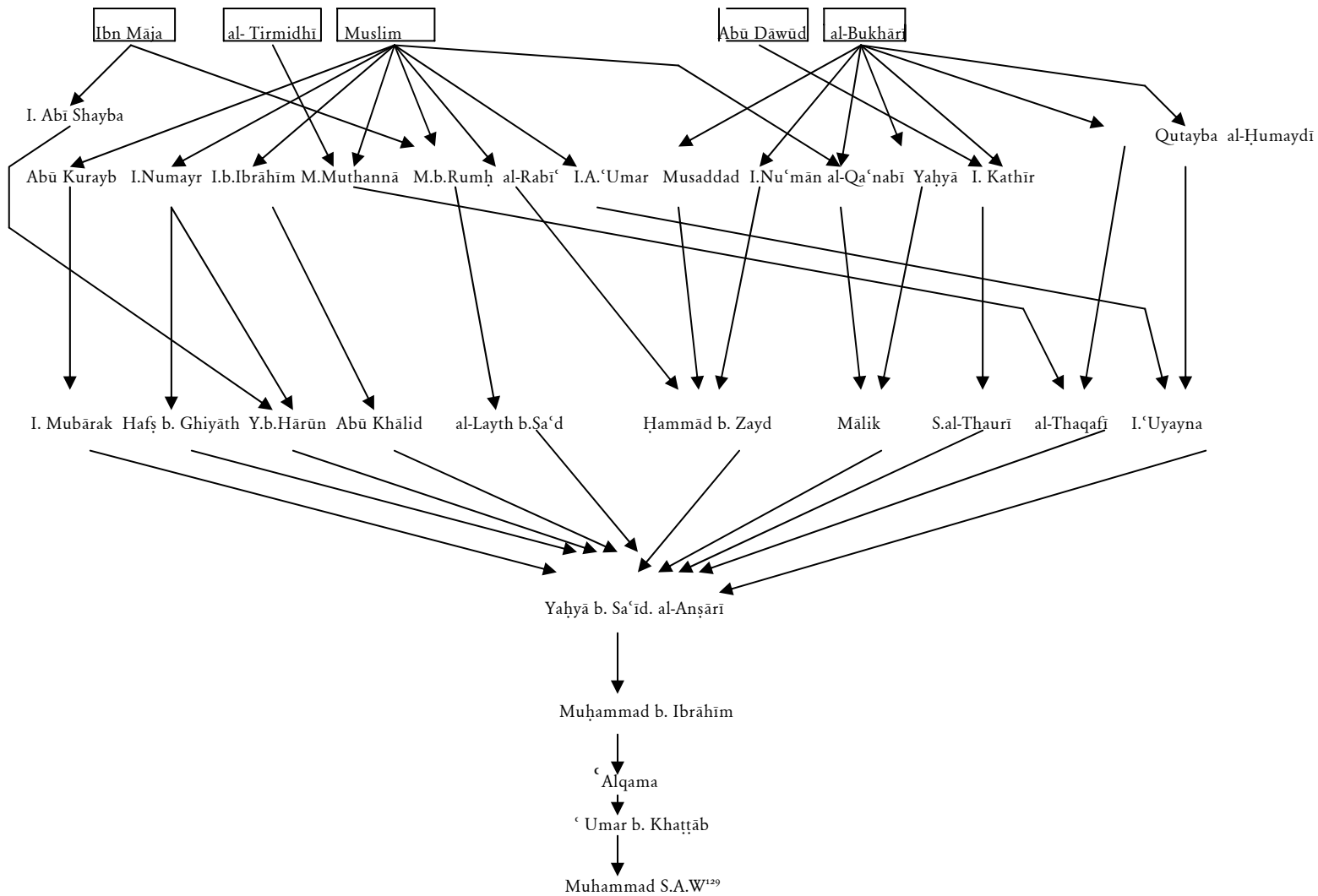
<sup>127</sup> The collectors visualized above lived in the time of Mālik. In other words, the schema reflects *ḥadīth* collections of the second half of the second century, such as *Muwattaʿa* of Mālik. In *Muwattaʿa*, however, Mālik frequently needs only two transmission lines to reach a Companion of the Prophet. For the time of canonical collections we need two more

"inna-ma-l 'a'mālu binniyāt" for example, which is often quoted as an example for a *ḥadīth mashhūr*<sup>128</sup> is really *aḥad gharīb* (single strand) in the first stages. According to the *isnād*, it was only transmitted by 'Umar – 'Alqama b. Waqqāṣ – Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm - Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd. It is only after Yaḥyā that the *ḥadīth* begins to fan out, as the following bundle shows:

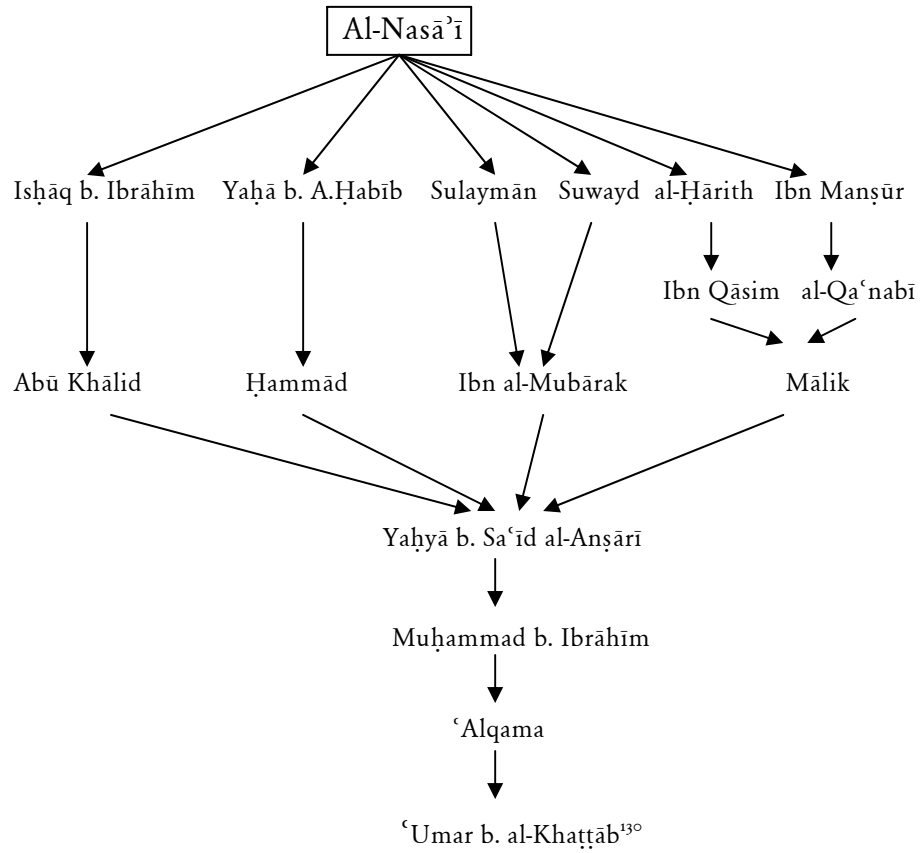
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stages of transmitters at least.

<sup>128</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ulūm al-ḥadīth*. 265.



<sup>129</sup> Al-Mizzi, *Tuḥfat al-asrāf bi-ma'rifat al-aṭrāf*, VIII, pp. 91-93.



The diagram shows that the transmission from ‘Umar to Yaḥyā is *āḥad* (*fard* or *gharīb*). In the Western scholarship of *ḥadīth* this sort of transmission is called “single strand”, and the historicity is, according to Juynboll, extremely doubtful. Yaḥyā b. Sa’īd al-Anṣārī is according to Schacht's term, the common link, which has to be seen as the fabricator of the *ḥadīth*. Ḥammād b. Zayd, Ibn al-Mubārak and Mālik are partial common links (Juynboll's term)<sup>131</sup>

Ibn Ḥibbān has pointed out that the *ḥadīth*, which is transmitted by two transmitters from the first tier to the last one does not actually exist. This claim of Ibn Ḥibbān has been rejected by the majority of *ḥadīth* critics.

<sup>130</sup> This diagram should be integrated in the above one, but for technical reason it must be separated.

<sup>131</sup> For a discussion on the tenability of Schacht's common link concept and Juynboll's

Rejecting Ibn Ḥibbān's claim, Ibn Ḥajar quotes a *ḥadīth* as an example of *ḥadīth 'azīz*: "*lā yu'minu aḥadukum ḥattā akūna aḥabba ilayh min wālidih wa-waladih wa-l-nāsi ajma'in*". This *ḥadīth* was transmitted by *al-shaykhān* (al-Bukhārī and Muslim) from Anas, and by al-Bukhārī from Abū Hurayra. The *ḥadīth* was transmitted from Anas by Qatāda and 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ṣuhayb. It is further transmitted from Qatāda by Shu'ba and Sa'id, and from 'Abd al-Azīz by Ismā'il b. 'Ulayya and 'Abd al-Wārith.<sup>132</sup> In the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī we find also the transmission of the *ḥadīth* through Abū Hurayra as follows: Abū al-Yamān – Shu'ayb – Abū l-Zinād – al-A'raj – Abū Hurayra.<sup>133</sup>

According to Muslim *ḥadīth* scholars the *ḥadīth mashhūr* as such is not necessarily to be regarded as sound *ḥadīth*. The reliability of such a *ḥadīth* depends on the conditions of sound *ḥadīths*. That is to say once again that the quality of transmitters and the nature of transmission must be proved before judging it. The larger number of transmitters on each *isnād* level is no guarantee for soundness. Like the *ḥadīth gharīb* or *fard*, those termed *mashhūr* and *'azīz* are classified into *ṣaḥīḥ*, *ḥasan* and *ḍa'īf*. All these categories depend on the quality transmitters.<sup>134</sup>

### 3. The historicity of the ḤADĪTH MUTAWĀTIR

It is important to note, first of all, that the conditions to be met by transmitters of a *ḥadīth mutawātir* are not as strict as those to be met by transmitters of other sound *ḥadīths*. The *'adāla* and the *ḍabt* of the transmitters of a *ḥadīth mutawātir* do not have to be proved in order to accept their transmission. That a *mutawātir ḥadīth* is transmitted by a large

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partial common link and single strand concept see the next chapter.

<sup>132</sup> Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *Ulūm al-ḥadīth wa-mustalahātuh*, pp. 234-235; Nūr al-dīn 'Itr, *Manhaj al-naqd*, pp. 416-417; Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qāḍī Barhūn, *Khabar al-wāḥid fī al-tashrī' al-islāmī wa-ḥujjiyyatuh*, Cairo 1999, vol. 1, pp. 200-1.

<sup>133</sup> *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, *Kitāb al-īmān*, VIII. For other examples of *ḥadīth azīz* and *mashhūr* with different qualities see, as-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, pp. 173-176.

number of transmitters in every generation is, according to Muslim scholars, enough proof to regard it as reliable. Thus, *tawātur* is not a part of *‘ilm al-isnād*, which examines the character of transmitters and the way they transmitted the *ḥadīth*, and discusses the soundness of *ḥadīth* or its weakness in order for it to be accepted or rejected. A *ḥadīth mutawātir*, according to Muslim scholars, is simply to be practiced, its historicity needs not to be discussed.<sup>135</sup>

Scholars have different opinions on the number of transmitters at each level of the chains required for a *ḥadīth mutawātir*. Some authorities fix the number at seventy, some at forty, some twelve and some at four.<sup>136</sup> A *ḥadīth* whose transmitters are *āḥād* in the first stages and after words fan out through other transmitters cannot be regarded as *ḥadīth mutawātir*. For example, the *ḥadīth* “*innamal- a‘mālu bi-l-niyāt*”, was transmitted by a large number of transmitters, but not in the first stages. It cannot, therefore, be considered to be a *ḥadīth mutawātir*.<sup>137</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ and other *ḥadīth* critics often mention the *ḥadīth* “*man kadhaba*” as an example of a *ḥadīth* which has been transmitted in a *tawātur* way.<sup>138</sup> The *ḥadīth* was transmitted by a large number of Companions and was collected in a large number of *ḥadīth* collections<sup>139</sup>

Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643) admits that the *ḥadīth mutawātir* is rare,<sup>140</sup> whereas Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852) and al-Suyūṭī (d. 911) argue that there are a lot of examples of *ḥadīth mutawātir* in *ḥadīth* literature.<sup>141</sup> Nūr al-Dīn ‘Itr, trying

<sup>134</sup> Nūr al-dīn ‘Itr, *Manhaj al-naqd*, p. 409.

<sup>135</sup> *Sharḥ al-nukhbā* 4, quoted by Subḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *‘Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, pp. 150-151.

<sup>136</sup> Nūr al-Dīn ‘Itr, *Manhaj al-naqd fī ‘ulūm al-ḥadīth*, 404; Aḥmad ‘Umar Hāshim, *Qawā‘id*, Beirut 1984, pp. 143-144.

<sup>137</sup> Al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrib al-rāwī*, 178.

<sup>138</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *‘Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, pp. 241-243.

<sup>139</sup> The *ḥadīth* is reported to have been transmitted by more than 100 Companions. For the names of the Companions who transmitted the *ḥadīth*, and for the collections, where the names of the Companions appeared to be the transmitters of the *ḥadīth* see al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrib al-rāwī*, pp. 177-178.

<sup>140</sup> *‘Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, p. 242.

<sup>141</sup> *Sharḥ al-nukhbā*, pp. 6-7, quoted by Nūr al-dīn ‘Itr, *Manhaj al-naqd...*, p. 407; Aḥmad ‘Umar Hāshim, *Qawā‘id uṣūl al-ḥadīth*, Beirut 1984, p. 145.

to harmonize the claim of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ and Ibn Ḥajar says that the limited *ḥadīth mutawātir* referred to by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ is the *mutawātir lafẓī* (*mutawātir* in wording), and the lot of examples of *ḥadīth mutawātir* meant by Ibn Ḥajar is the *mutawātir ma‘nawī* (*mutawātir* in meaning).

In connection with the most highly estimated *ḥadīth "man kadhaba"*, an effort has been made by a western scholar to deal with its historicity. G.H.A. Juynboll, who undertook a scrutiny of the *ḥadīth*, came to the conclusion that the *tawātur* shown in the *isnāds* is, as such, no guarantee for the historicity of a *ḥadīth's* ascription to the Prophet'.<sup>142</sup> He argues that the "*man kadhaba*" *ḥadīth* came into circulation in Iraqi *sunnite* circles which flourished sometime in the course of the second half of the second century A.H.<sup>143</sup> Juynboll assumes that the ones who were responsible for putting the *ḥadīth* into circulation, were the various pupils of the common links<sup>144</sup> discernable in the "*man kadhaba isnāds*", such as Shu‘ba b. Ḥajjāj (d. 160/777), active in Baṣra and Kūfa; Abū ‘Awāna al-Waḍḍāḥ b. ‘Abd Allāh (176/792), active in Wāsiṭ and Baṣra; and ‘Abd Allāh b. Lahī‘a (d. 174/790), active in Egypt, yet the majority of his masters and many of his pupils were Iraqi.<sup>145</sup> In dealing with the *man kadhaba ḥadīth*, Juynboll investigated where in the early edited sources the *ḥadīth* could be found and where not. He pointed out that the *ḥadīth* does not appear in the collections of authors who died before 180/800, but in the collections of authors who died after 200/815-6.<sup>146</sup> Juynboll, therefore, concludes that the *ḥadīth* must have originated in the second half of the second century. This is *an argumentum e silentio*,<sup>147</sup> which is repeatedly applied by Juynboll, and

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<sup>142</sup> Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, p. 98.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>144</sup> For the use of common link concept in Western scholarship of *ḥadīth* see the following chapter.

<sup>145</sup> Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, pp. 128-129.

<sup>146</sup> The collections Juynboll scrutinized are those of al-Rābi‘ b. Ḥabīb, Mālik and ‘Abd Allāh b. Wahb for collections before 180/800 and those of al-Shāfi‘ī, al-Ḥumaydī and al-Tayālīsī for the collections after 200. Cf. Harald Motzki, "Dating Muslim Traditions. A Survey" In: *Arabica*, 2005.

<sup>147</sup> For the *argumentum e silentio*, see the next chapter.

Schacht, in some of his arguments.

There is no difference of opinion among Muslim scholars about the *hujjiyya* (the authority as argument) of *ḥadīth mutawātir*, for it is considered to yield knowledge (*‘ilm*) and certitude (*yaqīn*) rather than presumption (*ẓann*). They only differ on the sound *ḥadīths aḥād*, whether they provide *ẓann* or *yaqīn*. Al-Nawawī in his *at-Taqrīb* argues its *ẓann al-thubūt* and the majority of *ahl al-ḥadīth* regard the *ḥadīths* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim as *qaṭ‘ī*. Some Muslim scholars consider any sound *ḥadīth* providing *‘ilm yaqīnī* (sure knowledge), regardless of whether it was collected by al-Bukhārī and Muslim or any other collector. Ibn Ḥazm says: "*inna khabar al-wāḥid al-adl ‘an mithlib ilā rasūl Allāh SAW yujīb al-‘ilm wa al-‘amal ma‘an*"<sup>148</sup>

Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ<sup>149</sup> (643/1245) argues that the *aḥādīth ṣaḥīḥa* on which al-Bukhārī and Muslim agreed lead to sure knowledge (*‘ilm yaqīnī*). This is due to the fact that the community of Muslims has agreed to accept al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥs* as authoritative. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ maintains that the presumptive knowledge (*ẓann*) of those who are infallible cannot be mistaken.<sup>150</sup> To put another way, the Muslim community, in his view, cannot err. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ confirms the view of al-Shāfi‘ī that the community cannot agree to something contrary to the *sunna* of the Messenger of God, nor agree to an error.<sup>151</sup> Unlike Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, al-Nawawī does not claim that the *ḥadīth ṣaḥīḥ* provides certain knowledge.<sup>152</sup> Al-Nawawī, however, admitted that Muslim community agrees that al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's *ṣaḥīḥ* collections are reliable (*ṣaḥīḥ*) and that the Muslims are obliged to behave accordingly.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Subḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *‘Ulūm al-ḥadīth wa-mustalahātuh*, p. 151.

<sup>149</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's works on *ḥadīth*, according to Ibn Khaldūn, are the most authoritative among the later Muslim authors (*muta‘akkkhirūn*). See *Muqaddima Ibn Khaldūn*, al-Maktaba al-tijāriyya al-kubrā, Cairo, n.d., p. 443.

<sup>150</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *‘Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, p. 24; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, p. 131.

<sup>151</sup> Al-Shafi‘ī, *al-Risāla* (1312), Cf. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 92.

<sup>152</sup> Al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī fī sharḥ taqrīb al-naẓariyya*, p. 75.

<sup>153</sup> Al-Suyūṭī p. 133.



Wael b. Hallaq, exploiting the *uṣūl al-fiqh* sources, has in contrast pointed out that because the *āḥād ḥadīths* engender only presumption, and that the *tawātur maʿnawī*, being nothing but a collection of *āḥād ḥadīths*, should be considered to have provided only presumption as well. "If the particular is dubious, then the whole is equally so"<sup>154</sup>. He is, like other legal theoreticians, interested in dealing with *ḥadīths* in terms of the presumption/certainty dichotomy.

Rejecting Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's claim that a *ḥadīth ṣaḥīḥ*, i.e., that on which al-Bukhārī and Muslim agree, engenders certainty, Hallaq puts forward two arguments. First, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's claim is not only highly controversial among Muslim scholars, but also leads to the fact that the consensus sanctions the authority of the *ḥadīth* and at the same time the *ḥadīth* sanctions the consensus. Second, "the claim is theological in nature, fundamentally departing from the criteria of *ḥadīth* evaluation established by the Muslim traditionists themselves. The certainty which the *ṣaḥīḥ* yields is not established by means of modalities of transmission or the quality of rectitude attributed to the transmitters".<sup>155</sup> The general judgment that a *ḥadīth ṣaḥīḥ* is certain is, in Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's view based on his view of the infallibility of the Muslim community, and does not stem from the modalities by which the *ḥadīth ṣaḥīḥ* is transmitted. This is not to conclude, as Hallaq does, however, that Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ negates all the objective conditions of *ḥadīth ṣaḥīḥ* contained in the collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. His claim is not only based on his belief in the infallibility of the Muslim community, which accept the *ḥadīth ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, but also on his belief in the reliability of the methods al-Bukhārī and Muslim have applied for selecting the *ḥadīths*.

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<sup>154</sup> Wael B. Hallaq, "The Authenticity of Prophetic *Ḥadīth*: A Pseudo-Problem" in *Studia Islamica*, 89, Paris 1999, p. 82.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*

#### 4. The ‘ADĀLA of the Companion

It is self evident that for the Muslims the Companions<sup>156</sup> of the Prophet occupied a decisive position in Islam. They provided an inevitable link between the Prophet and the succeeding generation. It was they who directly saw and experienced how the Prophet applied the revelation. In other words, they are the only agency by which the *Qur’ān* and the prophetic *sunna* could be known. By virtue of this fact and on account of the reason that will be shown in this paragraph, the majority of Muslim scholars<sup>157</sup> regard all Companions as legally just (‘*udūl*’),<sup>158</sup> i.e., they declare that all Companions of the Prophet are free of deliberately spreading false *ḥadīth*. They, accordingly, take the testimony of a Companion on matters concerning prophetic *ḥadīth* at face value. In other words, a Companion’s character was exempt from scrutiny. To bolster this “doctrine”, Quranic verses are quoted, such as, “*kuntum khayra ummatin ukhrijat lil-l-nās*”<sup>159</sup> (you are the best people to be sent forth to mankind). The addressee (*mukhāṭab*), viz., the word “you” in this verse, is taken to refer to Companions.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> The definition of Companion has expanded over generations. It suffices to mention here only one of them. Ignaz Goldziher, quoting al-Bukhārī says “He among the Muslimīn who was in the Company of the Prophet *or* has seen him, is to be counted among the Companions.” Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, ed. S. M. Stern and translated from the German by C.R. Barber and S.M. Stern, vol. 2, p. 222. Cf. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *faḍā’il aṣḥāb al-nabī*; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, vol. 8, p. 3. For more detailed information on the definition and the implication of the term, see Miklos Muranyi, *Die Prophetengenossen in der frühislamischen Geschichte*, Bonn 1973, pp. 12-21; Fu’ad Jabali, *The Companions of the Prophet. A Study of Geographical Distribution and Political Alignments*, Brill 2003, pp. 41-67.

<sup>157</sup> See Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, vol. 1, p. 8; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāya*, p. 49. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *‘Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, 265; Mustafā al-Sibā‘ī, *al-Sunna wa-makānatuhā fī l-tashrī‘ al-islāmī*, p. 242. This is not to say that all Muslim share the same view on the respectability of the Companions. The Sunnī, the Mu‘tazilī and the Shī‘ī viewed the Companions differently, which is, however, beyond our concern here.

<sup>158</sup> The word ‘*adl*’ is concerned with the normal character of transmitters. An ‘*adil*’ transmitter must not have committed a grave sin nor have been prone to commit minor sins. Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (852/1449) mentioned five conditions of those to be called ‘*adil*’, i.e., *taqwā*, *murū‘a*, free from guilt for major sins, not performing *bid‘a*, not *fāsiq*. Juynboll has attempted to trace the origin of this issue, see his *Muslim Tradition*, pp. 190-206. For a detailed discussion of this issue in Egypt, see Juynboll, *The Authenticity*, 55-99.

<sup>159</sup> The *Qur’ān*, 3:110.

<sup>160</sup> Al-Shāṭibī, *al-muwāfaqāt*, 55-6; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāya*, 64; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb fī ma‘rifat al-aṣḥāb*, vol. 1, p. 9.

Likewise, “*wa-kadhālika ja‘alnākum ummatan wasaṭan*”<sup>161</sup> (thus we have made you a people in the middle). Early authorities such as Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī, Abū Hurayra, Ibn ‘Abbās, Mujāhid, Qatāda, al-Rabī‘ were cited by al-Ṭabarī as sharing the view that *wasatan* means ‘*udūl*’.<sup>162</sup> The interpretation of *wasatan* as ‘*udūl*’, however, does not seem to be compatible with “‘*udūl*’” as understood in the *ḥadīth* transmission. Juynboll has rightly pointed out, scrutinizing the word *wasatan* in the oldest *tafsīr* works, that the word has never been found to mean ‘*adl*’ as understood in *ḥadīth* transmission.<sup>163</sup> Moreover, exegetes like al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Qutayba and Ibn Kathīr, though they take the “*wasatan*” to mean “‘*udūl*’”, do not take it to refer exclusively to the Companions.<sup>164</sup> Al-Ṭabarī argues that the *umma* of the Prophet is called *wasat* or ‘*adl*’, by virtue of the fact that they stood in the middle of the two extremes (*li-tawassuṭihim fī al-dīn*). That is, they were not excessive in their religion, as Christians were in their belief in Jesus, nor were they short of the ideal, as Jews were, for the latter changed the book of Allah, killed their prophets, lied to their God and did not believe in him.<sup>165</sup>

Furthermore, prophetic *ḥadīths* are referred to corroborate the ‘*adāla*’ of the Companion.<sup>166</sup> A *ḥadīth* transmitted by Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī that is, for examples, unanimously considered as *ṣaḥīḥ* is used for this purpose: “Do not abuse my Companions, for if anyone of you spend gold equal to Uḥud, it would not be equal to a *mudd* or even a half *mudd* spent

<sup>161</sup> The Qur’ān, 2:143.

<sup>162</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi‘ al-bayān ‘an ta’wīl āy al-qur’ān*, vol. 3, pp. 142-5. See also al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, vol. 2, p. 214.

<sup>163</sup> Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, p. 195.

<sup>164</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi‘ al-bayān*, vol. 3, p. 145; Ibn Qutayba, *Gharā’ib al-Qur’ān*, p. 64; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-qur’ān al-‘azīm*, 1:196. Cf. Fu’ad Jabali, *The Companions of the Prophet. A Study of Geographical Distribution and Political Alignments*, Brill 2003, p. 71.

<sup>165</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi‘ al-bayān*, vol. 3, p. 142. Similarly, the Quranic verse “*Muḥammadun rasūl Allāh wa-l-ladhīna ma‘ahu ashiddā’u ‘alā al-kuffār ruḥamā’u baynahum tarābhum rukka’an sujjadan yabtaghūna faḍlan min Allāh wa-riḍwānan*” is taken to indicate the collective ‘*adāla*’ of the Companions. See, Nūr al-dīn ‘Iṭr, *Manhaj al-naqd fī ‘ulūm al-ḥadīth*, p. 121. Other Quranic verses which are also often quoted are 48:18, 9:100, 59:8.

<sup>166</sup> Ibn Hajar, *al-Iṣāba*, vol. 1, p. 21.

by one of them (*Lā tasubbū aṣḥābī, fa-law anna aḥadakum anfaqa mithla uḥudin dhahaban mā balagha mudda aḥadhim wa-lā naṣīfahu*).<sup>167</sup> This *ḥadīth* allegedly emerged when a Companion of the Prophet, Khālīd b. al-Walīd quarreled with another Companion, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf. The former abused the latter, and then the Prophet said the *ḥadīth*.<sup>168</sup> Since both were Companions, the *ḥadīth* does not seem to be a conclusive argument for regarding all the Companions as ‘*udūl*. This is also true for the *ḥadīth* implying that the Companions were the best of the *umma*, “the best of you are those living in my era, and then those who will come after them, and then those who will come after them. (*khayrukum qarnī thumma al-ladhīna yalūnahum thumma al-ladhīna yalūnahum*).<sup>169</sup>

It is apparent that though both the quranic verses and the prophetic *ḥadīths* do not seem to suggest convincingly the collective *ta’dīl* (regarding just) of the Companions, they are taken to corroborate the doctrine that the ‘*adāla* of the Companions is testified to by God and the Prophet alike. Not surprisingly, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (463), for example, argues that for any *ḥadīth* in order to be put into practice, all of its transmitters have to be scrutinized to determine their ‘*adāla*. This does not apply, however, to the Companions who ascribe the *ḥadīth* to the Prophet, for their ‘*adāla* is established in the Quranic text.<sup>170</sup> Consequently, the Companions’ tampering with the *isnād* (*tadlīs*) is not considered to be harmful, for they are all ‘*udūl*.<sup>171</sup> Likewise, on account of the collective ‘*adāla* of the Companions, even the transmission of an unknown (*majhūl*) Companion, that is, for example, a *ḥadīth* with an *isnād* which ends in the

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<sup>167</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, faḍā’il aṣḥāb al-nabī*, 5; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, faḍā’il al-ṣaḥāba*, 221, 222; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, sunna* 10; al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan, manāqib*, 58; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 3, p. 11. See also Nūr al-dī ‘Aṭr, *Manhaj al-naqd*, p. 121; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī’āb*, vol. 1, p. 8.

<sup>168</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, vol. 8, p. 33.

<sup>169</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, kitāb al-manāqib, faḍā’il aṣḥāb al-nabī*, 2. See also Ibn Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī’āb*, vol. 1, p. 8.

<sup>170</sup> al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāya*, p. 46.

<sup>171</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a’lām al-nubalā’*, vol. 2, p. 437.

statement *‘an rajul min al-ṣaḥāba ‘an al-nabī* (on the authority of a certain Companion from the Prophet), is regarded as unproblematic.<sup>172</sup>

The textual legitimization notwithstanding, the question might be asked whether this doctrine is a dogma rather than a historical fact. Is it historically speaking plausible that all Companions have the same quality of honesty (*‘adāla*)? Is this “doctrine” based on historical analysis of the transmissions of all Companions or only on Qur’anic verses and *ḥadīths*, from which different interpretations can be inferred?

There were forty thousand Companions reported to have been with the Prophet when the latter performed his farewell pilgrimage to Mecca.<sup>173</sup> Not all of them, however, related prophetic *ḥadīths*. With regard to the transmission of knowledge from the Prophet, Companions have indeed played different roles. Some of them reportedly transmitted a large number of traditions, while others have transmitted only a few traditions. A large number of them have even transmitted nothing from the Prophet.

In the *Muwatta’* of Mālik, 98 Companions are quoted as transmitters of prophetic *ḥadīths*, in the *Musnad* of al-Ṭayālīsī 281, in the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal 700 and in the *Ṣaḥīḥān* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim 208 and 213 respectively, 149 of whom are common to both works.<sup>174</sup>

In the six canonical collections, about 986 Companions are quoted as transmitters of the *ḥadīths* of the Prophet.<sup>175</sup> Six of them have a large number of transmissions, the so called *al-mukaththirūn fī l-ḥadīth*: Abū Hurayra has 3370 *ḥadīths*,<sup>176</sup> ‘Ā’isha bt. Abī Bakr 1999, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar

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<sup>172</sup> Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Kifāya*, p. 415.

<sup>173</sup> M.Z. Siddiqi, “The Services of the Companions of the Prophet of Islam to his Traditions” in *Islamic Culture*, XXXV (2), 1961, p. 130.

<sup>174</sup> M.Z. Siddiqi, “The Services”, p. 132.

<sup>175</sup> This number is based on the 14 volumes of al-Mizzī’s *Tuḥfat*.

<sup>176</sup> According to al-Suyūṭī, Abū Hurayra transmitted 5374 *ḥadīths*. 325 of which are jointly transmitted by al-Bukhārī and Muslim. Al-Bukhārī is alone in transmitting 93 and Muslim 189. See al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, 216-7. According to al-Bukhārī Abū Hurayra transmitted his *ḥadīth* to more than eight hundred transmitters. See al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a’lām al-nubalā’*, vol. 2, p. 423. See also al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, p. 217. In the canonical collections, however, Abū Hurayra reportedly transmitted only 3370 *ḥadīths* to only 354 transmitters. Two third (2371 *ḥadīths*) have been allegedly transmitted by Abū Hurayra to

1979, Anas b. Mālik 1584, ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Abbās 1243 and Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh 960 *ḥadīths*. 13 Companions are represented with an amount between one hundred and 500 *ḥadīths*.<sup>177</sup> Another 19 Companions have an amount between 50 to 100 *ḥadīths*,<sup>178</sup> a further 68 Companions are said to have transmitted between 10 to 50 *ḥadīths*.<sup>179</sup> Of the remaining 880 Companions amount between one two 10 *ḥadīths* is found in the collections. For technical reason, the last category is not given in the following diagram. See the diagram on p. 49). It is notable that some of the most respected Companions have very different amounts of transmissions.<sup>180</sup> Abū Bakr only 65 *ḥadīths*, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb 312, ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān only 72 and ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib 332.

Did Abū Hurayra and other Companions with prodigious amounts of traditions really transmit all the *ḥadīths* ascribed to them, or did later generations ascribe many *ḥadīths* to the Companions, who had nothing to do with them? Nowhere in the books of *‘ulūm al-ḥadīth*, where the *‘adāla* of the Companions is called for, has such a question been posed by the *ḥadīth* scholars. Juynboll argues for the second assumption, i.e., he rules out the possibility that any tradition really goes back to a Companion. In his view, the Companions are generally not responsible for the *ḥadīths* in the *isnāds* of which they occur.<sup>181</sup> This supposition is linked with three other assumptions of his. Firstly, Juynboll’s conviction on the late birth of the *isnād*, in the eighties of the first century A.H., a quarter of a century after the death of such a junior Companion as Abū Hurayra. Secondly, the phenomenon of raising traditions to older authorities (*rafʿ*), in Juynboll’s

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his nine prolific students. That is, 577 *ḥadīths* to Abū Ṣāliḥ (d. 101), 143 to Sa‘īd b. Sa‘īd al-Maqburī (d. 117/123), 287 to Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab (d. 94/100), 70 to Salmān Abū Ḥāzim (d. 100), 350 to al-A‘raj (d. 117), 128 to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ya‘qūb al-Juhannī, 183 to Muḥammad b. Sīrīn (d. 110), 127 to Hammām b. Munabbih (d. 132) and 495 to Abū Salama b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (94/104).

<sup>177</sup> See the diagram, from number 7 to 19.

<sup>178</sup> See the diagram, from 20 to 38.

<sup>179</sup> See the diagram, from 39 to 106.

<sup>180</sup> See Nūr al-dīn ‘Atr, *Manhaj al-naqd fī ‘ulūm al-ḥadīth*, p. 124.

<sup>181</sup> Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, p. 196.

view, emerged only later, from the second century onwards. Thirdly, his assumption of large scale, if not wholesale, fabrication of the *isnāds*.<sup>182</sup> Moreover, Juynboll argues that the *ḥadīths* ending with the older Companions, such as the four rightly-guided caliphs and Ibn Mas‘ūd, are on the whole weaker than those ending with younger Companions such as Abū Hurayra and the so-called ‘*abādila*.<sup>183</sup> Taking Juynboll’s claim to be true would mean that the orthodox concept of the Companions’s ‘*adāla* is devoid of value. Is this really the case?

To consider all the Companions as ‘*udūl*, as most Muslim *ḥadīth* scholars do, is difficult to harmonize with other reports that will be presented below. Indeed, the collective *ta’dīl* often poses problems for ambiguity of the *ḥadīth* critics. On one hand, they declare that all Companions are honest and, consequently a tradition coming from them is to be accepted as genuine or reliable, but on the other hand, they report about some Companions characters not compatible to the status of ‘*udūl*. Bujayr b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Murra b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṣa‘b is, for example, reported to have stolen the leather bag of the Prophet (*sariqa ‘aybat al-nabi*).<sup>184</sup> Al-Walid b. ‘Uqba, another Companion, is reported to have led the *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ* while he was drunk.<sup>185</sup> Furthermore, the early history of Islam is embellished with bloody events, where some prominent Companions are reported to have taken part. ‘Alī, Mu‘āwiya, ‘Ā’isha, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr were involved in civil wars (*fitna*), the result of which has badly influenced Muslim society up the present day. Indeed, it seems difficult to reconcile the involvement of a large number of Companions in the civil wars with their collective ‘*adāla*.

By contrast, Juynboll’s approach to rule out the possibility that traditions derive from the Companions is hardly justifiable. It is conceivable that the

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<sup>182</sup> Juynboll, *Ibid*.

<sup>183</sup> Juynboll, *Ibid*.

<sup>184</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, vol. 1, p. 150.

<sup>185</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba fī tamayīz al-ṣaḥāba*, vol. 3, p. 638.

necessity to mention an authority in *ḥadīth* transmission emerged only after most of the Companions had died, that “raising to an earlier authority” occurred, and that *isnād* fabrication took place to some extent, but this does not mean that it is, therefore, impossible to trace traditions that really go back to Companions. As will be shown in chapter 8, a *ḥadīth* on fasting can certainly be ascribed to Abū Hurayra. Yet if it can be proven that a *ḥadīth* really goes back to a Companion, the question remains, whether the wording or content of this *ḥadīth* derives wholly or partly from the Prophet. From a historical-critical point of view, the assumption of a collective honesty (*‘aḍāla*) of the Companions does not solve the problem.



Diagram 1

Companions of the Prophet who reportedly transmitted the *ḥadīths* of the latter, found in the canonical collections.

No.	Name of Companions	the number of <i>ḥadīth</i>
1.	Abū Hurayra	337 <sup>o</sup>
2.	‘Ā’isha bt. Abī Bakr Umm al-mu’minīn	1999
3.	‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb	1979
4.	Anas b. Mālīk	1584
5.	‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās	1243
6.	Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh	96 <sup>o</sup>
7.	Sa’d b. Mālīk Abū Sa’īd al-Khudrī	496
8.	‘Abd Allāh b. Mas’ūd	493
9.	‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ	378
10.	‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib	332
11.	‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb	312
12.	al-Barā’ b. ‘Āzib al-Anṣārī	178
13.	‘Abd Allāh b. Qays al-Ash‘arī	177
14.	Hind Umm Salama Umm al-mu’minīn	158
15.	Sahl b. Sa’d al-Sā‘idī	143
16.	Zayd b. Arqam al-Anṣārī	137
17.	Sa’d b. Mālīk Abū Waqqāṣ	121
18.	Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī	114
19.	‘Imrān b. Ḥaṣīn al-Khuzā‘ī	103
20.	Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān al-‘Absī	96
21.	‘Uwaymir Abū al-Dardā’ al-Anṣārī	89
22.	Ṣuday b. ‘Ajlān	89
23.	Burayda b. al-Ḥuṣayb al-Aslamī	87
24.	Samura b. Jundab al-Fazārī	70
25.	Jābir b. Samura al-Suwā‘ī	75
26.	Ubayy b. Ka‘b	73
27.	‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān al-Qurashī	72
28.	Mu‘ādh b. Jabal al-Anṣārī	69
29.	‘Uqba b. ‘Āmir al-Juhanī	68
30.	‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Uthmān Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq	65
31.	Abū Qatāda al-Anṣārī	64
32.	‘Ubāda b. al-Ṣamīt	62
33.	Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān	60
34.	al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba al-Thaqafī	56
35.	Nafī‘ b. al-Ḥārith al-Thaqafī (Abū Bakra)	56
36.	Zayd b. Thābit al-Anṣārī	53
37.	Khālīd b. Zayd Abū Ayyūb	52

38. Nusayba Umm ‘Aṭiyya	52
39. Thawbān mawlā rasūl Allāh	48
40. Rāfi‘ b. Khadīj	44
41. Asmā’ bt. Abī Bakr	42
42. Salama b. al-Akwa‘ al-Aslamī	42
43. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr al-Azdī	41
44. Jarīr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Bajalī	39
45. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Awfā al-Aslamī	38
46. ‘Uqba b. ‘Amr al-Anṣārī	36
47. al-Nu‘mān b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī	36
48. Ka‘b b. Mālik al-Anṣārī	34
49. Wā’il b. Ḥajar al-Ḥaḍramī	34
50. al-Zubayr b. ‘Awwām	31
51. ‘Ammār b. Yāsir	31
52. Maymūna bt. al-Ḥārith Umm al-mu’minīn	31
53. Ramla bt. Abī Sufyān	29
54. Ḥafṣa bt. ‘Umar	28
55. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf	27
56. Ṭalḥa b. ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Qurashī	29
57. ‘Adī b. Ḥātim al-Ṭā’i	29
58. al-Miqdām b. Ma‘dī Karib al-Kindī	27
59. Salmān Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Fārisī	26
60. Wahb b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sawā’i	23
61. Zayd b. Khālid al-Juhanī	22
62. ‘Abd Allāh b. Mughaffal al-Muzanī	22
63. Umm Hānī’ Fākhita bt. Abī Ṭālib	22
64. ‘Abd Allāh b. Busr al-Māzinī	21
65. Jubayr b. Muṭ‘im al-Qurashī	21
66. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ	21
67. Mu‘āwiya b. Ḥayda al-Qushayrī	21
68. Fāṭima bt. Qays	20
69. ‘Amr b. ‘Abasa	20
70. Bilāl b. Rabāḥ al-Habashī	20
71. ‘Awf b. Mālik al-Ashja‘i	20
72. Abū Rāfi‘ mawlā rasūl Allāh	20
73. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far al-Hāshimī	19
74. ‘Abd Allāh b. Sallām al-Isrā’īlī	19
75. Abū Tha‘laba al-Khushanī	19
76. Naḍla b. ‘Ubayd Abū Barza al-Aslamī	18
77. Wāthila b. al-Asqa‘ al-Laythī	18
78. Shaddād b. Aws	17
79. Sa‘d b. Zayd al-‘Adawī	17
80. al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib	17
81. al-Faḍl b. ‘Abbās al-Hāshimī	17
82. Ka‘b b. ‘Ujra al-Balwī	17

83. al-Rabī' b. Mu'awwidh	17
84. Ḥākim b. Ḥizām al-Azdī	16
85. Zayd b. Sahl al-Anṣārī	16
86. Faḍāla b. 'Ubayd al-Anṣārī	16
87. Ma'qil b. Yasār al-Muzanī	16
88. Ṣuhayb b. Sinān	15
89. al-Sā'ib b. Yazīd al-Kindī	15
90. Ya'lā b. Umayya al-Tamīmī	14
91. al-Miswar b. Makhrama al-Zuhrī	14
92. Mu'ādh b. Anas al-Juhanī	14
93. Abū Mālik al-Ash'arī	14
94. Asmā' bt. Yazīd	14
95. Sahl b. Junayf al-Anṣārī	13
96. Khabbāb b. al-Aratt	13
97. 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd	13
98. 'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ	13
99. Mālik b. Rabī'a al-Sā'idī	13
100. 'Amr b. 'Awf al-Muzanī	12
101. Qays b. Sa'd al-Anṣārī	12
102. 'Āmir b. Rabī'a	11
103. 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamarī	11
104. al-'Irbāḍ b. Sāriya	11
105. al-Miqdād b. 'Amr al-Kindī	11
106. Asmā' bt. 'Umayy	10 <sup>186</sup>

<sup>186</sup> This information is based on al-Mizzī's 14 volumes of *Tuḥfat al-asbrāf bi-ma'rifat al-aṭrāf*.

## 5. MATN criticism

Most Muslim scholars believe that *ḥadīth* critics dealt with both *isnād* and *matn* in order to verify the ascription of a particular *ḥadīth* to the Prophet. This is due to the fact that there were *matns* that cannot go back to the Prophet, though their *isnāds* seem to be reliable. That is to say, a reliable *isnād* does not necessarily mean that *matn* is reliable. In addition to the reliability of the *isnād*, *matn* criticism is required to establish the authenticity of a *ḥadīth*. In view of the fact that 1) the authentication and disparagement of transmitter rest basically on assumptions, 2) a transmitter who is regarded as reliable by one scholar could be at times considered to be unreliable by others, and 3) it is always possible that an allegedly reliable transmitter made mistakes, *matn* criticism remains a prerequisite. By *matn* criticism mistakes in judging a transmitter can be controlled and critic's judgment of a *ḥadīth* can be checked. In addition, transmitters can be judged reliable or otherwise, only after examining their transmissions and investigating their *matns*. Furthermore, the fact that a number of contradictory *ḥadīths* are to be found in the books of *ḥadīth*, that allegedly have reliable *isnāds*, makes the study of *matn* indispensable. Have the *matns* of *ḥadīths* gained the attention of *ḥadīth* critics which they deserve? And if so, to what extent?

Most Muslim scholars believe that *matn* criticism gained the attention of *ḥadīth* critics very early. The Companions are reported to have given special attention to the authenticity of *matn*. Example often given to confirm this belief is the critical attitudes of 'Ā'isha and 'Umar b. Khaṭṭāb in accepting the ascription of a particular tradition to the Prophet. 'Ā'isha is reported to have denied a *ḥadīth* reportedly transmitted by 'Umar from the Prophet, as it goes against the Qur'ān. It is reported in the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim on the authority of 'Umar that the Prophet said:

“The dead person is tortured, if his family weeps for him”.<sup>187</sup> ‘Ā’isha reportedly denied that the *ḥadīth* goes back to the Prophet, as it contradicts the Qur’ānic verse “*wa-lā tazirū wāziratun wizra ukhrā*” (53:38).<sup>188</sup> This is taken as indication that the Companions of the Prophet contributed to the *matn* criticism.

The reportedly critical attitudes of Companions who, in accepting or rejecting the ascription of a tradition to the Prophet, referred to the Qur’an, were followed by the *ḥadīth* critics. This is clearly reflected in the conditions that a sound *ḥadīth* must fulfil according to *ḥadīth* critics, namely that the *ḥadīth* (both *isnād* and *matn*) must be free from *shudhūdh* and ‘*illa*.<sup>189</sup> In other words, the reliability of the *isnād* of a particular *ḥadīth* is not to be regarded as a conclusive proof for the genuineness of the *ḥadīth* as a whole.<sup>190</sup> In his *Ma’rifat ‘ulūm al-ḥadīth*, Al-Ḥākim mentions several weak *ḥadīths* of which the *isnāds* are all regarded by *ḥadīth* critics as reliable.<sup>191</sup> Moreover, a brief inspection of works such as Ibn al-Jawzī’s *al-Mawḍū‘āt*, Ibn Abī Ḥātim’s and al-Dāraqūṭnī’s (d. 385) *‘Ilal* and works dealing with seemingly contradictory *ḥadīths*, such as Ibn Qutayba’s (d. 276) *Ta’wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* and al-Ṭaḥāwī’s (d. 321) *Mushkil al-āthār* favors the assumption that the *ḥadīth* critics paid a significant attention to the *matns* in their assessment of the reliability of *ḥadīths*. Thus, like the *isnād*, the *matn* of a *ḥadīth* must be analyzed before any judgment on its genuineness can be made. A famous principle of *matn* criticism is: “If you encounter a *ḥadīth* contrary to reason, or to what has been established as correctly reported, or against the accepted principles, then you should

<sup>187</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, al-janā’iz*, Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, kitāb al-janā’iz*.

<sup>188</sup> Al-Zarkashī, *al-Ijāba li-irādi ma-stadrakathu ‘Ā’isha ‘alā al-ṣaḥāba*, ed, Rif‘at Fawzī, Cairo 2001, pp. 60-61; Muḥammad ‘Alī Qāsim al-‘Umarī, *Dirāsāt fī manhaj al-naqd ‘inda l-muḥaddithīn*, Jordan 2000, pp. 28-9.

<sup>189</sup> See the foregoing discussion on the conditions of a reliable *ḥadīth*.

<sup>190</sup> al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Ma’rifat ulūm al-ḥadīth*, pp. 59-60. Likewise, the fault of a particular *isnād* does not necessarily determine the flaw of the *matn*, for it is equally likely that the *matn* has another reliable *isnād*, see al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, vol. 1, p. 296

<sup>191</sup> Al-Ḥākim, *Ma’rifat*, pp. 58 ff.

know that it is forged”.<sup>192</sup> Furthermore, it is important to investigate whether or not the *matn* fits the character of the Prophet, whether or not it fits common sense, whether or not it argues rationally, whether or not it violates the basic rule of Arabic grammar, whether or not it is compatible with the historical facts etc.<sup>193</sup> Yet the fact that there are some *ḥadīths*,<sup>194</sup> found in the *ḥadīth* collections, which do not meet the above mentioned conditions, led some Muslim scholars and non-Muslim scholars alike to doubt whether the criteria have really been applied by the *ḥadīth* collectors.<sup>195</sup>

Another problem to deal with in connection with *matn* criticism is that of *ziyāda al-thiqa*, the addition made by a reliable transmitter both in *isnād* or *matn*. The question is if, according to the classical *ḥadīth* science, the *matn* of a *ḥadīth* must be free of *shudhūd* in order to be considered authentic, how can we explain the fact that in the *ḥadīth* collections, even in the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, the *matn* versions of a particular *ḥadīth* transmitted by a particular transmitter often differs from those transmitted by other transmitters? The differences can be clearly identified if the *matns* are compared.<sup>196</sup> Does it imply that *ḥadīth* collectors paid attention only to the *isnād* and totally neglected the *matn*? Addition to a *matn* (*ziyādat al-matn*) and insertion into a *matn* (*idrāj*) occur repeatedly in the *ḥadīth* collections. Why did this happen? Why did the collectors allow the addition to go unnoticed in this *ḥadīth* collections?

To begin with, additions do not only occur in the *matn* but also in the *isnād* (*ziyādat al-isnād*). As was shown, *ḥadīth* scholars paid a significant attention to the *matn* as well as to the *isnād* of a *ḥadīth*. There was a disagreement among *ḥadīth* critics with regard to the reliability of the addition of a *matn* made by a reliable transmitter. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ divided the

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<sup>192</sup> Muḥammad Zubayr Ṣiddīqī, *Ḥadīth Literature*, p. 113.

<sup>193</sup> ‘Ajjāj al-Khaṭīb, *al-Sunna qabl al-tadwīn*, pp. 242-7.

<sup>194</sup> See Zubayr Ṣiddīqī, *Ḥadīth literature*, pp. 115.

<sup>195</sup> See the foregoing discussion.

additions to *matns*<sup>197</sup> into three categories: 1) additions which go against what is transmitted by reliable transmitters. These additions are to be rejected; 2) additions which in principle do not contradict the transmission of the others. To the majority of *ḥadīth* critics, these additions are acceptable in view of the fact that the transmission of a reliable single transmitter is accepted;<sup>198</sup> 3) additions which take a position between the two categories, that is, the addition of words that are lacking in other versions, and which change the meaning and character of the *ḥadīth* (without clearly contradicting it).<sup>199</sup> The example that is often put forward by *ḥadīth* scholars<sup>200</sup> for this kind of addition is the *ḥadīth* reported in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*: "...*wa-ju'ilat lanā al-arḍ kulluhā masjidan wa-ju'ilat TURBATUHA lanā ṭubūran...*"<sup>201</sup> (The whole earth was made a mosque for us and its soil (dust) was made as something to purify with for us). It is only Abū Mālik al-Ashja'ī who transmitted the *ḥadīth* with the addition "*turbatuhā*". On one hand, this addition seems to belong to the first category, i.e., it contradicts the other transmitters, as according to the latter, the *ḥadīth* includes the whole earth e.g. also stones, while Abū Mālik's addition refers exclusively to the soil or dust. On the other hand this addition could also be put into the second or third category, if *turba* is considered as species of earth (*arḍ*) that is not in contradiction with the

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<sup>196</sup> See the following discussion in chapter VIII.

<sup>197</sup> *Ziyāda al-matn* means that a transmitter relates an additional text, which is not transmitted by other transmitters. For the study on the *ziyāda* see, Khaldūn al-Aḥḍab, *ʿIlm al-zawā'id*, Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 1992; ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad ʿAllūsh, *ʿIlm al-zawā'id al-ḥadīth, dirāsāt manhaj wa-muṣannafāt*, Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm 1415/1995. The latter provides twenty rules to be noticed with regard to the "addition", which he calls "*al-ʿishrūniyya fī ʿilm al-zawā'id al-ḥadīth*". See ʿAllūsh, *ʿIlm al-zawā'id*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>198</sup> Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāya*, p. 567-8; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb*, p. 245-6; Nūr al-dīn ʿAtr, *Manhaj al-Naqd fī ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, p. 425-427.

<sup>199</sup> Al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī fī sharḥ taqrīb al-Nawawī*, pp. 245-247.

<sup>200</sup> Al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāya*, p. 572; Al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, p. 247; Nur al-din Atr, *Manhaj*, p. 426.

<sup>201</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *al-ṣalāt*, 53:5, 53:6; al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā, faḍā'il al-qur'ān*; al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfat*, vol. 3, p. 27. The *isnāds* of the *ḥadīth* is 1) Muslim – Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba – Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl – Abū Mālik al-Ashja'ī – Rib'ī b. Ḥirāirsh al-Kūfī – Hudhayfa – the Prophet 2) Muslim – Abī Kurayb – Yaḥyā b. Zakariyā – Abū Mālik – Rib'ī – Hudhayfa – the Prophet 3) al-Nasā'ī – ʿAmr b. Maṣṣūr – Ādam b. Abi Iyās – Abū ʿAwāna

more general category. While Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ is silent about the third category, other scholars have different opinions. Mālik and al-Shāfi‘ī accept it because there is no contradiction, while Abū Hanīfa rejects it for the reason that if the addition necessitates a change of law, then this kind of addition becomes a contradiction, which is unacceptable.<sup>202</sup>

As will be shown in the chapter on the *isnād cum matn* method, a thorough analysis and comparison of the versions preserved of a particular *ḥadīth* brings to light repeated occurrences of additions made by *ḥadīth* transmitters,<sup>203</sup> be they allegedly reliable or not. Such cases can be found even in the most highly esteemed *ḥadīth* collections like the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim.<sup>204</sup> While *ḥadīth* scholars accept the additions of an allegedly reliable transmitter,<sup>205</sup> Western scholars are critical of it. Similarly, while the majority of Muslim *ḥadīth* scholars judge the quality of the additions made by a reliable transmitter in a particular *ḥadīth* on the basis of the quality of its transmitter, the Western *isnād cum matn* methods (as shown in chapter VIII) assesses the quality of a particular transmitter on the basis of his transmission. To sum up: Muslim *ḥadīth* scholars pay most attention to the *isnād* in their judgment of a particular *ḥadīth*, yet the *matn* is not neglected completely; it plays, however, only a secondary role.

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– Abū Mālik – Rib‘ī – Hudhayfa – the Prophet.

<sup>202</sup> Nūr a-dīn ‘Itr, *Manhaj*, p. 426. For more examples see al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāya*, p. 568-571.

<sup>203</sup> See also Motzki, “Quo vadis Ḥadīth Forschung”, pp. 40-80, 193-229.

<sup>204</sup> See for example al-Dāruqutnī’s critique on the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim in his book *Kitāb al-ilzāmāt wa-l-tatabbu‘*, ed. Muqbil b. Ḥādī b. Muqbil, Madina: al-Maktaba al-Salafiyya, 1398/1978; Cf. Jonathan A. C. Brown, Criticism of the Proto – *Ḥadīth* Canon: al-Dāruqutnī’s Adjustment of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*, in *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 15 (January) 2004, pp. 1-37.

<sup>205</sup> Yet the critical al-Dāruqutnī accepts the additions made by reliable transmitter only in a certain circumstances, i.e., when it is supported by a preponderance of evidence. For more detail on al-Dāruqutnī’s stance on the addition see, Brown, “Criticism of Proto – *ḥadīth* Canon”, p. 31-34.



### III. Modern Muslim Scholarship on ḤADĪTH.

#### I. Nāṣiruddīn al-Albānī's Method to determine the authenticity of

#### ḤADĪTH

Nāṣiruddīn al-Albānī was born in Ashkoderā, capital of Albania in 1914. As a young boy, he moved to Damascus, Syria where he finished elementary school. At the age of twenty, under the influence of the journal “*al-Manār*”, al-Albānī produced his first work on *ḥadīth*, a transcription of and commentary on al-‘Irāqī’s *al-Mughnī ‘an ḥamli’l asfār fī’l asfār fī takhrīj mā fī’l iḥyā minā’lakhbār*. Instead of studying *ḥadīth* in a formal school setting, al-Albānī studied it on his own in libraries, especially the Ṣahiriyya library in Damascus. Nevertheless, in 1961 he was appointed professor of *ḥadīth* at the Islamic University of Madina. He died in 1999.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Albānī, who was a Muslim, devoted most of his life to the close study of prophetic *ḥadīths*. Although he reportedly did not receive an authorization (*ijāza*) in *ḥadīth* from any recognized scholar, al-Albānī checked many of the famous *ḥadīth* books, including the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim and the *Sunan* of al-Tirmidhī, Abū Dāwūd, al-Nasā’ī and Ibn Māja. As a prolific scholar, he wrote 117 books,<sup>2</sup> including: *Silsilat al-aḥādīth al-ḍa‘īfah wa’l-marwū‘a wa-atharuhā al-sayyi’ fī al-umma*,<sup>3</sup> *al-Tawassul anwā‘uhu wa-aḥkāmuhu*,<sup>4</sup> *Taḥdhīr al-sājid min ittikhādh al-qubūr masājid*,<sup>5</sup> *Ḥijāb al-mar’a al-muslima fī al-kitāb wa’l-sunna*.<sup>6</sup> In his works, al-Albānī has identified 990 *ḥadīths*<sup>7</sup> considered authentic by most Muslim scholars that he considers to be weak. Indeed, he declared weak (*ḍa‘īf*) some *ḥadīths* found in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, one of the most prestigious collections of *ḥadīth*. Not unexpectedly, a number of Muslim scholars have written critiques of al-Albānī. These include: *Tanāquḍāt al-Albānī al-wāḍiḥāt*

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<sup>1</sup> See Muḥammad ‘Īd al-‘Abbāsī in *Fatāwā al-shaykh al-Albānī wa-muqāranatuhā bi-fatāwā al-‘ulamā* (1st ed., Cairo: Maktabat al-turāth al-islāmī, 2002), vol. 2, 3-20.

<sup>2</sup> For a list of al-Albānī’s works, see Muḥammad ‘Īd al-‘Abbāsī, *Fatāwā al-shaykh al-Albānī*, 13-9.

<sup>3</sup> Beirut: al-Maktab al-islāmī, 1985. This present article is based mostly on this book.

<sup>4</sup> Beirut: al-Maktab al-islāmī, 1986.

<sup>5</sup> Beirut: al-Maktab al-islāmī, 1983.

<sup>6</sup> Beirut: al-Maktab al-islāmī, 1987.

by Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Saqqāf,<sup>8</sup> *al-Ta’rif bi-awḥām man qassama al-sunan ilā ṣaḥīḥ wa-da’if* by Maḥmūd Sa‘īd Mamdūḥ,<sup>9</sup> *Tabyīn ḍalālāt al-Albānī, shaykh al-Wabbābiyya al-mutamahḍith* by ‘Abd Allāh al-Hararī,<sup>10</sup> *Bayān awḥām al-Albānī* by Asad Sālim Tayyīm,<sup>11</sup> and *al-Lāmadhhabīyya akḥṭaru bid‘atin tubaddidu al-sharī‘a al-islāmiyya* by Sa‘īd Ramaḍān al-Būṭī.<sup>12</sup> In response to this criticism, several scholars have written books in support of al-Albānī.<sup>13</sup>

In this chapter I will discuss al-Albānī's method of determining that a *ḥadīth* is either authentic or spurious, especially his arguments regarding *ḥadīths* found in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. I will also analyze *ḥadīths* declared weak by al-Albānī from the perspectives of both the traditional *ḥadīth* sciences (*‘ulūm al-ḥadīth*) and the non-Muslim method of dating a *ḥadīth*. To what extent does al-Albānī base his assessment on the traditional sciences, to what extent does he deviate from the traditional method, and is he consistent in the application of his method? What are the implications of al-Albānī's method when applied to other *ḥadīths*? To what extent is the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim immune to criticism? I will argue that al-Albānī's method is not new and that he is not inconsistent, as his critics argue. Al-Albānī does not deviate one inch from the method of traditional Muslim scholarship, although his views certainly differ from those of many Muslim scholars who have participated in the discussion of this problem.

#### a. The ḤADĪTH declared weak by al-Albānī.

To illustrate al-Albānī's method, I will now analyze the *ḥadīth* of the cow, one of the *ḥadīths* declared weak by al-Albānī. I have chosen to discuss this *ḥadīth*, not because it is more important than other *ḥadīths* declared weak by al-Albānī, but merely because it is recorded *inter alia* in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of

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<sup>7</sup> This number is based on the calculation of Sa‘īd Mamdūḥ. See Maḥmūd Sa‘īd Mamdūḥ, *al-Ta’rif bi-awḥām man qassama al-sunan ilā ṣaḥīḥ wa-da’if* (Dubai: Dār al-buḥūth li’l-dirāsa al-islāmiyya wa-iḥyā al-turāth, 2000), vol. 1, 19.

<sup>8</sup> ‘Ammān: Dār al-imām al-Nawawī, 1997

<sup>9</sup> Dubai, 2000.

<sup>10</sup> Beirut: Dār al-mashārī‘ li’l-ṭibā‘ wa’l-nashr wa’l-tawzī‘, 2000

<sup>11</sup> ‘Ammān: Dār al-Rāzī, 1999

<sup>12</sup> Damascus: Dār al-Fārābī, n.d.

<sup>13</sup> See for examples, ‘Amr ‘Abd al-Mun‘im Salīm, *La difā‘an ‘ani’l Albānī faḥasbu bal difā‘an ‘ani’l salafīyya* (Cairo: Maktaba al-tabiin, 1999); idem, *al-Manhaj al-salafī ‘inda’l shaykh Nāṣiruddīn al-Albānī* (Ṭanṭā: Maktabat al-dayya, n.d.).

Muslim, one of the most prestigious *ḥadīth* collections. The *ḥadīth* reads as follows:

"*Lā tadhbahū illā musinnatan illā an ya'sura 'alaykum, fa-tadhbahū jadha'atan min al-da'ni*".<sup>14</sup> (Sacrifice only a mature cow,<sup>15</sup> unless it is difficult for you, in which case sacrifice a ram.)<sup>16</sup>

Al-Albānī's method of determining the authenticity or inauthenticity of a particular *ḥadīth* is based largely upon the analysis of the *isnād*, using information found in the biographical dictionaries. Al-Albānī argues that this *ḥadīth* is *ḍa'īf* (weak) by virtue of the fact that one of its transmitters is Abū al-Zubayr.<sup>17</sup> Al-Albānī argues that Abū al-Zubayr's transmission from Jābir is interrupted (*ghayr muttaṣil*) on the grounds that (1) *ḥadīth* critics label Abū al-Zubayr as a person who suppressed faults in *isnāds* (*mudallis*); (2) and he did not explicitly declare whether or not he heard the *ḥadīth* directly from Jābir, but rather used the term "*an*" (on the authority of). It is established in the science of *ḥadīth*, al-Albānī adds, that the *ḥadīth* of a *mudallis* may not be relied upon if he does not state clearly the manner in which he received it, as is true of Abū al-Zubayr. Al-Albānī concludes that the truthfulness of every *ḥadīth* transmitted by Abū al-Zubayr from Jābir or others, using the term "*an*" and the likes, is to be considered suspended. Stated in different terms, it is necessary to cease depending upon it, until the manner in which Abū al-Zubayr heard the *ḥadīth* is clarified or until a confirming *ḥadīth* is found. This scepticism does not apply, however, to the transmission of al-Layth b. Sa'd from Abū al-Zubayr from Jābir, for al-Layth claimed to have transmitted from Abū al-Zubayr only what the latter heard from Jābir.<sup>18</sup> Of the 360 *ḥadīths* transmitted by Abū al-Zubayr

<sup>14</sup> Muslim b. al-Hajjāj al-Qushayrī al-Nīsābūrī, *al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī (Dār iḥyā al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya, 1374/1955), *Kitāb al-ḍaḥāyā*, 2:1; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan* (Cairo, 1371), *Kitāb al-ḍaḥāyā*, 5:1; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* (Dār iḥyā al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya, 1952), *Kitāb al-ḍaḥāyā*, 7:4; al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan* (Bombay, 1406), *Kitāb al-ḍaḥāyā*, 13:1.

<sup>15</sup> A *ghanam* (sheep) or *baqar* (goat) that is at least three years old, and a camel that is at least six years old. See al-Albānī, *Silsilat al-aḥādīth al-ḍa'īfa*, 91. Cf. Edward William Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, (London, 1863-1893), part 4, 1439.

<sup>16</sup> A ram that is at least one year old. See al-Albānī, *Silsilat al-aḥādīth al-ḍa'īfa*, 91. Cf. Edward William Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, part, 2, 396.

<sup>17</sup> For Abū al-Zubayr, see below.

<sup>18</sup> Al-Layth is reported to have said, "I came to Abū al-Zubayr, and he offered me two books. I was upset with them (*fa-nqalabtu bi-himā*), and I asked him whether or not he heard this from Jābir. He [viz., Abū al-Zubayr] said, "I heard some of it and I was told some of it". I said, "Tell me what you heard of it". Then he told me "This is what I have". See, al-Albānī, *Silsilat*, vol. 1, 92-3.

from Jābir in the canonical collections, only 27 were subsequently transmitted by al-Layth b. Sa‘d.<sup>19</sup>

The *ḥadīth* in question states that it is permissible to sacrifice a ram that is one-year old (*al-jadha‘ min-al-ḍa‘ni*) in a situation in which a mature cow (*al-musinna*) is too expensive or difficult to find. Similar is the *ḥadīth* of ‘Uqba b. ‘Āmir: *ḍaḥḥaynā ma‘a rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallam bi-jadha‘in min al-ḍa‘ni*<sup>20</sup> (We sacrificed with the Prophet a one-year old ram). Another *ḥadīth* is that of Mujāshi‘ b. Mas‘ūd: *Inna al-jadha‘a yūfi mimma yūfi al-thaniyy*<sup>21</sup> (a one-year old ram accomplishes the same objective that a two-year old does). According to al-Albānī, the last two *ḥadīths* are *ṣaḥīḥ*, for they have reliable *isnāds*. However, al-Albānī does not treat them as confirming the *ḥadīth* of Abū al-Zubayr in order to enhance its quality as *ṣaḥīḥ*. Put differently, instead of understanding them literally, he engages in *ta‘wīl* (interpretation) of the two reportedly authentic *ḥadīths* by quoting other *ḥadīths* that have reliable *isnāds*, while continuing to regard the *ḥadīth* of Abū al-Zubayr as weak. Al-Albānī prefers to understand the *ḥadīth* of Abū al-Zubayr literally and is reluctant to subject it to interpretation, because this *ḥadīth* is not authentic. Interpretation is an aspect of authentication. Therefore, there is no place for interpretation in the case of a weak (*ḍa‘īf*) tradition.<sup>22</sup>

With regard to the *ḥadīth* of ‘Uqba b. ‘Āmir, al-Albānī argues that it seems to allow the sacrifice of ram that is one-year old (*al-jadha‘ min-al-ḍa‘ni*). Permission to sacrifice, however, is given only to ‘Uqba. This permission is based on a *ḥadīth* related by al-Bukhārī: The Prophet divided sacrifices among his Companions, and ‘Uqba received a ram (*jadha‘atun*). I [viz., ‘Uqba] said: ‘Oh Prophet, I received a ram’ (*jadha‘a*). The Prophet said: ‘Sacrifice it!’ (*qassama al-nabī ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallam bayna aṣḥābih ḍaḥayā fa-ṣārat li-‘Uqba jadha‘atan fa-qultu: yā rasūl Allāh ṣārat lī jadha‘atun qāla ḍaḥḥi bi-hā*).<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> For the *ḥadīths* with "al-Layth - Abū al-Zubayr - Jābir" in their *isnāds*, see below.

<sup>20</sup> Al-Albānī, *Silsilat al-aḥādīth al-ḍa‘īfa*, vol. 1, 89.

<sup>21</sup> The *ḥadīth* is transmitted by al-Nasā‘ī, al-Ḥākim, Aḥmad, Abū Dāwūd, Ibn Māja and al-Bayhaqī. Al-Ḥākim classifies the *ḥadīth* as *ṣaḥīḥ*, See al-Albānī, *Silsilat al-aḥādīth al-ḍa‘īfa*, vol. 1, 90-1.

<sup>22</sup> Al-Albānī, *Silsilat al-aḥādīth al-ḍa‘īfa*, vol. 1, 94.

<sup>23</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1862), *Kitāb al-aḍāḥī*, 2. The *ḥadīth* is transmitted by Mu‘adh b. Fuḍāla - Hishām - Yaḥyā - Ba‘ja al-Juhannī - ‘Uqba b. ‘Āmir al-Juhannī.

Al-Albānī cites another *ḥadīth* to interpret the *ḥadīth* of Mujāshī‘ b. Mas‘ūd. On the surface this *ḥadīth* seems to allow sacrificing a one year old sheep that has hair (*al-jadha‘ min-al-ma‘zī*), but this was not the intention, according to al-Albānī. According to a *ḥadīth* of al-Barrā’: “My maternal uncle Abū Burda slaughtered an animal for sacrifice before the prayer of ‘*id al-aḍḥā*. The Prophet said: ‘That is goat flesh (which has nothing to do with sacrifice)’. He said, ‘Oh Messenger of God I have in my possession *jadha‘atan min al-ma‘zī*’<sup>24</sup>. The Prophet said, ‘Sacrifice with it, and it is not appropriate for anyone other than you’ (*ḍaḥḥa khālī Abū Burda qabla al-ṣalāt fa-qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallam: tilka shātu laḥmin, fa-qāla yā rasūl Allāh inna ‘indī jadha‘atan min- al-ma‘zī, fa-qāla ḍaḥḥi bi-hā wa-lā taṣluḥ li-ghayrika...*).<sup>25</sup>

Al-Albānī argues that the two allegedly authentic *ḥadīths* and the *ḥadīths* of ‘Uqba and al-Barrā’ confirm the weakness of the *ḥadīth* of Abū al-Zubayr. Al-Albānī's method is clear. He first analyzes the *isnād* of a particular *ḥadīth*. An unreliable *isnād* means that the *ḥadīth* is unreliable. Accordingly, al-Albānī does not feel compelled to interpret a *ḥadīth*, which, in his view, has an unreliable *isnād*, as interpretation is an aspect of authentication. However, he does interpret *ḥadīths* that have reliable *isnāds*, when their *matns* do not correspond with the *matn* of other reliable *isnāds*. Al-Albānī's assessment of the *ḥadīth* in question as weak is contrary to the opinion of prominent *ḥadīth* scholars such as Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī.<sup>26</sup>

## b. The implication of al-Albānī's method

Of the 960 *ḥadīths* reportedly transmitted by Jābir from the Prophet, 360 were further transmitted by Abū al-Zubayr. I scrutinized all of the *ḥadīths* that have Abū al-Zubayr - Jābir link that are recorded in the canonical collections. Muslim records 194 such *ḥadīths*, Abū Dāwud 83 *ḥadīths*, al-Tirmidhī 52 *ḥadīths*, al-Nasā’ī 141 *ḥadīths*, and Ibn Māja 78 *ḥadīths*. In fact, the Abū al-Zubayr-Jābir link appears in 548 *ḥadīths*, if we take into

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*Ma‘z* is a kind of *ghanam* (sheep) that has hair, unlike *ḍa‘n*, the kind of sheep that has wool. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, part. 7, 2724.

Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-aḍāḥī*, 1:6. The *ḥadīth* is transmitted by Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā - Khālīd b. ‘Abd Allāh - Muṭarrāf - ‘Āmir - al-Barrā’.

<sup>26</sup> al-Albānī, *Silsilat*, vol. 1, 91.

account the fact that several *ḥadīths* are recorded in more than one collection.

If we question Abū al-Zubayr's transmission from Jābir in the case mentioned above, does this mean that we should question this link in the other 360 *ḥadīths* as well? Faithful to the traditional Muslim method of authenticating *ḥadīths*, al-Albānī argues that if a *mudallis* says: "I heard" (*sami'tu*), his transmission is to be regarded as uninterrupted. But if he says "on the authority of" (*'an*), his transmission is to be rejected or at least its assessment should be suspended until he makes clear that he really heard it from his informant. How often did Abū al-Zubayr use the word "*'an*", and how often did he use the word "*sami'tu*" and other words that suggest direct contact? Of the 194 *ḥadīths* with the Abū al-Zubayr - Jābir link preserved in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Abū al-Zubayr uses the verb "*sami'a*" and similar terms that imply a direct transmission 69 times, and he says "*'an*" 125 times. See diagram 1

Diagram 1  
The *ISNĀD* of Abū al-Zubayr – Jābir link in Muslim's *ṢAḤĪḤ*<sup>27</sup>

No	Chapter	Ambiguous statement of Abū l-Zubayr	Explicit statement of Abū l-Zubayr	The number of <i>ḥadīth</i>
1	<i>Kitāb al-buyū'</i>	13	9	22
2	<i>Kitāb al-hibāt</i>	5	-	5
3	<i>Kitāb al-ashriba</i>	16	1	5
4	<i>Kitāb al-salām</i>	6	4	10
5	<i>Kitāb al-libās</i>	8	3	11
6.	<i>Kitāb al-aḍāḥī</i>	2	1	3
7.	<i>Kitāb al-īmān</i>	5	7	12
8.	<i>Kitāb al-zakāt</i>	5	3	8
9.	<i>Kitāb al-ṣalāt</i>	16	1	17
10	<i>Kitāb al-nikāḥ</i>	6	2	8
11	<i>Kitāb al-ṭalāq</i>	1	1	2
12	<i>K. ṣifat al-janna</i>	1	1	2
13	<i>Kitāb al-manāsik</i>	18	9	27
14	<i>Kitāb al-ṭahāra</i>	1	2	3
15	<i>Kitāb al-adab</i>	2	2	4
16	<i>Kitāb al-faḍā'il</i>	4	2	6
17	<i>Kitāb al-maghāzī</i>	-	1	1
18	<i>Kitāb al-ḥudūd</i>	1	1	2
19	<i>Kitāb al-imāra</i>	2	3	5
20	<i>Kitāb al-ṣayd</i>	1	2	3
21	<i>Kitāb al-ru'yā</i>	4	1	5
22	<i>Kitāb al-ṣiyām</i>	1	1	2
23	<i>Kitāb al-janā'iz</i>	3	4	7
24	<i>Kitāb al-dhabā'ih</i>	-	2	2
25	<i>Kitāb al-qadar</i>	2	-	2
26	<i>Kitāb al-isti'dhān</i>	2	2	4
27	<i>Kitāb al-tawba</i>	-	3	3
28	<i>Kitāb al-'itq</i>	-	1	1
		194	125	69

Some of the 125 *ḥadīths*, with the term '*an*' recorded by Muslim are found in other canonical collections, such as those of al-Tirmidhī, Abū Dāwūd, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja. Did these collectors record the *ḥadīths* in which the *isnād* contains the term '*an*? Yes. Of the 125 *ḥadīths* with the Abū al-Zubayr - Jābir link using the term '*an*' in Muslim, 33 are also recorded in

<sup>27</sup> See the appendix.

al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Māja, al-Nasā'ī and Abū Dāwūd, all of them with the term “‘an”, except for one *ḥadīth*.<sup>28</sup>

What can we infer from this data? What does it mean when one (and the same) *ḥadīth* is transmitted with the term *sami'a* in one case and with the term ‘an in another? What is the significance of the fact that Muslim accepts the “*sami'a* transmission” one-third of the time but accepts the “‘an

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<sup>28</sup> For the *ḥadīths*, see Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-buyū*, (1) 29:1. See also Ibn Māja, *Sunan, Kitāb al-aḥkām* 79:2 (2) 16:7. See also Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Kitāb al-buyū*, 34:1; al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-buyū*, 72; al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-buyū*, 72:2 (3) 6:4. See also al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-buyū*, 13:2; Ibn Māja, *Sunan, Kitāb al-tijārāt*, 15:2 (4) 49:2. See also Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Kitāb al-buyū*, 75:1; al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-buyū*, 78:156. (5) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ashriba*, 13:4. See also Ibn Māja, *Sunan, Kitāb al-aṭ'ima*, 8:3; al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan, al-Kitāb al-walīma* (I failed to find the *ḥadīth* because of the version of al-Nasā'ī's volumes available to me is incomplete. I refer the reader to Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfat al-ashraf bi-ma'rifat al-aṭraf* (Haiderabad, 1965), vol. 2, 340) (6) 5:4. See also al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ashriba*, 13; Ibn Māja, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ashriba*, 11:1 (7) 12:1. See also Ibn Māja, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ashriba*, 16:1 (8) 12:2. See Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ashriba*, 22:2; Tirmidhī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-aṭ'ima*, 15:1 (9) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-aḍāḥī*, 2:1. See also Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ḍaḥāyā*, 5:1; al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ḍaḥāyā*, 13:1; Ibn Māja, *Kitāb al-aḍāḥī*, 7:4 (10) 5:8. This *ḥadīth* is also recorded by al-Nasā'ī, see al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ḍaḥāyā*, 36:1 (11) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-imān*, 9:4. See also al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-tafsīr*, 77 (*al-ghāshīya*); Nasā'ī, *Sunan (al-Tafsīr fī al-kubrā)*. I was unable to find the *ḥadīth* in Nasā'ī's *Sunan*, for the version available to me is incomplete. I refer the reader to al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 302; (12) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-zakāt*, 14:2. See also Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ṭiq*, 9:3; al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-buyū*, 82:2 (13) 7:8. See also al-Nasā'ī, *Kitāb al-zakāt* 9; (14) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, 13:1. See also Ibn Māja, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, 239:4 (15) 19:8. See also Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, 69:6; al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, 464:1; Ibn Māja, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, 183:4 (16) 36:5. See also al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, 328:1; Ibn Māja, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, 78:3 (17) 111:4. See also Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, 215:6; al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, 185 (18) 60:8. It is also found in Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, 171:4 (19) 19:9. This *ḥadīth* is also recorded by al-Nasā'ī, *Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, 209:4. Readers are referred to al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 310 (20) 179:6. This *ḥadīth* is also recorded by al-Nasā'ī, *al-Ṣalāt*, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 340 (21) 196:1. See also Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, 263:2; al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, 619:3 (22) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-nikāḥ*, 2:1. See also Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Kitāb al-nikāḥ*, 44:4; al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan, Kitāb 'asbrat al-nisā*. I was unable to find the *ḥadīth*, for al-Nasā'ī's version available to me is incomplete, I refer the reader to al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 350; (23) Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-manāsik*, 84:3. See also al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-jibād*, 35:2; al-Nasā'ī's *Sunan, Kitāb al-zīna*, 107:2. Readers are referred to al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 334 (24) 85:4. This *ḥadīth* is also recorded by al-Nasā'ī. Readers are referred to al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 303 (25) 53:1. See also Abū Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-manāsik*, 78:6 (this is the only *ḥadīth* of the “Abū al-Zubayr – Jābir channel” in which Abū al-Zubayr is recorded by Muslim as saying ‘an, but recorded by Abū Dāwūd as saying *sami'a*. However, the *ḥadīth* is recorded by Muslim in another place with a different *isnād*, in which Abū al-Zubayr is reported to have used the term *sami'a*, see Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-manāsik*, 53:2; al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-manāsik*, 59; al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-manāsik*, 221; Ibn Māja, *Sunan, Kitāb al-manāsik*, 75:1 (26) 62:1. See al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-aḍāḥī*, 8:2; Ibn Māja, *Kitāb al-aḍāḥī*, 5:2; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Kitāb al-aḍāḥī*, 7:3; al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ḥajj* (readers are referred to al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, p. 342; (27) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ṭahāra*, 28:1. See also al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ṭahāra* 25:1 (al-Mizzī mistakenly refers the readers to 31); Ibn Māja, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ṭahāra*, 25:1 (28) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-adab*, 34:3. See also Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Kitāb al-jibād*, 72:1 (29) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-maghāzī*, 71:1. This *ḥadīth* is also recorded by al-Nasā'ī in his *Sunan, Kitāb al-tafsīr*. The readers are referred to al-Mizzī's *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 341; (30) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ṣayd*, 4:1. See also Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Kitāb al-aṭ'ima* 47; (31) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ru'yā*, 3:1. See also Ibn Māja, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ru'yā*, 5:3; al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan, al-ru'yā*, the readers are referred to al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 339; (32)



transmission” two-thirds of the time? What does this pattern suggest regarding the method used by Muslim to scrutinize *ḥadīth*? If *isnād* terminology (*sami‘a*, *‘an*, etc.) was not decisive for Muslim (in the case of Abū al-Zubayr), on what grounds did he base his assessment that Abū al-Zubayr’s transmissions from Jābir are *ṣaḥīḥ*? In other words, did the collectors of *ḥadīth* really base themselves on the evidence of the *isnād*?

These are difficult questions to answer. Motzki has discussed the significance of transmission terminology in early Islam. Upon the basis of his analysis of Ibn Jurayj’s (d. 150/767) transmission from ‘Aṭā’ (d. 114/732), Motzki concludes that *isnād* terminology (“*sami‘a*” and its equivalents, or “*‘an*” and its equivalents) was not consistent in their time.<sup>29</sup> Put differently, certain terms were used interchangeably. It seems that Motzki’s conclusion about Ibn Jurayj’s transmission from ‘Aṭā’ also applies to the Abū al-Zubayr-Jābir link, meaning that Abū al-Zubayr might have used *isnād* terminology inconsistently as well.

The terminological consistency found in the canonical collections, in my view, implies that Muslim did in fact receive some *ḥadīths* with the term *‘an* and some with the term *sami‘a*. In other words, Muslim and other collectors did not invent or change the terms. Muslim no doubt considered Abū al-Zubayr to be reliable (*thiqa*). If so, Muslim would accept Abū al-Zubayr’s transmission as reliable, regardless of whether he claimed to have received it from his informant directly or indirectly. On what ground did Muslim base his assessment of Abū al-Zubayr as reliable? This remains unclear. The fact that Muslim accepted Abū al-Zubayr’s “*‘an* transmission” suggests that, for him, the terminology used by the first generations (Companions and Successors) did not play a decisive role in determining the reliability of a transmitter. This conclusion undermines al-Albānī’s method, for he uses terminology as a *decisive criterion* for assessing the validity of transmissions.

Al-Albānī argues that the transmission of al-Layth b. Sa‘d from Abū al-Zubayr - Jābir should not be classified as weak, because al-Layth claimed that he transmitted from Abū al-Zubayr only what the latter heard directly

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Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-janā‘iz*, 32:3. See al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, *Kitāb al-janā‘iz*, 97; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, *Kitāb al-janā‘iz*, 43:1 (33) 22:6. See also al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, *Kitāb al-janā‘iz*, 72:4.

<sup>29</sup> See Motzki, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence*, 101-4.

from Jābir. Al-Albānī's conclusion regarding this line of transmission is based exclusively on Ibn Ḥazm, who made the same point. Al-Albānī does not carry out an analysis of the al-Layth - Abū al-Zubayr - Jābir chain of transmission.

Of the 360 *ḥadīths* transmitted by Abū al-Zubayr from Jābir recorded in different canonical collections, 27 *ḥadīths* are transmitted from Abū al-Zubayr by al-Layth b. Sa'd.<sup>30</sup> In only one of these 27 *ḥadīths* does Abū al-Zubayr explicitly state that he received the *ḥadīth* directly from Jābir.<sup>31</sup> This poses a problem for al-Albānī. If al-Layth "heard" the report directly from Jābir, as al-Albānī claims, quoting Ibn Ḥazm, why does Abū al-Zubayr use the term "*an*" in almost all of al-Layth's traditions recorded by the *ḥadīth* collectors? Why does Abū al-Zubayr's status as a *mudallis*, whose transmission is either to be rejected or its assessment suspended until it is established that he heard the report directly from his informant, change to that of a non-*mudallis* when his transmission is extended by al-Layth, although the *isnād* terminology does not indicate that Abū al-Zubayr heard

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<sup>30</sup> For the *ḥadīths*, see (1) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-buyū'*, 44; (2) *Kitāb al-buyū'*, 23:2; (3) *Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, 19:8. This *ḥadīth* is also recorded by Abū Dāwūd, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja. See Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, 69:6; al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan al-kubrā, Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, 464:1; Ibn Māja, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, 183:4; (4) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, 179:6. This *ḥadīth* is also recorded by al-Nasā'ī, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 340; (5) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, 36:5. This *ḥadīth* is also transmitted by al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja, see al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, 328:1; (6) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, 60:7; (7) Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ru'yā*, 1:8; (8) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ru'yā*, 2:4; (9) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ru'yā*, 3:1. This *ḥadīth* is also transmitted by Ibn Māja and al-Nasā'ī. See Ibn Māja, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ru'yā*, 5:3; al-Nasā'ī, *al-ru'yā*, readers are referred to al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 339; (10) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-faḍā'il*, 82:3; (11) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ṭahāra*, 28:1. This *ḥadīth* is also transmitted by al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja. See al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ṭahāra*, 25:1; Ibn Māja, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ṭahāra*, 25:1; (12) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ashriba*, 5:4. This *ḥadīth* is also transmitted by al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja. See al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ashriba*, 13; Ibn Māja, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ashriba*, 11:1; (13) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ashriba*, 13:4. This *ḥadīth* is also transmitted by al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja. See Ibn Mājah, *Sunan, Kitāb al-aṭ'ima*, 8:3; for Nasā'ī, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 340; (14) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-adab*, 34:3. This *ḥadīth* is also recorded by Abū Dāwūd. See Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Kitāb al-jihād*, 72:1; (15) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, kitāb al-īmān*, 72:13; (16) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-zakāt*, 14:1; (17) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-maghāzī*, 71:1; This *ḥadīth* is also recorded by al-Nasā'ī, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, p. 341; (18) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ashriba*, 12:1. This *ḥadīth* is also transmitted by Ibn Māja. See Ibn Māja, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ashriba*, 16:1; (19) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ṣawm*, 4:2; (20) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-manāsik*, 17:28. This *ḥadīth* is also recorded by Dāwūd and al-Nasā'ī, see Abū Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-manāsik*, 23:9; al-Nasā'ī, *Kitāb al-manāsik*, 98:1; (21) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-al-ṭibb*, 11:4; (22) Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Kitāb al-sunna*, 9:22. See also al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-manāqib*, 132; (23) al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-sayr*, 28:1; (24) al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-manāsik*, 71; (25) al-Nasā'ī, *fi'l-ṭibb*. Readers are referred to al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 341; (26) al-Nasā'ī, *fi'l-tafsīr*. Readers are referred to al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 341; (27) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-Libās*, 20:1. This *ḥadīth* is also recorded by Abū Dāwūd, al-Nasā'ī and al-Tirmidhī. See Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Kitāb al-adab*, 36:1; al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-zīna*, 105; al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-isti'dhān*, 54:2.

<sup>31</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ru'yā*, 24.

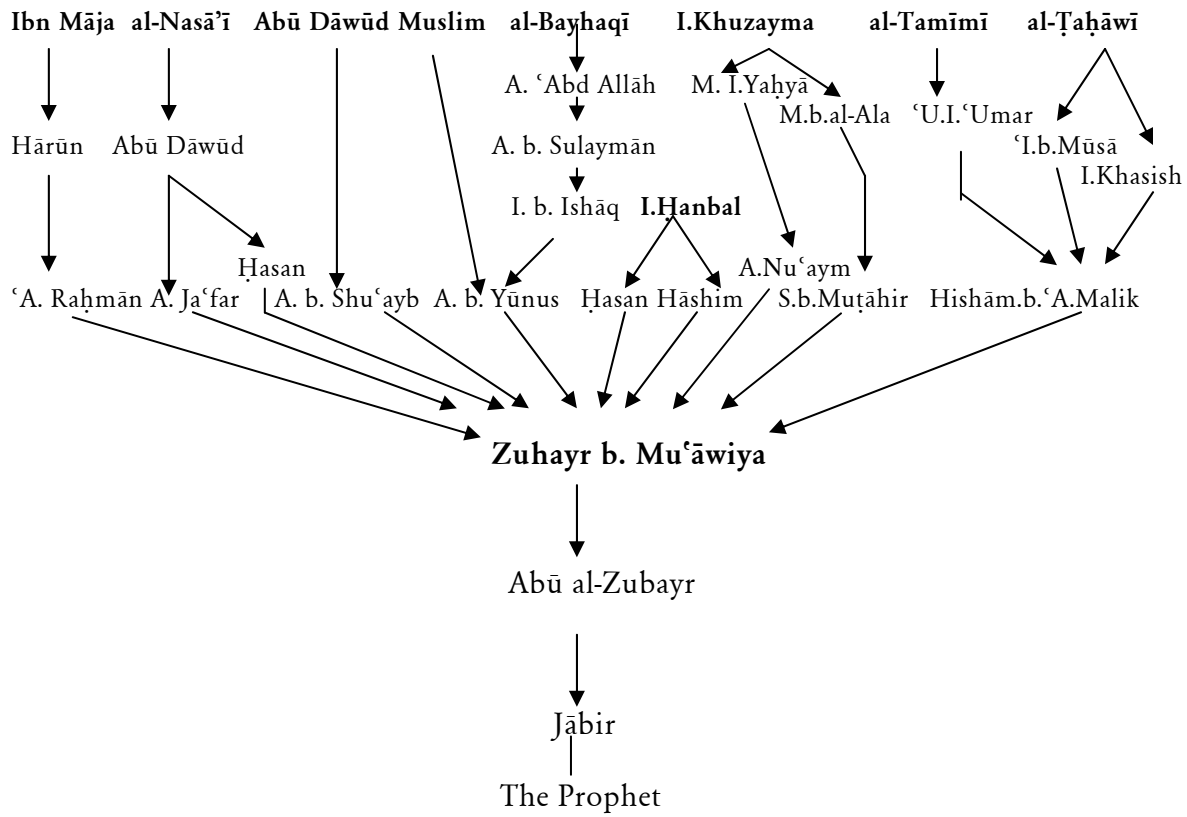
the *ḥadīth* directly from his informant? Does this mean that we should not understand the terms *sami'a*, *'an* etc, as reflecting the mode of transmission, as the *ḥadīth* critics claim they do? Why does al-Albānī accept without question the claim of al-Layth to have transmitted from Abū al-Zubayr only those *ḥadīths* which the latter heard from Jābir? These questions suggest to me that al-Albānī either failed to consider the entire transmission of al-Layth from Abū al-Zubayr from Jābir, or that he applied the methods of traditional *ḥadīth* sciences (*ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*) inconsistently.

**c. The analysis of the ḤADĪTH “LĀ TADHBAḤŪ ILLĀ MUSINNATAN....” according to the method of traditional Muslim scholars.**

**A. ISNĀD analysis**

The *ḥadīth* is found in several canonical and non-canonical collections.<sup>32</sup> See diagram two.

Diagram two



All transmitters of the *ḥadīth*, from the collectors to Zuhayr b. Mu'āwiya (d. 173 A.H.), claim to have received the *ḥadīth* directly from their respective

<sup>32</sup> Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 3, 312, 327; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-ḍaḥāyā*, 2:1; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, *Kitāb al-ḍaḥāyā*, 5:1; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, *Kitāb al-ḍaḥāyā*, 7:4; al-Nasā'ī, *Kitāb al-ḍaḥāyā*, 13:1; Ibn Khuzayma, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Muḥammad Mustafā al-A'zamī (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1395/1975), 2918; *Musnad Abū Ya'lā al-Mawṣalī*, ed. Ḥusayn Salīm Asad (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'mūn li'l-Turāth, n.d.), vol. 4, 210; Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Salāma al-

informants, for in their transmission they use the terms, *ḥaddathanā*, *akhbaranā* and *anba'anā* (all equivalents of *sami'a*). Therefore, the transmission of the *ḥadīth* to this point is, from a Muslim point of view, uninterrupted (*muttaṣil*). All students of Zuhayr, except 'Abd Raḥmān,<sup>33</sup> report that Zuhayr transmitted the *ḥadīth* directly from Abū al-Zubayr, that is, Zuhayr uses the expression "*ḥaddathanā* Abū al-Zubayr". Zuhayr himself is considered reliable by *ḥadīth* critics.<sup>34</sup> Thus, even though Zuhayr is the only person who transmitted the *ḥadīth* from Abū al-Zubayr, his transmission, according to the method of traditional Muslim scholarship, is considered uninterrupted.

The next stage is the transmission of Abū al-Zubayr from Jābir. All collectors who recorded the *ḥadīth* report that Abū al-Zubayr did not specify how he received it from Jābir. Put differently, Abū al-Zubayr is reported to have used the term "*an*", which implies ambiguity. The reliability of such a transmission, in the view of Muslim scholarship, depends upon the reliability of Abū al-Zubayr in the eyes of *ḥadīth* critics. It is at this point that al-Albānī classifies the *ḥadīth* as weak, for, he says, Abū al-Zubayr is a *mudallis* and he does not explicitly state how he received the *ḥadīth* from Jābir. The question may be asked: On what ground does al-Albānī label Abū al-Zubayr as a *mudallis*? Is he really a *mudallis* whose transmission is to be rejected?

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Ṭahāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār* (Mu'assasat al-risāla, n.d.), vol. 14. 412-3; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā* (Beirut: Dār iḥyā al-turāth al-'arabī, n.d.), vol. 9, 269.

<sup>33</sup> In Ibn Māja, 'Abd Raḥmān says "*anba'anā* Zuhayr *an* Abū al-Zubayr".

<sup>34</sup> He is considered reliable (*thiqa ḥujja*) by Ibn 'Uyayna, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Ibn Ma'in, Abū Ḥātim, Abū Zur'a, al-Nasā'ī, al-Dhahabī, and others. See al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa'l-ta'dīl* (Beirut: Dār iḥyā al-turāth, 1372/1953), vol. 3, 588-9; Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif fī ma'rifat man lahu riwāya fī al-kutub al-sitta* (Beirut, 1403/1983) vol. 1, 256; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmā' al-rijāl*, ed. Bashhār 'Awād Ma'ruf (Beirut, 1418/1998), vol. 9, 420-5. Abū Zur'a regards him as reliable (*thiqa*). But Zuhayr heard Abū Ishāq after the latter's intellect became corrupted (*ikhtilāt*). Al-Nasā'ī also considers him to be reliable, but Zuhayr's transmission from Abū Ishāq is considered to be loose (*layyin*). According to al-Dhahabī, the looseness of Zuhayr's transmission from Abū Ishāq is not because of Zuhayr, but of Abū Ishāq. Al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i'tidāl fī naqd al-rijāl*, ed. Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn al-Na'sānī (Cairo, 1325/1907), vol. 2, 82; idem, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* (3rd ed., Haydarabad, 1375/1955), vol. 1, 233; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb* (Haydarabad, 1325-27), vol. 3, 351-3; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab* (Cairo, 1350) vol. 1, 282; al-Khazrajī, *Khulāṣat tahdhīb tahdhīb al-kamāl* (Cairo, n.d.), vol. 1, 340-1. Thus, although Zuhayr's transmission from Abū Ishāq is considered to be loose, Zuhayr is generally regarded by *ḥadīth* critics as reliable. Moreover, our case has nothing to do with Zuhayr's transmission from Abū Ishāq.

## B. Abū al-Zubayr

Abū al-Zubayr Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Tadrus<sup>35</sup> was a Meccan scholar who reported from Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh, Ibn ‘Umar, Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar b. al-‘Āṣ, ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, and Abū Ṭufayl. Many prominent scholars reported from him, including Sufyān al-Thawrī, al-Awzā‘ī, Mālik, Shu‘ba, al-Zuhrī, and ‘Aṭā’ (one of al-Zubayr’s teacher). As a transmitter, Abū al-Zubayr received only a few assessments from scholars, some positive and others negative. Shu‘ba, for example, expressed a violent dislike for him. He said to Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, “You take from Abū al-Zubayr when he does not know how to pray well?” (*ta’khudh min Abī al-Zubayr wa-huwa lā yaḥsunu an yuṣalliya*). Shu‘ba reportedly tore a book belonging to Hushaym because the latter had listened to Abū al-Zubayr.<sup>36</sup> Al-Shāfi‘ī said that Abū al-Zubayr was in need of support (*yaḥtāj ilā al-di‘āma*). Abū Ḥātim and Abū Zur‘a did not regard his *ḥadīths* as a proof-text (*ḥujja*).<sup>37</sup> Ayyūb called his *ḥadīths* “weak”. Some scholars labeled him a *mudallis*.<sup>38</sup> Accordingly, his *ḥadīths* were to be taken as a proof-text only when he specifically stated that he had heard them directly from his informant.<sup>39</sup>

Although disparaged by some scholars, Abū al-Zubayr was praised by others. Ibn Ma‘īn, al-Nasā‘ī, and Ibn al-Madīnī classify him as reliable (*thiqa*). Al-Rāzī considers his *ḥadīth* to be proof-text. Ibn ‘Adī takes him as *thiqa* by virtue of the fact that Mālik transmitted a number of *ḥadīths* from him, and Mālik transmitted from none but a reliable transmitter. He is reliable in himself.<sup>40</sup> ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ reportedly said, “We were at Jābir’s lecture to listen to his *ḥadīths*, and Abū al-Zubayr was the one of us who memorized the most *ḥadīth*” (*kāna aḥfazunā li’l ḥadīth*).<sup>41</sup> Taken at face value, these assessments are irreconcilable. In such a case, we may take recourse to the *‘ulūm al-ḥadīth*, according to which, if two assessments (one positive and

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<sup>35</sup> Al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta’dīl*, vol. 8, 74-6; al-Khazrajī, *Tahdhīb tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmā’ al-rijāl*, vol. 2, 456; al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, vol. 3, 84; idem, *Tadḥkirat al-ḥuffāz*, vol. 1, 126-7; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 9, 440-3; Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz*, ed. ‘Alī Muḥammad ‘Umar (Cairo, 1393/1976), 50-1.

<sup>36</sup> Al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ*, vol. 8, 75; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 9, 441.

<sup>37</sup> Al-Khazrajī, *Khulāṣat tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 2, 456.

<sup>38</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, vol. 3, 84.

<sup>39</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Tadḥkirat al-ḥuffāz*, vol. 1, 127.

<sup>40</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 9, 442-3.

<sup>41</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Tadḥkirat al-ḥuffāz*, vol. 1, 126-7; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 9, 443.

the other negative) are attributed to one transmitter, priority is given to the negative assessment (*al-jarḥ*), provided that it is explained; otherwise one relies on the positive assessment (*al-ta'dīl*).<sup>42</sup> However, in my view, this does not seem to help us to determine the reliability of Abū al-Zubayr's transmission. No general assessment may be applied to Abū al-Zubayr. Each of his traditions must be treated on its own merits.

### c. MATN analysis

Although the *isnād* is a decisive criterion for the authenticity of a particular *ḥadīth*, the *matn* is not completely neglected in traditional *ḥadīth* scholarship. In this regard, Muslim says, in the introduction to his *Ṣaḥīḥ*:

The characteristic of *munkar* in the traditions of a [certain] transmitter is that, after a comparison is made, his *riwāya* (transmission) contradicts, or – in any case – hardly corresponds with, the *riwāya* of other transmitters who have satisfactory memories. If the majority of such a transmitter's traditions are of this sort, they are left out of consideration, they will not be accepted, nor will they be put to any use.<sup>43</sup>

Muslim's statement implies that it is possible to assess the quality of a transmitter by comparing his transmission to that of other scholars. I am not going to deal with this issue in detail. Suffice it to say that *matn* analysis<sup>44</sup> should be taken into account in *ḥadīth* analysis. According to al-Albānī, the *ḥadīths* of 'Uqba and Mujāshi', which specifically allow the sacrifice of a ram (*al-jadhā'*) have reliable *isnāds*. Instead of taking them as confirming the *ḥadīth* in question, however, Albānī interpretes them by quoting the *ḥadīth* of al-Barrā', from which he infers that the permission was not meant to be general. Pace al-Albānī, however, one may also take the *ḥadīths* that state the permissibility of sacrificing *al-jadhā'* as corroborating the *ḥadīth* under review. Likewise, one may argue that the *ḥadīth* of al-Barrā'

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<sup>42</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī, *Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, ed. Nūr al-Dīn 'Itr (Medina, 1966) 99; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-kifāya fī 'ilm al-riwāya* (Haiderabad, 1357 A.H.), 105. Maḥmūd al-Taḥḥān, *Uṣūl al-takhrīj wa-dirāsāt al-asānīd* (Riyad 1417), 143.

<sup>43</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:5 (Juynboll's translation); cf. G.H.A. Juynboll, "Muslim 's Introduction", 269.

<sup>44</sup> Muslim scholars have established general principles for the criticism of *matns*. Zubayr Ṣiddīqī writes: "A tradition must not be contrary to the other traditions which have already been accepted by the authorities on the subject as authentic and reliable. Nor should it contradict the text of the Qur'ān, a *mutawātir ḥadīth*, the absolute consensus of the community (*ijmā' qat'i*), or the accepted basic principles of Islam." For more details, see Muḥammad Zubayr Ṣiddīqī, *Ḥadīth Literature, Its Origin, Development & Special Feature* (Cambridge, 1993) 114-5.

does not necessarily prohibit other people from sacrificing *al-jadhā'*. It may merely indicate that it is recommended to sacrifice a mature cow (*al-musinna*).

#### d. The analysis of the ḤADĪTH according to the methods of non-Muslim scholars.

In order to assess the historicity of a particular tradition, non-Muslim scholars take recourse to methods of dating that they developed themselves. At least four methods of dating have been used in non-Muslim *ḥadīth* scholarship: (1) Dating on the basis of *matn* analysis, favoured by e.g., Ignaz Goldziher<sup>45</sup> and Marston Speight;<sup>46</sup> (2) dating on the basis of *isnād* analysis, which has been particularly developed by Joseph Schacht<sup>47</sup> and G.H.A. Juynboll;<sup>48</sup> (3) dating on the basis of *ḥadīth* collections, practiced by Schacht und Juynboll;<sup>49</sup> (4) and dating on the basis of *isnād-cum-matn* analysis, which has been proposed by Harald Motzki<sup>50</sup> and G. Schoeler.<sup>51</sup> In this article I will neither deal with how the methods work, nor undertake an assessment of the extent to which we can place credence in them. This has been carried out in detail by Harald Motzki.<sup>52</sup>

In the present case we must use the second method, for reasons that will become clear below. The *ḥadīth* in question is recorded in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*. Ibn Ḥanbal gives two *isnāds*. The *matn* is identical. Both of his informants claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from the same source: Zuhayr b. Mu'āwiya. Both lines are single strand until they reach the Prophet. It is possible that Ibn Ḥanbal himself may have fabricated the *ḥadīth* or may have taken it from someone else who fabricated it. However, the *ḥadīth* was

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<sup>45</sup> Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien* (Halle, 1889-1890).

<sup>46</sup> R. Marston Speight, "The Will of Sa'd b. a. Waqqāṣ: The Growth of a Tradition", *Der Islam* 50 (1973), 249-67.

<sup>47</sup> Schacht, *Origins*.

<sup>48</sup> G.H.A. Juynboll, *Studies on the Origins*.

<sup>49</sup> Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, 93-133.

<sup>50</sup> Harald Motzki, "Quo vadis Hadīṭ Forschung", 40-80; idem, "The Prophet and the Cat", 18-83; idem, "The Murder of Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq," in *The Biography of Muḥammad: The Issue of the Sources*, ed. H. Motzki (Leiden, 2000), 170-239.

<sup>51</sup> G. Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie der muslimischen Überlieferung über das Leben Moḥammeds*, (Berlin/New York 1996); idem, "Mūsā b. Uqba's Maghāzī", *The Biography of Muḥammad*, 67-97.

<sup>52</sup> Motzki, "Dating Muslim Traditions. A Survey", in *Traditions of Islam: Understanding the Ḥadīth*, ed. P. Hardy (London 2002).



recorded not only by Ibn Ḥanbal but also by Muslim, Ibn Māja, Abū Dāwūd, al-Nasā'ī, Ibn Khuzayma, al-Bayhaqī, al-Tamīmī and al-Ṭaḥāwī. The *matns* are identical; the *isnāds* are different. How can we explain this pattern? Is it plausible to assume that Muslim, Ibn Māja, al-Nasā'ī, Abū Dāwūd and the other collectors copied the tradition from Ibn Ḥanbal? The presence of different informants in their respective transmissions and those of other collectors does not support this assumption. It seems more plausible to assume that the different lines of transmission are independent. If Muslim, Ibn Māja, Abū Dāwūd, al-Nasā'ī, and the other collectors had simply copied the *matn* of Ibn Ḥanbal's *ḥadīth* and provided it with different *isnāds*, why would they have changed the *isnād* only up to the common link, Zuhayr b. Mu'āwiya (d. 173 A.H.)? Is it a pure coincidence?

There are two explanations for the structure of diagram 2 (p. 11). It either reflects the real process of transmission, which means that the *ḥadīth* in question goes back to Zuhayr b. Mu'āwiya, who must be the source, i.e., the one who spread the tradition, or the common link is the result of systematic forgery. Many non-Muslim scholars would favor the second assumption. Wansbrough, for example, who considers all early Muslim texts to have emerged much later than previously thought,<sup>53</sup> regards the *isnād* system as interdependent and accordingly rejects it as a methodological tool for the analysis of any early Muslim text.<sup>54</sup> Similarly, Michael Cook, who argues against the utility of the common link for the purposes of dating, would explain what happened as follows: Someone living in the second generation following Zuhayr (e.g. Muslim) was the first person to circulate the *ḥadīth* with his *isnād*. Muslim's contemporaries took it from him but did not want to be seen transmitting from a contemporary. Some of them skipped him and replaced his informant with Aḥmad b. Shu'ayb.<sup>55</sup> Thus, Zuhayr b. Mu'āwiya may have become a common link without having had anything to do with the *ḥadīth* in question. Following Cook's principles of *isnād* analysis, this exhausts the game of dating the *ḥadīth* in question.

Patricia Crone also argues against using Schacht's common link theory for the purposes of dating. She argues that the common link method

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<sup>53</sup> Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies* (Oxford University Press, 1977); idem, *The Sectarian Milieu*.

<sup>54</sup> Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies*, 140.

<sup>55</sup> Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, 109-11.

of dating is invalidated by the Schacht's observations on the phenomenon of the spread of *isnāds*. In this instance, Crone follows Cook. She concludes, "In practice traditions cannot usually be dated absolutely and even relative chronologies can be hard to obtain"<sup>56</sup>

Unlike Cook and Crone, who consider the common link phenomenon to be a result of forgery, Juynboll claims that the common link phenomenon can be used to date a particular tradition. In his view, however, only a common link that has partial common links (pcls), which themselves have pcls can be relied upon historically.<sup>57</sup> Juynboll would interpret the single strand in our *isnād* bundle as having been invented outright by the collectors.<sup>58</sup> A cursory look at the *isnād* bundle of the *ḥadīth* under scrutiny, however, shows that Zuhayr b. Mu'āwiya is a real common link. No fewer than ten transmission lines go back to him. Zuhayr has two pcls: Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik and Aḥmad b. Yūnus. In other words, Juynboll would argue that the ascription of the *ḥadīth* to Zuhayr is historically reliable, indeed unshakable. However, using Juynboll's method, the structure of the bundle does not allow us to say anything about the names under the common link. Thus, Juynboll would argue that it was Zuhayr b. Mu'āwiya (d. 173 A.H.) who first put the *ḥadīth* into circulation some time in the last quarter of the second century A.H..

The assumption that Zuhayr b. Mu'āwiya is the common link of our *ḥadīth* entails that he either fabricated it or was its first systematic collector. To put it differently, it was Zuhayr who put our *ḥadīth* into circulation. Since Zuhayr died in 173 A.H, we can conclude that this *ḥadīth* was known in the last quarter of the second century A.H.

Is Zuhayr's date of death a *terminus post quem* or a *terminus ante quem*, that is, can we date the *ḥadīth* prior to Zuhayr? The answer depends on how we interpret the common link in an *isnād* bundle. Schacht,<sup>59</sup> Juynboll<sup>60</sup> and

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<sup>56</sup> Patricia Crone, *Roman, Provincial and Islamic Law. The Origins of Islamic Patronate* (Cambridge University Press, 1987), 30.

<sup>57</sup> Juynboll, "Nāfi', the *mawla* of Ibn 'umar, and his position in Muslim *ḥadīth* literature" *Der Islam*, 70 (1993), 211.

<sup>58</sup> For Juynboll's explanation of the single strand phenomena, see his article "Nāfi', the *mawla* of Ibn 'Umar...", 207-44.

<sup>59</sup> Schacht, *Origins*, 171-2.

<sup>60</sup> Juynboll, "Some *isnād*-analytical methods...", 359, 369. In his later articles, however, Juynboll has modified the prerequisites for a transmitter to be a common link. From this we infer that he would not consider Zuhayr b. Mu'āwiya to be the common link of the

others claim that the common link is the originator and fabricator of the *ḥadīth* in question. Motzki argues that the common link may be the first systematic collector.<sup>61</sup>

Whereas the methods of Schacht and Juynboll do not allow us to pursue the question of dating any further, Motzki does not reject *a priori* the common link's claim to have received something from the authority he quotes,<sup>62</sup> nor does he conclude *a priori* that all of the information or part of it really came from the common link's informants.<sup>63</sup> In other words, he does not give a specific answer to the question of whether or not the common link's informants are historical. Rather, he suggests that this question must be investigated on a case-by-case basis. On the basis of detailed analyses, Motzki has argued that some *ḥadīths* originated prior to the lifetime of its common link.<sup>64</sup> In some cases, the dating that he establishes suggests that the tradition in question, or at least its core, reflects events that took place during the lifetime of the Prophet. With regard to the murder of Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq,<sup>65</sup> for example, Motzki has established that the transmission of this event, in which Zuhri is the common link, is rightfully ascribed to the Successor Ka'b b. Mālik (Zuhri's informant). This tradition, therefore, is to be dated to the last quarter of the first century A.H.<sup>66</sup> The core of the tradition is much older, however, going back to reports circulated by participants in the military expedition (*ghazwa*) that took place during the Prophet's lifetime. In the present case, however, we cannot date the *ḥadīth* under review earlier than the lifetime of Zuhayr, even using Motzki's *isnād-cum-matn* method of dating, for no variant texts are available. Stated otherwise, all *matns* of the *ḥadīth* are identical. Motzki would probably regard this fact as an indication that the transmission of the *ḥadīth* is not older than Zuhayr.

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*ḥadīth* but rather a "seeming common link". See, Juynboll, "Nāfi', the *mawlā* of Ibn 'Umar...", 207-44.

<sup>61</sup> See footnote 25.

<sup>62</sup> Motzki, "The Collection of the *Qur'ān*...", 30.

<sup>63</sup> Motzki, "Der Prophet und die Schuldner", 10.

<sup>64</sup> Motzki, "Ar-radd 'alā r-radd - Zur Methodik der *ḥadīth* - Analyse" *Der Islam* 78 (2001), 151.

<sup>65</sup> H. Motzki, "The Murder of Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq..." in *The Biography of Muhammad: The Issue of the Sources*, 170-239.

<sup>66</sup> See also Motzki, "The Prophet and the Cat," in which he argues that the *ḥadīth* in question is not to be dated to the time of the common link, Ishāq b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Ṭalḥa (d. 130-134). The *ḥadīth* was put into circulation by the family of the Companion Abū

Gregor Schoeler has developed a method similar to that of Motzki. He, too, assumes that the common link does not have to be regarded as the fabricator of a particular *ḥadīth*. His method of dating a particular *ḥadīth* pushes things back before the lifetime of the common link. In his article, "Mūsā b. 'Uqba's *Maghāzī*", he argues that the common link, Zuhri (d. 124 A.H.), really received the *ḥadīth* in question from 'Urwa b. Zubayr (d. 94 A.H.), for several of his traditions go back to 'Urwa, not only in the Zuhri transmission but also in the independent transmission of Hishām, a son of 'Urwa.<sup>67</sup> Additionally, analyzing the *ḥadīth al-ifk*, Schoeler argues that the common link, Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri, really received the *ḥadīth* in question from his informant, 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, and did not fabricate it.<sup>68</sup> This *ḥadīth*, therefore, was already circulating in the first century A.H. Motzki and Schoeler are not as sceptical about the historicity of single strand transmissions as Juynboll is, but they are not as optimistic as most Muslim scholars are.

When we apply non-Muslim methods of dating a particular *ḥadīth*, whether optimistic or sceptical, to the *ḥadīth* under review, it seems that we cannot push the date of the *ḥadīth* back further than the lifetime of the common link. There are no corroborating *isnād* bundles or supporting *matns*, at least in the canonical collections. It is true that there are other *ḥadīths* in Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* and 'Abd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf* that deal with the permissibility of sacrificing *al-jadhā*,<sup>69</sup> but they cannot be taken to corroborate the *ḥadīth* under review, for the *matns* are very different. Using non-Muslim methods of dating, it seems, therefore, that Zuhayr's date of death is the *terminus ante quem*. This view is different from that of al-Albānī, who takes at face value Zuhayr's claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from his informant, Abu al-Zubayr.

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Qatāda, i.e., in the last quarter of the first century A.H. For another example, see A. Görke, "Die frühislamische Gesichtsüberlieferung zu Hudaybiyya," *Der Islam*, 74 (1997), 193-237.

<sup>67</sup> Gregor Schoeler, "Musa b. 'Uqba's *Maghāzī*," 86; idem, *Charakter und Authentie*, 20, 144, 150.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 20, 144.

<sup>69</sup> See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-aḍāḥī*, 2 ("ḥaddathanā Mu'adh b. Fuḍāla ḥaddathanā Hishām 'an Yaḥyā 'an Ba'ja al-Juhannī 'an 'Uqba b. 'Amir qāla qassama al-nabī ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallam bayna aṣḥābihi ḍaḥāyā fa-ṣārat li-'Uqba jadha'atun fa-qultu yā rasūl Allāh ṣārat li jadha'atun qāla ḍaḥḥi bi-hā"). Cf. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, *Kitāb al-ḍaḥāyā*, 8153 ("'Abd Razzāq 'an al-Aslamī 'an Abī Jābir al-Bayāḍī 'an Ibn Musayyab 'an 'Uqba b. 'Amir qāla: qassamnā al-nabīy ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallam ghanaman fa-ṣāra li minhā jadha'un, fa-ḍaḥḥaytu bi-hi 'an ahli baytī thumma sa'altu rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallam fa-qāla: qad ajza'a 'ankum").

## e. Conclusion

Generally speaking, al-Albānī was faithful to the traditional Muslim method of authenticating a particular *ḥadīth*. However, his method for determining that a *ḥadīth* was weak is too general. He classifies the *ḥadīth* under review as “weak” because of Abū al-Zubayr's alleged tampering with its transmission (*tadlīs*). Al-Albānī's assessment of Abū al-Zubayr, however, is not based upon a comprehensive examination of Abū al-Zubayr's biography, nor upon an analytical study of his transmission; rather, it is based solely on the judgment of *ḥadīth* critics such as Abū Ḥātim, al-Dhahabī and others. The *ḥadīth* critics, however, do not unanimously disparage Abū al-Zubayr; indeed, some of them consider him to be reliable. In other words, we cannot assess Abu al-Zubayr's reliability on the basis of their opinions. Al-Albānī ignores this fact.

Al-Albānī's declaring weak the *ḥadīth* under review, based solely on a negative assessment of the reliability of Abū al-Zubayr, has serious consequences for other *ḥadīths*, of which al-Albānī was probably unaware. In the case of Abū al-Zubayr, al-Albānī's method leads to the result that we must question the historicity of at least 125 of his *ḥadīths* in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* (the number of instances in which the Abū al-Zubayr - Jābir link occurs in this text). The number increases if we include Abū al-Zubayr's transmissions found in other compilations. Moreover, al-Albānī's declaring this *ḥadīth* to be weak, based upon the fact that Abū al-Zubayr used the word “*an*”, does not take into account the likelihood that Muslim and other *ḥadīth* collectors did not regard the transmission terminology used by the early generation of Islam (Successors) as a decisive criterion for determining whether or not a transmitter is reliable. This can be seen from the fact that Muslim, for example, records not only the *sami'a* transmissions, but also the '*an*' transmissions of that generation.

The fact that al-Albānī accepts as reliable al-Layth's transmission from Abū al-Zubayr from Jābir confirms my assumption that he did not base his assessment upon a thorough analysis of the *ḥadīths*, but rather upon the statements of some *ḥadīth* critics like Ibn Ḥazm and al-Dhahabī. A check of the 27 *ḥadīths* transmitted by al-Layth from Abū al-Zubayr on the authority of Jābir and recorded in the canonical collections shows that in

only one case is Abū al-Zubayr reported to have transmitted directly from Jābir.

If we systematically apply the rules of the traditional *ḥadīth* sciences, which focus on the quality of transmitters, to the collections of *ḥadīths*, we may discover that numerous *ḥadīths*, heretofore considered “authentic” may be “inauthentic”. One may ask, however, on what grounds did third and fourth century A.H. scholars base their assessment of the reliability of first and second century A.H. scholars? What was the source of information about the "teacher and student relationship" in the biographical works? Were individual assessments based on real traditions circulated by students of a particular scholar or were they developed on the basis of *isnāds*? So long as we are unclear about the provenance of the source of information, and this information is regarded as a proof of the reliability of an *isnād*, the argument is circular. This subject awaits further research.

Our analysis of a *ḥadīth* classified as weak by al-Albānī, using both Muslim and non-Muslim methods, highlights the differences between the two approaches. Muslim scholars place a high value upon what the *ḥadīth* critics thought about the transmitters. Non-Muslim scholars are sceptical about this type of information or consider it devoid of any value. If they do not reject the *ḥadīths* as completely unreliable, they try to use other criteria to date them or to assess their reliability.

## **f. Appendix: the Abū al-Zubayr-Jābir links in Muslim's ṢAḤĪḤ.**

Of 22 *ḥadīths* with the Abū al-Zubayr-Jābir link in *kitāb al-buyū'* of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Abū al-Zubayr explicitly states that he heard the report directly from Jābir, using the expression “*sami'tu*” or “*sa'altu*” Jābir only 9 times. For the *ḥadīths* see Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *kitāb al-buyū'*, *bāb* 9, *ḥadīth* 1 (hereinafter written 9:1). The *ḥadīth* is also recorded in al-Nasā'ī, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 320; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-buyū'*, 16:2, 31:5; this *ḥadīth* is also recorded in Abū Dāwūd, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 319, Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-buyū'*, 8:14, 23:3, 24:1; the last mentioned *ḥadīth* (24:1) is recorded also in Abū Dāwūd, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 313, Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-buyū'*, 30:7, 17:10 and 29:2.

In the other 13 *ḥadīths*, Abū al-Zubayr does not explicitly state that his transmission is from Jābir but rather uses the word “*an*”. For the *ḥadīths* see Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-buyū'*, 29:1; this *ḥadīth* is also recorded in Ibn Māja, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 322. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-buyū'*, 16:7. This *ḥadīth* is also recorded by Abū Dāwūd, Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja, see Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 289; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *kitāb al-buyū'*, 42:6, 13:9, 17:13, 17:9, 6:3, 40:2, 23:2, 44, 49:2. The last mentioned *ḥadīth* (49:2) is also recorded in Abū Dāwūd and al-Nasā'ī; see, al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 317; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-buyū'*, 6:4. This *ḥadīth* is also recorded in al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 306, *Kitāb al-buyū'*, 49:1 (it is recorded by al-Nasā'ī, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 291).

In the *kitāb al-hibāt*, Muslim records 5 *ḥadīths* with the “Abū al-Zubayr-Jābir link”, all of which use the word “*an*”. That is to say, Abū al-Zubayr does not explicitly state how he received the 5 *ḥadīths* from Jābir. For the *ḥadīths* see Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-hibāt*, 4:10, 3:11, 4:8, 4:9, 4:11.

In the *Kitāb al-ashriba* Muslim records 17 *ḥadīths* with the “Abū al-Zubayr-Jābir link”. In only one of them does Abū al-Zubayr explicitly state that he heard the *ḥadīth* directly from Jābir, using the word “*sami'a*”. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-ashriba*, 33:2. For the *ḥadīth*, al-Mizzī refers the readers to *Kitāb al-aṭ'ima*, 16:2. The *ḥadīth* is also recorded in Ibn Māja, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 322. In the other 16 *ḥadīths*, he uses the preposition “*an*”. For the *ḥadīths* see Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-ashriba*, 6:39, 12:8, 12:3, 12:9, 12:4, 13:4. The last mentioned *ḥadīth* (13:4) is also recorded in al-Nasā'ī and

Ibn Māja, see al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 2, 340; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ashriba*, 13:3, 6:36, 6:38, 5:4. The last mentioned *ḥadīth* (5:4) is also recorded in al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja, see al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 2, 340; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ashriba*, 12:1. The *ḥadīth* is recorded by Ibn Māja as well, see al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 2, 341; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ashriba*, 12:2. It is also recorded by Abū Dāwūd and al-Tirmidhī, see al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 2, 343; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ashriba*, 33:3 (the text of this *ḥadīth* is identical with that of 33:2. However, the *isnād* is different and the term linking Abū al-Zubayr and Jābir in the first *ḥadīth* is “*an*”, while in the latter it is “*sami'a*”). *Kitāb al-ashriba*, 34:4, 18:8, 18:7.

In the *Kitāb al-salām*, Muslim records 10 *ḥadīths* with the link. In 4 of them Abū al-Zubayr uses the term “*sami'a*”, suggesting that he heard the *ḥadīth* directly from Jābir. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-salām*, 21:10, 21:11, 33:10, 34:15. The last mentioned *ḥadīth* (34:15) is also reported by al-Nasā'ī, see al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 2, 321. For the *ḥadīth*, however, al-Mizzī refers the readers to *Kitāb al-tibb*, 19:15. In the other 6 *ḥadīths*, Abū al-Zubayr uses the term “*an*”, which makes it unclear whether he heard the *ḥadīth* from Jābir or from someone else. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-salām*, 33:8, 26:8, 33:9, 8:1, 26:1 (the last mentioned *ḥadīth* (26:1) is recorded also by al-Nasā'ī, see al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 2, 310). Al-Mizzī, however, refers the reader to *Kitāb al-tibb*, 11:1; *Kitāb al-libās*, 26:4. This *ḥadīth* is recorded also by Abū Dāwūd and Ibn Māja, see al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 2, 338. Again al-Mizzī refers the reader to *Kitāb al-tibb*, 11:4.

In the *Kitāb al-libās*, Muslim records 11 *ḥadīths* with the Abū al-Zubayr-Jābir link. In only three of them does Abū al-Zubayr state that he heard the report directly from Jābir, using the word “*sami'a*”. For the *ḥadīths* see Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-libās*, 20:2, 32:11 and 1:31. The last mentioned *ḥadīth* (1:31) is also recorded by al-Nasā'ī. Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 2, 321. In the other 8 *ḥadīths* Abū al-Zubayr does not state how he received the *ḥadīths*. (For the *ḥadīths* see Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-libās*, 19:2, 23:1, 28:3, 20:3, 19:1, 17. The last mentioned *ḥadīth* (17) is also recorded by al-Nasā'ī, see al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 2, 346, Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-libās*, 23:2, 28:1. The last mentioned *ḥadīth* (28:1) is also recorded by al-Tirmidhī, see al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 2, 319.

In the *Kitāb al-aḍāḥī*, Muslim records 3 *ḥadīths* with the Abū al-Zubayr-Jābir link. In 2 of them, Abū al-Zubayr is reported to have said “*an*”.



See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-aḍāḥī*, 2:1. This *ḥadīth* is also recorded by Abū Dāwūd, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 298; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* 5:8. This *ḥadīth* is also recorded in al-Nasā'ī, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 243. In one of them, he said “*sami'a*”. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-aḍāḥī*, 2:2.

In the *Kitāb al-īmān*, Muslim records 12 *ḥadīths*. In 5 of them, Abū al-Zubayr uses the word “*an*”. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-īmān*, 48, 72:13, 6:7, 39:4, 9:4. The last mentioned *ḥadīth* (9:4) is also recorded by al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 302. In the other 7 *ḥadīths* Abū al-Zubayr uses the words “*sami'a*” and “*ḥaddathana*”. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-īmān*, 34:4, 15:3, 85:10, 22:13, 70:7, 83:6, 39:3. The text of the last mentioned *ḥadīth* (39:3), which contains the term “*sami'a*” is identical to 39:4, where we find “*an*”.

In the *Kitāb al-zakāt*, Muslim records 8 *ḥadīths* with the Abū al-Zubayr-Jābir link. In 3 of them Abū al-Zubayr uses the term “*sami'a*”. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-zakāt*, 7:6, 2, 48:2 (there are two *isnāds* for this *ḥadīth* and Abū al-Zubayr reportedly used the word “*sami'a*” in the first *isnād*. That is, Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā - 'Abd al-Wahhāb - Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd - Abū al-Zubayr - Jābir. In the second *isnād* Jābir reportedly used the word “*an*”. That is, Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba - Zayd b. Luḥbāb - Qurra b. Khālid - Abū al-Zubayr - Jābir.) In the other 5 he said “*an*”. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-zakāt*, 7:7. This *ḥadīth* is recorded by al-Nasā'ī, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 311; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-zakāt*, 14:2. This *ḥadīth* is recorded also by Abū Dāwūd and al-Nasā'ī, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 289; *Kitāb al-zakāt*, 1:9, 14:1, 48:1.

In the *Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, Muslim mentions 17 *ḥadīths* with the link. In only one of them does Abū al-Zubayr use the word “*sami'a*”. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, 103:6. In the other 16 *ḥadīths* he uses the word “*an*”. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, 60:7, 52:9, 131:2, 129:2, 70:5, 164:5, 52:11 (in this *ḥadīth* we find “*annahū ra'ā Jābir*”), 111:4 (this *ḥadīth* is also recorded by Abū Dāwūd and al-Tirmidhī, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 298), 60:8 (this *ḥadīth* is also transmitted by Abū Dāwūd, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 299), 19:9 (also transmitted by al-Nasā'ī, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 310), 130:1 (also recorded by Ibn Māja, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 321), 19:8 (also transmitted by Abū Dāwūd, al-Nasā'ī, Ibn Māja, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 338), 36:5 (also recorded by al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 339), 60:7

(also recorded by al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja, see al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 2, 339), 179:6 (also recorded by al-Nasā'ī, see al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 2, 340), 197:1 (also recorded by Abū Dāwūd and al-Nasā'ī, see al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 2, 350).

In the *Kitāb al-nikāḥ*, Muslim records 8 *ḥadīths* with the link. In two of them, Abū al-Zubayr says that he heard the *ḥadīths* directly from Jābir. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-nikāḥ*, 7:7, 3:7. In 5 *ḥadīths*, he uses the word “*an*”. For the *ḥadīths* see Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-nikāḥ*, 22:13, 16:10, 22:18, 16:11, 2:1. The last mentioned (2:1) is also transmitted by Abū Dāwūd, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī, see al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 2, 350. In one *ḥadīth*, Abū al-Zubayr says, “*qāla Jābir*”. For the *ḥadīth* see Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-nikāḥ*, 2:3.

In the *Kitāb al-ṭalāq*, Muslim records 2 *ḥadīths* with the chain, one of which uses the term “*an*”. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ṭalāq*, 4:10. For the other he uses “*sami'a*”. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ṭalāq*, 7. This *ḥadīth* is also recorded by Abū Dāwūd, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja, see al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 2, 314. In the *Kitāb ṣifat al-janna*, Muslim records two *ḥadīths* with the chain, one of which uses term “*an*” (7:5) and the other uses the term “*sami'a*” (7:4).

In the *Kitāb al-manāsik*, Muslim records 27 *ḥadīths*, only 9 of which use “*sami'a*”. For the *ḥadīths* see Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-manāsik*, 53:2, 17:33 (also recorded in Abū Dāwūd and al-Nasā'ī, see al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 2, 315), 51:1 (recorded by Abū Dāwūd and al-Nasā'ī, see al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 2, 316), 65:7 (also recorded by Abū Dāwūd and al-Nasā'ī, see al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 2, 318), 52 (also recorded by al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī, see al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 2, 318), 17:29 (also recorded by Abū Dāwūd, see al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 2, 318), 2:7, 62:4, 65:8. In the other 18 Abū al-Zubayr uses the term “*an*”. For the *ḥadīths* see Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-manāsik*, 1:7, 17:31, 62:31, 84:2, 84:3 (also recorded by al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī, see al-Mizzī, vol. 2, 334), 85:4 (also recorded by al-Nasā'ī, see al-Mizzī, vol. 2, 303), 53:1 (also recorded by Abū Dāwūd, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja, see al-Mizzī, vol. 2, 312), 55:1, 42:2, 17:30, 17:32, 62:7, 62:3, 62:1 (also recorded by al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī, Ibn Māja and Abū Dāwūd, see al-Mizzī, vol. 2, 342), 17:27, 54, 83, 53:1.

In the *Kitāb al-ṭahāra*, Muslim records 3 *ḥadīths* with the Jābir - Abū al-Zubayr chain. Two of them use the term “*sami'a*”. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ṭahāra*, 17:3 (also recorded by Abū Dāwūd, see al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 2,

297), 8:6, and one uses the term “*an*”. (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ṭabāra*, 28:1 [also recorded by al-Nasā’ī and Ibn Māja, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 339]).

In the *Kitāb al-Adab*, Muslim records 4 *ḥadīths* with the link. In two of them, Abū al-Zubayr explicitly states that he received the *ḥadīths* from Jābir, using the words “*ḥaddathana*”, (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-adab*, 14:14) and “*sami’a*” (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-adab*, 25:12). In the two others, he uses the term “*an*”. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-adab*, 16:1, 34:3 (the last is also recorded by Dāwūd, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 340).

In the *Kitāb al-faḍā’il*, Muslim records 6 *ḥadīths* with the chain, two of which use the term “*sami’a*”. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-faḍā’il*, 70:1, 99:3. The other 4 use the term “*an*”. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-faḍā’il*, 82:3, 3:5, 3:6, 92:4.

In the *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, Muslim records only one *ḥadīth* with the chain, using the term “*sami’a*”. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 49:3. In the *Kitāb al-ḥudūd*, Muslim records two *ḥadīths* with the chain. In one of them, Abū al-Zubayr uses the term “*sami’a*”. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ḥudūd*, 6:6 (also recorded by Abū Dāwūd, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 319, al-Mizzī refers the reader to 17:6). In the other one, he uses “*an*”. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ḥudūd*, 2:4.

In the *Kitāb al-imāra*, Muslim records 5 *ḥadīths*. In three of them, Abū al-Zubayr uses the term “*sami’a*”. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-imāra*, 1:3 (al-Mizzī refers the reader to *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, 54:3, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 328) 18:4 (al-Mizzī refers the reader to *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, 71:4, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 328), 18:3 (al-Mizzī refers the reader to *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, 71:3, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 328). In two cases he used the word “*an*”. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-imāra*, 18:1 (al-Mizzī refers the reader to *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 17:1, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 341), 18:2, *Kitāb al-imāra*, 18:2 (al-Mizzī refers the reader to *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, 71:2. The *ḥadīth* is also reported by al-Nasā’ī, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 306.)

In the *Kitāb al-ṣayd*, Muslim records 3 *ḥadīths* with the Jābir - Abū al-Zubayr chain. In two of them, Abū al-Zubayr uses words indicating direct contact (*samā’*), that is, “*sami’a*” (one *ḥadīth*) and “*sa’ala*” (one *ḥadīth*). See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ṣayd*, 7:15, 7:16. In one *ḥadīth* he uses the word “*an*”. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ṣayd*, 4:1 (also recorded by Abū Dāwūd, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 300.)

In the *Kitāb al-ru'yā*, Muslim records 5 *ḥadīths* with the chain. Only one of them uses the term “*sami'a*”. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ru'yā*, 2:4. It is also recorded by al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 339. The other 4 *ḥadīths* use the term “*an*”. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ru'yā*, 2:3. The text of this *ḥadīth* (2:3) which uses the term “*an*” is similar to that of the *ḥadīth* 2:4 which uses the term “*sami'a*”. The first has a long version, while the latter has a short one. *Kitāb al-ru'yā*, 2:5, 1:8, 3:1. The last mentioned *ḥadīth* (3:1) is also recorded by Ibn Māja and al-Nasā'ī. See Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 339.

In the *Kitāb al-ṣiyām*, Muslim records 2 *ḥadīths* with the Jābir – Abū al-Zubayr chain. In one of them, Abū al-Zubayr says that he listened to Jābir (*sami'a* Jābir). See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-ṣiyām*, 4:3. In the other one, he uses the term “*an*”. See Muslim, *Kitāb al-ṣiyām*, 4:2.

In the *Kitāb al-janā'iz*, Muslim records 7 *ḥadīths* with the chain. Abū al-Zubayr says that he heard it directly from Jābir in four of them. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-janā'iz*, 32:2, 50, 24: 7, 24:8. In the other 3 *ḥadīths*, Abū al-Zubayr says “*an*”. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-janā'iz*, 32:1. The text of this *ḥadīth* is identical with that of *ḥadīth* 32:2; however, the *isnād* and terms used are different. In the *isnād* of the first (Abū Bakr – Ḥaṣṣ b. Ghiyāth – Ibn Jurayj – Abū al-Zubayr – Jābir) we find the term “*an*” between Abū al-Zubayr and Jābir. In the *isnād* of the second (Hārūn b. 'Abd Allāh – Ḥajjāj – Ibn Jurayj – Abū al-Zubayr – Jābir) we find “*sami'a*”. For other *ḥadīths* see *Kitāb al-Janā'iz*, 32:3 (this *ḥadīth* is also recorded by al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 289), 22:6 (also recorded by al-Nasā'ī, see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, 290.) In the *Kitāb al-dhabā'iḥ*, Muslim records 2 *ḥadīths* with the chain. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-dhabā'iḥ*, 6:2, 12:6. Abū al-Zubayr heard directly from Jābir in both cases.

In the *Kitāb al-Qadar*, Muslim records 2 *ḥadīths* with the chain as well. In both cases Abū al-Zubayr used the term “*an*”. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-Qadr*, 1:13, 1:14.

In the *kitāb al-isti'dhān* (for this chapter, I follow al-Mizzī's edition), Muslim records 4 *ḥadīths*. In 2 of them Abū al-Zubayr uses the term “*sami'a*” (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-isti'dhān*, 2:5, 14:9) and in the other 2 he uses “*an*” (see Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-isti'dhān*, 18:1, 21:6).

In the *Kitāb al-tawba*, Muslim records 3 *ḥadīths* with the chain, all of them with “*sami‘a*”. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-tawba*, 31:10, 30:5, 13:15.

In the *Kitāb al-‘itq*, Muslim records only one *ḥadīth* in which Abū al-Zubayr says that he heard it directly from Jābir. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-‘itq*, 5:1.

## **2. Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Saqqāf**

### **a. His method compared with al-Albānī’s**

As it has been pointed out in the foregoing discussion, a number of scholars have responded critically to al-Albānī’s declaration that a large number of *ḥadīths* found in canonical as well as non-canonical collections are weak (*taḍ‘īf*). The most significant criticism might be Ḥasan al-Saqqāf’s book *Tanāquḍāt al-Albānī al-wāḍiḥāt* (The clear contradictions of al-Albānī).<sup>70</sup> This section is going to deal with al-Saqqāf’s methodology of criticizing al-Albānī’s methodology to assess the authenticity of a particular *ḥadīth*. Does his methodology differ from that of al-Albānī? To what extent does it deviate from the classical method? Put differently, does he use the methodology consistently?

Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Saqqāf is one of the modern Muslim scholars, who is involved in modern *ḥadīth* scholarship. Unlike al-Albānī, al-Saqqāf obtained authorization (*ijāza*) in the field of *ḥadīth* from one of the allegedly greatest *ḥadīth* scholars; Shaykh ‘Abdullāh Muḥammad al-Ghimārī. The latter was professor of *ḥadīth* at al-Azhar University.

Criticizing al-Albānī, al-Saqqāf tries to show contradictions and inconsistencies in the works of al-Albānī. Al-Saqqāf identifies 250 *ḥadīths* in the first volume and 650 in the second one of his *Tanāquḍāt*, which, according to him, clearly show al-Albānī’s contradictions and mistakes. Whether or not al-Albānī has really made the alleged contradictions and mistakes does not concern us here. However, the reason al-Saqqāf puts forward his argument will be considered here.

Methodologically, al-Saqqāf does not differ from al-Albānī. That is, the quality of a *ḥadīth* in their views is decisively determined by the quality

of its *isnād*. Likewise, the quality of an *isnād* depends basically on how *ḥadīth* critics authenticate and disparage the transmitters of a particular *ḥadīth*. Accordingly, by virtue of the fact that *ḥadīth* critics may judge a particular transmitter differently, both al-Albānī and al-Saqqāf would find themselves unable to avoid inconsistencies, as it will be clear in a few pages.

As our concern here is only al-Saqqāf's methodology, we are not going to analyze the whole book of the latter. In the last part of the second volume of his *Tanāquḍāt*, al-Saqqāf puts forward ten examples to show how al-Albānī authenticates some weak *ḥadīths* and *isnāds*. Let us have a look at al-Saqqāf's argument. We take one *ḥadīth* as example. It reads as follows:

“... ‘*an al-Muhājir b. Qunfudh annahu atā al-nabī ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama wa-huwa yabūlu, fa-sallama ‘alayhi fa-lam yarudda ‘alayhi ḥattā tarwadḍa’a thumma i’tadhara ‘alayhi fa-qāla innī karahtu an adhkura Allāh ‘azza wa-jalla illā ‘alā ṭubrin*”.

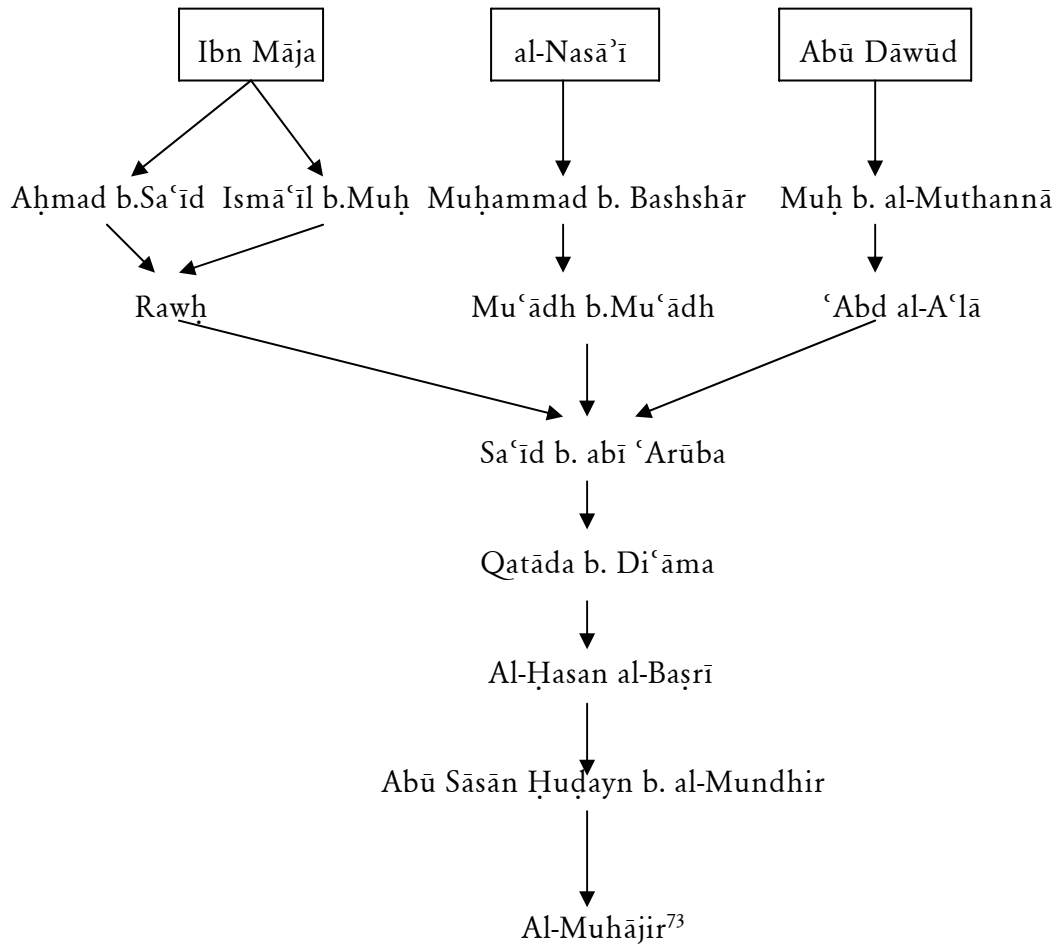
Al-Saqqāf argues against al-Albānī's authentication of the *ḥadīth*. *Pace* al-Albānī, al-Saqqāf undermines the authenticity of the *ḥadīth* by virtue of the fact that among the transmitters of the *ḥadīth* are Qatāda b. Di‘āma and Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Both transmitters do not declare clearly the way they received the *ḥadīth*, that is, they say “‘*an*”, which according to Muslim scholarship on *ḥadīth*, implies an indirect contact.<sup>71</sup> Moreover, basing his judgment on Ibn Hajar's *Ṭabaqāt al-mudallisīn*, Al-Saqqāf regards both Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Qatāda as *mudallis*,<sup>72</sup> whose “‘*an‘ana*” is to be rejected. Let us see the *isnād* of the *ḥadīth*. See diagram 1.

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<sup>70</sup> Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Saqqāf, *Tanāquḍāt al-Albānī al-wāḍiḥāt fī mā waqa’a labu fī taṣḥīḥ al-aḥādīth wa-taḍ‘īfihā min akhbār wa-ghalaṭāt*, Amman 1992.

<sup>71</sup> This is the problem of generalization.

Diagram 1



Al-Saqqāf is reluctant to authenticate the *ḥadīth*, because of Qatāda and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Are they really *mudallis*, whose traditions are to be rejected when they say *'an*? What are the consequences when their transmissions are generally to be ruled out? As it will be clear in the following pages, al-Saqqāf, regards *ḥadīth* collections such as that of al-Bukhārī and Muslim as reliable on one hand, but on the other hand, he uses methods, which lead him to consider a part of traditions of the *Ṣaḥīḥān* as weak (*ḍa'īf*).

Let us have a look at what *ḥadīth* critics tell us about al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110) and Qatāda (d. 117). Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī includes them in his *Ṭabaqāt al-mudallisīn*.<sup>74</sup> By virtue of this fact, al-Saqqāf undermines the

<sup>72</sup> a person who suppressed faults in *isnāds*.

<sup>73</sup> Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, ṭabāra*, 8:2; al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan, ṭabāra*, 34; Ibn Māja, *Sunan, ṭabāra*, 27:1; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 4, p. 345. See also al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfat al-asḥrāf bi-ma'rīfat atrāf*, vol. 8, p. 514.

<sup>74</sup> Ibn Hajar, *Ṭabaqāt al-mudallisīn*, Cairo 1322, pp. 8, 14

authenticity of the *ḥadīth* in question. As a transmitter, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is described as a reliable (*thiqa*) pious man (*mā aḥadun kāna akmala murūʿatan min al-Ḥasan*), very knowledgeable, *faqīh* etc.<sup>75</sup> At the same time, however, he is reported to have made *tadlīs*. Accordingly, his tradition is accepted as *ḥujja*, only if he transmitted it from the one he heard it from,<sup>76</sup> i.e., when he uses the word implying *samāʿ* or direct contact. The same applies to Qatāda who is considered reliable (*thiqa*) by many *ḥadīth* critics,<sup>77</sup> but said to have made *tadlīs* and *irsāl* by other.<sup>78</sup> In this respect it is interesting to investigate how often this case happens in the *ḥadīth* literature to see what consequences might appear from such a methodology.

## b. Appendix: Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's transmission in the canonical collections

Apart from what *ḥadīth* critics tell us about him, his repeated occurrences in the canonical collections as a transmitter of a large number of prophetic *ḥadīths* are too important to be neglected. Indeed, an investigation on the *ḥadīth* collections reveals that al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is a conspicuously important transmitter of prophetic *ḥadīths*.<sup>79</sup> In the canonical collections al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī relates no fewer than 281 *ḥadīths*. He transmitted 193 prophetic *ḥadīths* from 33 different Companions and Successors, and the other 88 are *mursala*:<sup>80</sup> He allegedly has 26 *ḥadīth* from ʿImrān b. Ḥusayn al-Khuzāʿī,<sup>81</sup> one from Mughīra b. Shuʿba,<sup>82</sup> one from

<sup>75</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 6, p. 109; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 7, p. 161.

<sup>76</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 6, p. 125; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 7, p. 157-8; al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, vol. 1, p. 160.

<sup>77</sup> Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal regarded Qatāda as the one with the best memory of the people of Basra (*kāna Qatāda aḥfaza ahl al-Baṣra*). Al-Dhahabī, *Tadbkirat al-ḥuffāz*, vol. 1, p. 123; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 8, p. 353.

<sup>78</sup> Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 8, pp. 355-6; *Ṭabaqāt al-mudallisīn*, p. 8, 14; al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz*, 47; Al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, vol. 2, p. 341.

<sup>79</sup> My scrutiny on al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's traditions is based on al-Mizzī's 14 volumes of *Tuhfat al-asbrāf bi-maʿrifat al-aṭrāf*. I am indebted to Juynboll's article "al-Mizzī" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, which attracted my attention on the importance of the book.

<sup>80</sup> In the science of *ḥadīth*, *mursal* is defined as an *isnād*, in which the name of the Companion between the Prophet and the Successor is missing. It is closely related to the terms *mawqūf* and *maqṭūʿ*. The former is an *isnād* that stops at the level of Companion, while the latter "cut off" at the level of Successor. For al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's *mursalāt* and *maqṭūʿāt*, see al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 13, pp. 161-176.

<sup>81</sup> For the *ḥadīth* see al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 8, pp. 173-178.

<sup>82</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 8, p. 472.



Muhājir b. Qunfudh,<sup>83</sup> six from Ma‘qil b. Yasār,<sup>84</sup> one from Mu‘āwiya b. abī Sufyān,<sup>85</sup> one from ‘Uwaymir Abū al-Dardā’,<sup>86</sup> two from ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.<sup>87</sup> one from ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ,<sup>88</sup> eight from ‘Abd Allāh b. Mughaffal,<sup>89</sup> three from ‘Uthmān b. abī l-‘Āṣ,<sup>90</sup> one from ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān,<sup>91</sup> two from ‘Uqba b. ‘Āmir,<sup>92</sup> three from ‘Alī b. abī Ṭālib,<sup>93</sup> one from ‘Ammār b. Yāsir,<sup>94</sup> three from Ibn abī Ka‘b,<sup>95</sup> one from Usāma b. Zayd,<sup>96</sup> twenty-one from Anas b. Mālīk,<sup>97</sup> one from Thawbān,<sup>98</sup> eleven from Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh,<sup>99</sup> three from Jundab b. ‘Abd Allāh,<sup>100</sup> one from Zubayr b. ‘Awwām,<sup>101</sup> two from Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī,<sup>102</sup> two from ‘Ā’isha,<sup>103</sup> five from Sa‘d b. Hishām,<sup>104</sup> thirty seven from Sumra b. Jundab,<sup>105</sup> one from Abū Umāma,<sup>106</sup> two from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās,<sup>107</sup> five from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar,<sup>108</sup> two from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ,<sup>109</sup> three from ‘Abd Allāh b. Qays,<sup>110</sup> one from Nu‘mān b. Bashīr,<sup>111</sup> 13 from Nafī‘ b. al-Ḥārith al-Thaqafī,<sup>112</sup> twenty two from Abū Hurayra.<sup>113</sup> (See diagram 2.).

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- <sup>83</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 8, p. 514.  
<sup>84</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 8, pp. 460-3.  
<sup>85</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 8, p. 435.  
<sup>86</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 220.  
<sup>87</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 20.  
<sup>88</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 8, p. 152.  
<sup>89</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 7, pp. 173-5.  
<sup>90</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 7, p. 237-8.  
<sup>91</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 7, p. 247.  
<sup>92</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 7, p. 305.  
<sup>93</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 7, p. 360.  
<sup>94</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 7, p. 474.  
<sup>95</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 1, p. 12.  
<sup>96</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 1, p. 44.  
<sup>97</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 1, p. 164-8.  
<sup>98</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 2, p. 129.  
<sup>99</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 2, pp. 167-70.  
<sup>100</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 2, p. 441.  
<sup>101</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 3, p. 178.  
<sup>102</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 3, p. 340.  
<sup>103</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 11, p. 391.  
<sup>104</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 11, pp. 303-5.  
<sup>105</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 4, pp. 61-74.  
<sup>106</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 4, p. 162.  
<sup>107</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 4, p. 376.  
<sup>108</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 5, p. 332-3.  
<sup>109</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 6, p. 285.  
<sup>110</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 6, p. 408-9.  
<sup>111</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 9, p. 18.  
<sup>112</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuhfa*, vol. 9, pp. 38-42.

Diagram 2

No.	al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's informants (Companions and Successors)	The number of <i>ḥadīth</i>
1.	ʿImrān b. Ḥusayn al-Khuzāʿī	26
2.	Mughīra b. Shuʿba	1
3.	Muhājir b. Qunfudh	1
4.	Maʿqil b. Yasār	6
5.	Muʿāwiya b. abī Sufyān	1
6.	ʿUwaymir abū al-Dardāʾ	1
7.	ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb	2
8.	ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ	1
9.	ʿAbd Allāh b. Mughaffal	8
10.	ʿUthmān b. abī al-ʿĀṣ	3
11.	ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān	1
12.	ʿUqba b. ʿĀmir	2
13.	ʿAlī b. abī Ṭālib	3
14.	ʿAmmār b. Yasār	1
15.	Ibn abī Kaʿb	3
16.	Usāma b. Zayd	1
17.	Anas b. Mālik	21
18.	Thawbān	1
19.	Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh	11
20.	Jundab b. ʿAbd Allāh	3
21.	Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām	1
22.	Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī	2
23.	ʿĀʾisha	2
24.	Saʿd b. Hishām	5
25.	Samura b. Jundab	37
26.	Abī Umāma	1
27.	ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās	2
28.	ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar	5
39.	ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ	2
30.	ʿAbd Allāh b. Qays	3
31.	Nuʿmān b. Bashīr	1
32.	Nafīʿ b. al-Ḥārith al-Thaqafī	13
33.	Abū Hurayra	22
	<i>Mursalāt</i>	88
	Total number	281

If the authenticity of the *ḥadīth* in question has to be rejected because of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's involvement in the transmission, as al-Saqqāf argues, does it necessarily mean that the historicity of the whole 281 *ḥadīths* are to be ruled out? This is not the case. Following the classical methodology, al-

<sup>113</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 9, pp. 315-320.

Saqqāf undermines the transmission of a transmitter accused of *tadlīs*, only if the latter does not state clearly the way he received his *ḥadīth* (*‘an‘ana*). If so, the next question is, how many times (in the 193 *ḥadīths*) does al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī use “*‘an*” in his transmission? It is a tedious and time consuming job to scrutinize all the *ḥadīths*. A similar effort has been made in the foregoing discussion, in which 194 of the 360 *ḥadīths* of Abū al-Zubayr from Jābir found in Muslim’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* have been scrutinized to point out how often Abū al-Zubayr uses “*‘an*” in his transmission. As it has been pointed out, Abū al-Zubayr says *‘an* (*‘an‘ana*) in two third of the 360 *ḥadīths*.

With regard to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī’s *ḥadīths*, I shall check them in the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, whose authenticity is taken for granted by the majority of Muslim scholars, particularly by al-Saqqāf.<sup>114</sup>

Of the 281 of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī’s *ḥadīths* found in the six canonical collections, 43 of them occur in the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, the allegedly most highly appreciated *ḥadīth* collections. That is, 31 *ḥadīths* are found in al-Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* and 12 in Muslim’s one. Of the 31 *ḥadīths* found in al-Bukhārī, only in eight of them<sup>115</sup> is al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī reported to have stated clearly the way he received the *ḥadīth*, by using the term *ḥaddathanā*, which allegedly implies direct contact. In 17 of the *ḥadīths*<sup>116</sup> al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is reported not to have declared clearly the way he received the *ḥadīth* (*‘an‘ana*). The other three *ḥadīths* of al-Ḥasan found in al-Bukhārī are *mursalāt*.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>114</sup> At the beginning of his *tanāquḍāt al-Albānī*, al-Saqqāf quotes 8 *ḥadīths* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim that have been declared weak by al-Albānī. Al-Saqqāf does not feel necessary, however, to uncover why al-Albānī declared the *ḥadīths* weak. It seems that, for al-Saqqāf, showing that al-Albānī declared *ḥadīths* of the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim weak is enough to undermine al-Albānī’s methodology. In other words, al-Saqqāf argues against all those who undermine the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. See al-Saqqāf, *Tanāquḍāt*, pp. 9-12.

<sup>115</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, (1) *tafsīr*, 2:40 (the way I quote *ḥadīth* follows the one of al-Mizzī. Accordingly, reference to *al-Kashshāf ‘an Tuḥfat al-ashrāf* of al-Mizzī is unavoidable); (2) *al-nikāḥ*, 37:4; (3) *al-ṣulḥ*, 9; (4) *al-manāqib*, 52:1; (5) *al-fitan*, 21:1; (6) *‘alāmāt al-nubuwwa (al-manāqib* 25:4); (7) *al-janā’iz*, 83; (8) *aḥādīth al-anbiyā’*, 51:11.

<sup>116</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, (1) *al-ṭalāq*, 45:1; (2) *al-aḥkām*, 8:1; (3) *al-aḥkām*, 8:2; (4) *al-‘aqīqa*, 2:2; (5) *al-manāqib*, 25: 53; (6) *al-ṣalāt*, 265; (7) *al-maghāzī*, 83:2; (8) *al-fitan*, 18:1; (9) *al-ṣalāt*, 327:1; (10) *al-ṣalāt*, 432; (11) *al-ṣalāt*, 443:1; (12) *al-ṣalāt*, 443:2; (13) *al-libās*, 2:2; (14) *aḥādīth al-anbiyā’*, 29:2; (15) *bad’ al-khalq*, 17:2; (16) *bad’ al-khalq*, 6:1; (17) *al-ṣalāt*, 150:1. I failed to find three *ḥadīths* of al-Ḥasan mentioned by al-Mizzī: (1) Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *tafsīr*, 33:11. Cf. al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfat*, vol. 9, p. 316; (2) Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *fī tarjamat ‘Awf al-A‘rābī (ḥadīth* 14481). Cf. al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfat*, vol. 9, p. 316; (3) Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *ḥadīth al-shafā‘a, fī tarjamat Ma‘bad b. Hilāl ‘an Anas (ḥadīth* 1599). Cf. al-Mizzī, vol. 1, p. 164.

<sup>117</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *al-‘ilm*, 16:1; (2) *fī tafsīr iqra’ bi-ism rabbik* (tafsīr 96); (3) *fī tarjamat al-Ḥasan ‘an Abī Hurayra (ḥadīth* 1254).

In Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, al-Ḥasan occurs as a transmitter of prophetic *ḥadīth* no fewer than 12 times. In only two cases is he reported to have clearly declared the way he transmitted his *ḥadīths*,<sup>118</sup> In eight places he says ('*an*').<sup>119</sup> The other two *ḥadīths* of al-Ḥasan found in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* are *mursalāt*.<sup>120</sup>

What does this fact mean? Abiding by al-Saqqāf's methodology consistently, the authenticity of the 17 of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's *ḥadīths* found in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* and the eight *ḥadīths* found in Muslim would be undermined. This contradicts al-Saqqāf's argument that the *Ṣaḥīḥ*s of al-Bukhārī and Muslim are generally reliable.

Obviously, al-Saqqāf's method for judging a particular *ḥadīth* leads to consequences not realized by him. The method seems to be not sophisticated enough. He bases his judgment on a particular transmitter, in our case that of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, merely on Ibn Ḥajar's *Ṭabaqāt al-mudallisīn*. He fails to compare it with the judgment of other scholars. Moreover, the fact that both al-Bukhārī and Muslim alike accepted al-Ḥasan's "*an*" transmissions" suggests that for them the term used by the Successors, such as al-Ḥasan, is not a decisive criterion for the reliability of a transmission. This undermines the argument of al-Saqqāf, who regards it as decisive one. This case is exactly the same as in Abū al-Zubayr's transmission found in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, as we pointed out in the foregoing discussion. The same applies to Qatāda.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *al-Maghāzī*, 56:1; *al-'imān*, 46:9.

<sup>119</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, (1) *al-'imān*, 62:3; (2) *al-maghāzī*, 58:9; (3) *al-maghāzī*, 58:8; (4) *al-'imān*, 62:1; (5) *al-maghāzī*, 56:2; (6) *al-'imān*, 46:8; (7) *al-ṣalāt*, 99: 44; (8) *al-ṣalāt*, 134:19.

<sup>120</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, (1) *fī tarjamat Ayyūb (ḥadīth 18447)*. Cf. al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfat*, vol. 13, p. 163; (2) *fī tarjamat al-Ḥasan 'an Sa'id b. al-Musayyab (ḥadīth 18720)*. Cf. al-Mizzī, vol. 13, p. 169.

<sup>121</sup> Qatāda's *ḥadīths* are not going to be analysed here. The cases of Abū al-Zubayr and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī are conclusive evidence that tells us how canonical *ḥadīth* collectors deal with this specific term of transmission. That is, they do not consider the term "*an*" used for transmission by the Successors to be decisively important in determining their reliability. By virtue of this fact, it is no longer necessary to scrutinise Qatāda's *ḥadīths* to show that al-Saqqāf's method differs from that of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. He declares the *ḥadīth* in question weak merely because Qatāda is involved in the transmission and he says "*an*". It suffices to mention how often and from which transmitters Qatāda transmits his *ḥadīths*. Qatāda plays a very significant role in the transmission of the *ḥadīths* of the Prophet. In the canonical collections, Qatāda transmitted no fewer than 142 *ḥadīth*, 123 of which he allegedly had from 21 Companions and Successors, while 19 are *mursalāt*. He transmitted one *ḥadīth* from 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 8, p. 98), two from 'Umar b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Khuzā'i (al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 8, p. 187), 52 from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 8, pp. 175, 514; vol. 7, pp. 360, 174, 305; vol. 4, p. 63-74; vol. 13, p. 169-171), three from Muṭrif b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Āmirī (al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 8, p. 189), one from Abū Ishāq (al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, p. 57), three from 'Abd Allāh b. Burayda (al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol.

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2, p. 88), two from 'Aṭā' (al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, pp. 241-2), one from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh (al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 2, p. 264), one from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī (al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 3, p. 443), ten from al-Mundhir b. Mālik (al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 3, pp. 469-471), six from Muḥammad b. Sirīn (al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 10, pp. 347-8; vol. 12, p. 506), five from Nāfi' abū Rāfi' al-Baṣrī (al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 10, p. 392-3), one from Abū al-Aḥwaṣ (al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 7, p. 130), 21 from 'Ikrima (al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 10, pp. 283-4; vol. 5, p. 161-165; vol. 13, p. 312), one from Miqṣam Abū l-Qāsim (al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 5, p. 249), three from 'Amr b. Shu'ayb (al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 6, p. 330), three from Abū Burda (al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 6, p. 464), four from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab (al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 11, p. 412), one from Ḥafṣa b. Sīrīn (al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 12, p. 512), one from 'Aṭā' b. abī Rabāḥ (al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 13, p. 304), one from Muḥsin Muḥammad b. Muslin (al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 13, p. 373), and 19 *Mursalāt* (al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 13, p. 337-341).

#### IV. Muslim scholars involved in non-Muslim scholarship of ḤADĪTH and Western reactions on their works.

In the following pages the views of Muslim scholars who are familiar with Western scholarship of *ḥadīth* are dealt with. Two scholars have been chosen to be the object of the study: Fuat Sezgin and Mohammad Mustafa Azmi. Similarly, the views of some non-Muslim scholars, which give either support or criticism to those Muslim scholars will also be touched upon. To what extent are these scholars influenced by Western methods of *ḥadīth* research and to what extent do they argue against the methods of non-Muslims? To what extent do they persist on arguing the reliability of *ḥadīth* literature? To what extent do they base their argument on Muslim *ḥadīth* literature? To what extent do they digress from the classical methodology of *ḥadīth* research?

The following pages will show that Sezgin and Azmi have been familiar with non-Muslim scholarship of *ḥadīth* research. Yet instead of following Western scholars' approaches and premises on the early *ḥadīth* literature, they severely criticized them and decided to follow the main stream of Muslim scholars' belief in the historicity of *ḥadīth* transmission and collection. Whereas Fuat Sezgin focused his criticism on Goldziher's historical claims, Azmi also severely attacked Joseph Schacht's methods and conclusions on early *ḥadīth* literature. If one classifies Western discourse of *ḥadīth* literature, Sezgin and Azmi can be located in the same line for their similar approach and way of handling the early literature of Islam. Both Sezgin and Azmi have been involved in the discussion on the reliability of early Islamic transmission. However, in contrast to Muslim scholars, who generally believe that the process of *ḥadīth* transmission during the first century was mainly oral,<sup>1</sup> they insist on arguing that many *ḥadīths* were, in fact, recorded in writing from the earliest times. The following pages deal with their approaches and views on the early *ḥadīth* literature.

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<sup>1</sup> Abū Ṭalīb al-Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, I, Cairo 1310/1893, p. 159; Ibn Ḥajar, *Hady al-sārī*, Cairo 1383/1964, p. 17; *Fath al-bārī*, I, p. 218; Hajjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-ḡunūn*, I, Turkey 1941, p. 637; al-Kattānī, *Risāla mustatrafā*, Damascus 1964, p. 3; Abū Zahw, *al-Ḥadīth wa-l-muḥaddithūn*, Cairo 1958, p. 127; al-Dhahabī, *al-Tafsīr wa-l-mufasssīrūn*, I, Cairo 1961, pp. 140-141; Rashīd Riḍā, *al-Manār*, X, p. 768; Abū Rayya, *Aḍwā 'alā al-sunna al-muḥammadiyya*, Lebanon 1964,

## I. Fuat Sezgin.

The core of Sezgin's historical reconstruction of early *ḥadīth* literature is that the classical *ḥadīth* collections, which were compiled in the third century, are the result of a reliable process of transmission or the continuation of written activity that had already been practiced by the *ṣaḥāba* since the time of the Prophet.<sup>2</sup> It is here that Sezgin's point of view starts to differ from that of Goldziher. Goldziher does not reject the possibility that the Companions tried to preserve the Prophet's words and deeds in the so-called *ṣaḥīfas*, and that the use of *isnād* began when these Companions passed on to the next generation of Muslim what they had heard and recorded.<sup>3</sup> Goldziher maintained, however, the possibility that those *ṣaḥīfas* might be "the inventions of later generations used to provide justification for later *ṣaḥīfas* against opposition hostile to the writing down of *ḥadīth*",<sup>4</sup> and that the invention of *ḥadīth* also began very early. Having made several observations on *ḥadīth* materials, Goldziher came to the conclusion that the *ḥadīth* reflects later development and cannot be used as a historical documentation for the time of the Prophet.<sup>5</sup> To undermine Goldziher's claims, Sezgin cited reports from some early Muslim sources, such as *ʿIlal* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/844-5), *Tārīkh* of al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), *Taqdima* of Ibn Abī Ḥātim (d. 327/938) *Taqyīd al-ʿilm* of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 403/1012-3), *Jāmiʿ bayān al-ʿilm* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (463/1070-1), *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil* of al-Rāmahurmuzī (d. 360/971) and others. However, Sezgin neither discusses the historicity of the reports nor shows any interest in the fact that his sources are contemporaneous with the classical *ḥadīth* collections.

The evolution of *ḥadīth* literature, according to Fuat Sezgin, took place in the following phases:

- a. *Kitābat al-ḥadīth*, the writing down of the *ḥadīth* in the time of the *ṣaḥāba* (Companions) and of the early *tābiʿūn* (Successors) in the so-called *ṣaḥīfas*.

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p. 207; Sidqi, "al-Islam huwa al-Qurʿān waḥdahu" in *al-Manār*, ix, 515; Aḥmad Amīn, *Fajr al-Islām*, 210.

<sup>2</sup> Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, I, Leiden (E. J. Brill) 1967, pp. 53-233; *Buḥārī'nin kaynakları hakkında araştırmalar*, Istanbul 1956.

<sup>3</sup> Ignaz Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, p. 22. Cf. Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam*, p. 52.

b. *Tadwīn al-ḥadīth*, collating the scattered records of *ḥadīth* in the last quarter of the first, and in the first quarter of the second century.

c. *Taṣnīf al-ḥadīth*, the arrangement of *ḥadīths* by content in subdivided chapter from 125 A.H. onwards. Towards the end of the second century, *ḥadīths* were arranged according to the names of Companions, in books called *kitāb al-musnad*. In the third century the systematic books were edited and written. In the modern literature these are called the canonical collections.<sup>6</sup> This view of the evolution of *ḥadīth* literature, Sezgin continues, is based on information on continuous written transmission since very early times, and on the examination of such materials. This can be seen from the fact that when the authors (*muḥaddithūn*) of that time passed their works on in oral form, they took over written record from each other.<sup>7</sup>

Basing his argument on Muslim literature, Sezgin consistently makes his historical assessment about the collection of *ḥadīth*. Similar to what Muslim generally believed, Sezgin says that some Umayyad rulers, amongst whom is the famous ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (d. 97/717-101/720), ordered that materials of *ḥadīth* be collected in an official manner, fearing that (some of) it might be lost.<sup>8</sup> The ones who undertook the collection at ‘Umar’s behest were Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Ḥazm (d. 120/737) and Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri (d. 124/742). "*awwal man dawwana l-ḥadīth az-Zuhri*".<sup>9</sup> Sezgin again goes on saying that the information about the first writings on various fields, about the evolution of *isnāds* and about the scrutiny of the chains of transmission of *ḥadīth* convince us that literary activity in the time of al-Zuhri was already mature, and that al-Zuhri played an important role in compiling the *ḥadīth*.<sup>10</sup>

Sezgin regards the *taṣnīf al-ḥadīth* (the arrangement of *ḥadīth* by content), which began in 125 A.H. as a further development of the monographic descriptions of Umayyad time.<sup>11</sup> To corroborate his notion, Sezgin mentions

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<sup>5</sup> Ignaz Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, Halle 1889-90, p. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol I, Leiden (E. J. Brill) 1967, p. 55. (my translation)

<sup>7</sup> Sezgin, *Geschichte*, p. 55

<sup>8</sup> Mālik, *Muwattaʿa*, 1297, p. 389; Ibn Saʿd, *Tabaqāt*, VIII, p. 480; Dārimī, *sunan*, Cawnpore 1293, p. 68; Bukhārī, I, 31; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, II, p. 210. W. Muir, *The Life of Mahomet and History of Islam* I, XXXII, quoted by Sezgin, *Geschichte*, p. 56.

<sup>9</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Jāmiʿ bayān al-ʿilm* I, 73; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath* I, 174; Suyūṭī, *Tanwīr al-ḥawālik* I, 6, quoted by Sezgin, *Geschichte*, p. 57.

<sup>10</sup> Sezgin, *Geschichte*, p. 57.

<sup>11</sup> Sezgin, *Geschichte*, 58.



as the oldest *muṣannifūn* such names as Ibn Jurayj (d. 150/767)<sup>12</sup> in Mekka, Ma‘mar b. Rāshid (153/770) in Yaman, Hishām b. Ḥassān (d. 148/765), Sa‘īd b. Abī ‘Arūba in Baṣra and Sufyān at-Thawrī in Kūfa. He also mentions *al-Jāmi‘* of Ma‘mar b. Rāshid (d. 153/770), *K. al-Manāsik* of Qatāda (d. 117) and *al-Jāmi‘* of Rabī‘ b. Ḥabīb al-Baṣrī (d. 160/776) as the oldest preserved works of this period.

Referring to classical Muslim *ḥadīth* critics, Sezgin lists eight methods in which transmission of *ḥadīth* took place: *Samā‘*, *Qirā’a*, *Ijāza*, *Munāwala*, *Kitāba* oder *Mukātaba*, *i‘lām al-rāwī*, *Waṣīyya* and *Wijāda*.<sup>13</sup> Sezgin believes that only the first two methods (*samā‘* and *qirā’a*) involved committing to memory, whereas the others, and often in practice even *samā‘* and *qirā’a*, involved written materials.<sup>14</sup> Sezgin further claims that these methods of transmission were applied from the very early days of Islam, and with the help of preserved materials it can, according to him, be established, that from the beginning an exclusively written basis for the transmission was involved and that the names of the authors are contained in the *isnāds*.<sup>15</sup> To corroborate his view about the customary practice of *kitāba* (writing), besides *samā‘* and *qirā’a*, in early transmission of *ḥadīth*, Sezgin picks up some clues from books, such as: *Iṣāba* of Ibn Ḥajar, *‘Ilal* of Tirmidhī, *Tahdhīb* of Ibn Ḥajar, *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Sa‘d, *Jāmi‘ bayān al-‘ilm* of Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr. For example, a few Companions are reported to have handed down the letters of the Prophet. ‘Amr b. Ḥazm b. Zayd is reported to have transmitted the letters written by the Prophet to him about *farā’id*, *zakāt*, and *diyāt*, which, according to Sezgin, were later included in *ḥadīth* collections.<sup>16</sup> ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Ukaym al-Juhanī, later transmitted the letter of the Prophet to his tribe, the Juhayna.<sup>17</sup> The Successor, Baṣhīr b. Nahīk asked Abū Hurayra whether or not he was allowed to hand down the writings under his own name, which he had copied from the latter. Abū Hurayra

<sup>12</sup> For a discussion on Ibn Jurayj, see the following pages.

<sup>13</sup> See the foregoing discussion.

<sup>14</sup> Sezgin, *Geschichte*, pp. 58-62; Cf. Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam*, p. 22.

<sup>15</sup> Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte*, p. 60.

<sup>16</sup> *Iṣāba*, II, 1264, quoted by Sezgin, *Geschichte*, 61.

<sup>17</sup> Ib Abī Ḥatīm, *‘Ilal* I, 52; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* V, 323.

agreed.<sup>18</sup> Sezgin quotes also some sources suggesting that the activity of writing took place in every generation.<sup>19</sup>

Sezgin's views that *ḥadīth* collection is the result of continuous written activity did not, however, convince his Western counterparts. Juynboll, reiterating Goldziher's claim, says that a manuscript or a papyrus could have been forged by later authorities because there was a large fabrication of *isnāds*.<sup>20</sup> Juynboll may be correct in his view that Sezgin does not seem to have any qualms about the genuineness of the texts he presents<sup>21</sup>. Juynboll, however, does not go through the texts, which Sezgin presented. Juynboll criticism of Sezgin's claim is too general. To most Western scholars, Sezgin's historical reconstruction is exclusively based on sources, whose authenticity is debatable or even doubtful. His arguments, therefore, are circular.<sup>22</sup>

Another core of Sezgin's view is that the *isnād* indicates written texts, and on no account indicates purely oral transmission. The *isnād* mentions the author and the authorized transmitters of books.<sup>23</sup> Sezgin simply believes what is stated in the *isnād*. This leads him to receive unquestionably the sources he quotes, and he simply ascribes actual texts to the names attached to them in *isnāds* without having any doubts as to the authenticity of *isnāds*. Sezgin reiterates that a comparison between oldest preserved *ḥadīth* books with later *ḥadīth* collections, proves not only that *isnād* indicates selected from excerpts, but above all establishes that the arrangement of materials and chapter division of later compilations go back to quoted older books.<sup>24</sup> To put it in another way, *isnād*, by virtue of the mutual relation of sources, brings us back to the time of the names quoted.

To establish the mutual relation of sources, Sezgin quotes al-Bukhārī as example: "*Ḥaddathanā 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad qāla ḥaddathanā 'Abd Razzāq qāla akhbaranā Ma'mar 'an Hammām 'an Abī Hurayra...*"<sup>25</sup> In this *isnād* every name is well known. They are writers of books, except Abū Hurayra, but he has written documents as well. No book is preserved from

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<sup>18</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* I, 43; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 470, quoted by Sezgin, *Geschichte*, p. 61.

<sup>19</sup> He mentions some names involved in the activity of writing in every generation, see *Geschichte*, 63-75.

<sup>20</sup> Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, p. 4.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam*, pp. 22-23.

<sup>23</sup> *Geschichte*, p. 79.

<sup>24</sup> *Geschichte*, p. 80.

<sup>25</sup> Sezgin, *Geschichte*, p. 81.

‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Musnadī<sup>26</sup> (d. 229/843), but we have books of Abd Razzāq (d. 211/826) and of Ma‘mar b. Rāshid (d. 155/771) and of Hammām b. Munabbih (d. 130/747). All *ḥadīths* with this *isnād* can be found in Abd Razzāq's *Muṣannaf* and in Hammām's *Ṣaḥīfa*, and partly in Ma‘mar's *Jāmi‘*.<sup>27</sup> It is probable, Sezgin continues, that al-Bukhārī made use directly of Hammām's *Ṣaḥīfa* transmitted by the people named in the *isnād* or that he used the book of his master (‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad), who directly borrowed the text from the *ṣaḥīfa* or from ‘Abd Razzāq's book, whose direct or indirect sources are the *Ṣaḥīfa* of Hammām.<sup>28</sup> This phenomenon, that *ḥadīths*, and other traditions from old sources, appear in later works with long *isnāds* becoming longer and longer were known to classical Islamic scholars already. Because the time gap between them and the sources was not so big, they knew the sources, and they could identify books by recourse to the names in *isnāds*.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, they gave us only rarely and rather incidentally clues regarding older sources. Sezgin argues, therefore, that we have to find a way to recognize the dependence of sources through the *isnāds* in the books. We can then detect in later books fragments of early Islamic literature that have been lost. Thus, although early manuscripts have scarcely survived, Sezgin argues that early texts can be reconstructed from the later compilations that must have used them as written sources. With regard to the reliability of the *isnād*, Sezgin states that in order to be able to establish the first sources of Islamic literature, one has, first of all, to abandon the old prejudice that it was only in the second and the third century that the *isnād* came into being and the names of transmitters are invented.<sup>30</sup> It is by this generalization that Sezgin failed to convince his Western counterparts.<sup>31</sup> Sezgin's theses on the continuous practice of writing and the reliability of *isnād* received both criticism and support from both Muslim and non-Muslim scholars. The support from Muslim scholars can be found in the

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<sup>26</sup> Sezgin mentions that al-Bukhārī has quoted his books in 197 places. Sezgin, *Geschichte*, p. 81.

<sup>27</sup> Sezgin, *Geschichte*, 81.

<sup>28</sup> Fuat Sezgin, *Hadis musannefatinin mebdai* in: *Türkiyat* 12/1955/124-127, quoted in *Geschichte*, 82.

<sup>29</sup> *Geschichte*, p. 82.

<sup>30</sup> *Geschichte*, p. 83.

<sup>31</sup> Harald Motzki, *Die Anfänge der islamischen Jurisprudenz. Ihre Entwicklung in Mekka bis zur Mitte des 2./8. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1991, pp. 37-38. Cf. The english version of the book "The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence. Meccan Fiqh before the Classical Schools, Leiden 2002, p. 36.

works of M. Z. Siddiqi,<sup>32</sup> Muḥammad Ḥamīdullah,<sup>33</sup> Muṣṭafā al-Sibā'ī,<sup>34</sup> Muḥammad 'Ajjāj al-Khaṭīb,<sup>35</sup> M. Mustafa Azmi,<sup>36</sup> and 'Abd al-'Azīm Ibrāhīm Muḥammad al-Muṭ'ini.<sup>37</sup> Their methods and sources are similar to that of Sezgin.<sup>38</sup> Ḥamīdullah has published the *Ṣaḥīfa* of Hammām ibn Munabbih, supposedly the oldest preserved *ḥadīth* work. This is not an autograph, however, and therefore, to some Western scholars, especially to those who adhere to Schacht's "common link" concept,<sup>39</sup> there is no guarantee that the real author is Hammām ibn Munabbih.<sup>40</sup> For the sympathizers of Schacht, the text might have been fabricated by 'Abd Razzāq (d. 211/827) or Ma'mar (d. 153/770) who appear in the *isnād* before Hammām,<sup>41</sup> for the common link of all preserved text is 'Abd Razzāq.<sup>42</sup> This claim does not seem convincing, because it is based more on hypothetical speculation than on an analytical study of both *matn* and *isnād*. It may be difficult to prove that 'Abd Razzāq, the common link, has really received the information from his informants, but this fact does not justify the claim that all the texts were invented by 'Abd Razzāq. Until the contrary is proven, the possibility that 'Abd Razzāq's claim to have received a text from a given informant is true cannot be excluded *a priori*.

A non-Muslim scholar, who gives support to Sezgin's methods and conclusions is Nabia Abbott. Her approach to *ḥadīth* is unique in that she is a non-Muslim scholar, but her methodology and conclusion is very similar to that of the Muslim scholars. Like Sezgin, Abbott argues for the existence of literary activities among Arabs even in pre-Islamic times, and for the continuous practice of writing *ḥadīth* since the time of the Prophet.<sup>43</sup> Abbott

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<sup>32</sup> *Hadīth Literature, Its Origin, Development & Special Studies*, the Islamic Texts Society (Cambridge 1993).

<sup>33</sup> *Ṣaḥīfat Hammām ibn Munabbih*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. Luton 1961.

<sup>34</sup> *Al-Sunna wa-makānatuhā fī l-tashrī' al-islāmī*, Cairo 1961.

<sup>35</sup> *Al-Sunna qabla l-tadwīn*, Cairo 1963.

<sup>36</sup> *Studies in Early Hadīth Literature*, Beirut 1968; *On Schacht's Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*. Riyadh: King Saud University 1985; *Studies in Hadīth Methodology and Literature*, American Trust Publications 1992. For more about Azmi see below.

<sup>37</sup> *Al-Shubhat al-thalāthūn*, Cairo 1999.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Motzki, *Die Anfänge der islamischen Jurisprudenz*, p. 38; see also the English version of the book, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence*, pp. 36-37.

<sup>39</sup> See below the discussion on the concept of common link.

<sup>40</sup> Motzki, *Die Anfänge*, pp. 38-39; *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence*, pp. 37-37.

<sup>41</sup> Motzki, *Die Anfänge*, p. 39; *The Origins*, pp. 37-8.

<sup>42</sup> Ḥamīdullah, *op. cit.*, p. 69; Motzki, *The Origins*, p. 38.

<sup>43</sup> Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri, II Quranic Commentary and Tradition*, pp. 5-73. Another support from non-Muslim scholar comes from J. Goldfeld. He suggests that Sezgin's findings are a "masterly introduction to *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth* (which) serve as a new

edited a small collection of *ḥadīths* from a series of papyrus fragments, some of which she ascribed to al-Zuhrī as author.<sup>44</sup> But whether or not the texts truly originated with al-Zuhrī remains debatable.<sup>45</sup>

Having analyzed the documents and compared them with later *ḥadīth* collections, Abbott concluded that oral and written transmission went hand in hand almost from the beginning, that the traditions of the Prophet as transmitted by the Companions and Successors were, as a rule, scrupulously scrutinized at each step of the transmission.<sup>46</sup> This process is supposed not to have left many unsound *ḥadīths*, but the facts do not support this as even early Muslim scholars, especially the collectors of the second and third century, recognized that more unsound *ḥadīths* existed than sound ones. Massive forgery did happen in early Islam. In this context Abbott suggests that it was the *isnāds* that proliferated, not the contents.<sup>47</sup> Abbott, however, does not suggest that *ḥadīths* found in the canonical collections are completely authentic. However, they contain, in Abbott's view, genuine core of Muhammad's, his Companions' and his Successors' sayings and deeds, which were recorded by al-Zuhrī and his contemporaries who in turn received them from their predecessors.<sup>48</sup>

Sezgin's and Abbott's view that *ḥadīth* and *āthār* were transmitted both scrupulously and in written form from the beginning was rejected by many Western scholars. Some of them insisted that the early transmission was mainly oral, others (following Schacht) went so far to reject the idea that there was any transmission of *ḥadīths* in the first Islamic century at all. G. Schoeler and H. Motzki advocate a position between the two extremes. Schoeler rejects Sezgin's thesis that early transmission was substantially written, i.e. transmitted in the form of book, but he also criticizes the claims of Sezgin's opponents as too one-sided. He argues that oral and written transmissions existed side by side independently and sometimes were

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basis for Orientalistic research." Goldfeld, "The Tafsir of Abd Allah i. Abbas." In *Der Islam* 58 (1981): 125-35.

<sup>44</sup> Motzki, *Die Anfänge*, p. 39; *The Origins*, p. 37.

<sup>45</sup> Motzki, *The Origins*, p. 38. See also Wansbrough's review of Abbott's book, "Nabia Abbott: Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri. Vol. 2: Quranic Commentary and Tradition, Chicago 1967, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 31 (1968), pp. 613-616. For another criticism of Abbott's general conclusion see Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>46</sup> Abbott, *Studies*, II, p. 2.

<sup>47</sup> Abbott, *Studies*, II, pp. 65-72.

<sup>48</sup> Abbott, *Studies*, II, p. 83.

connected to one another in different ways.<sup>49</sup> After scrutinizing the character of transmission in early Islam, Schoeler concludes, though he does not generalize, that already in the second half of the first century, the Successors like 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr concerned themselves with gathering reports about the Prophet, and they often possessed notes to back up their memory.<sup>50</sup>

Like Sezgin and Abbott, and unlike Goldziher, Schoeler does not interpret the saying of early scholars "*mā ra'aytu fī yadīhi kitāban qaṭṭu*" (I never saw a book or something written in his hands), "*lam yakun lahū kitāb, innamā kāna yahfazū*"<sup>51</sup> (he had no book, but used memory to preserve it) to mean that early scholars did not write down the traditions they received. It merely means that authorities (*shaykhs*) memorized their material and did not use scripts during their public lectures.<sup>52</sup> Schoeler argues that students often recorded the material during its presentation or wrote it down later from memory or copied it from a written source in the possession of other students of the *Shaykh*.<sup>53</sup> However, Schoeler realizes that written material can be as easily fabricated as the oral one.<sup>54</sup> Unlike Sezgin, however, he suggests

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<sup>49</sup> Gregor Schoeler, *Character und Authentie der muslimischen Überlieferung über das Leben Mohammeds*, Walter de Gruyter. Berlin, New York 1996 (see also the review of the book by Herbert Berg in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 119 (1999), pp. 314-317 and Schoeler's response to it in *Arabica* 48 (2002), 360-366). Id., "Die Frage der schriftlichen oder mündlichen Überlieferung" in *Der Islam* 62 (1985): 201-30; "Weiteres zur Frage der schriftlichen oder mündlichen Überlieferung..." in *Der Islam* 66 (1989): 38-67 "Mündliche Thora und Hadīth..." in *Der Islam* 66 (1989): 213-51; "Schreiben und Veröffentlichen..." in *Der Islam* 69 (1992): 1-43; Mūsa b. 'Uqbas Maghāzī in Harald Motzki (ed.) *The Biography of Muhammad. The Issue of the Sources*, 2000, pp. 67-90.

<sup>50</sup> Schoeler, *Character und Authentie*, p. 166-167.

<sup>51</sup> This dictum is transmitted by early scholars in different fields, such as Sa'īd b. abī 'Arūba, d. 773 AD. (al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, II, p. 153), Waki' b. al-Jarrāḥ, d. 812 AD. (Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, xi, p. 129) in the field of *ḥadīth*; Sufyān al-Thawrī, d. 778 AD. (Ibn Ḥajar, IV, p. 113) in the field of *fiqh*; Khalaf al-Aḥmar, d. 769 AD. (Abū Nūwās, *Dīwān*, p. 311), Ḥammād al-Rāwīya, d. 771 AD. (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-fihrist*, p. 12) in the field of philology. Cf. Gregor Schoeler, "Die Frage..." in *Der Islam*, p. 206.

<sup>52</sup> Schoeler, "Die Frage", p. 206. Abbott, quoting *al-Kifāya* of al-Khaṭīb, argues that "Scholars who were not likely to be seen writing down traditions nor with a book in hand would have been the illiterate or semiliterate and the blind or nearly blind" (Abbott, *Studies*, vol. ii, p. 61). Sezgin argues against Goldziher who interprets the dictum of contemporary of Waki' (d. 196/811) "*ra'aytu Waki'an wa-mā ra'aytu bi-yadīhi kitāban qaṭṭu innamā huwa yahfazuhu*" that Waki' avoided using books and papers. According to Sezgin Waki' had written books and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal used the *Muṣannaḥ* of Waki' as, according to Sezgin, it is also known by Goldziher. Sezgin, *Geschichte*, 70; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, II, 197; Goldziher *ZDMG* 50 (1896), 469.

<sup>53</sup> Schoeler, "Die Frage...", p. 208.

<sup>54</sup> Scholer, "Die Frage...", p. 226. He quotes Van Ess, who argues that early writing is no guarantee for the genuineness. See Van Ess, *Zwischen Hadīth und Theologie*, p. VII. He quotes also Goldfeld who says that written transmission could not avoid insertion, tendentious

that written and oral materials are complimentary rather than mutually exclusive (*scheinen sich eher zu ergänzen als sich gegenseitig auszuschließen*).<sup>55</sup>

Schoeler's thesis received significant support from some of the works of Harald Motzki.<sup>56</sup> At the same time, the latter's works are probably the most significant non-Muslim critique of Goldziher and Schacht's theories about the development of *ḥadīth*. By virtue of this fact, Motzki's ideas and methods, although they differ from those of Sezgin, attract our attention here. Motzki focuses on the *Muṣannaf* of 'Abd Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī (d. 211/826). The edition of this work contains composite transmissions, but ninety percent of the material goes back to Iṣḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Dabarī (d. 285/898).<sup>57</sup> His transmission implies, according to Motzki, a written text.<sup>58</sup> Using a "tradition historical" (*überlieferungsgeschichtlich*) approach<sup>59</sup> in his analysis on the *Muṣannaf*, he argues against the tenability of some of Goldziher's and Schacht's claims concerning the development of early Islamic jurisprudence and legal traditions. Motzki concludes from his investigation of the structures of the *Muṣannaf* that the materials of 'Abd Razzāq, which he claims to have received from his four main authorities (Ma'mar, Ibn Jurayj, al-Thawrī and Ibn 'Uyayna) are genuine on the sense that they are not fabricated by 'Abd Razzāq, but really derive from the four authorities named.<sup>60</sup> He then investigates one of 'Abd Razzāq's sources in detail, the transmission of the Meccan scholar Ibn Jurayj, which covers about one third of the *Muṣannaf* and which consist of about 5.000 *ḥadīths*. 39 percent of Ibn Jurayj's material allegedly comes from 'Aṭā b. abī. Rabāḥ, seven percent from 'Amr b. Dīnār, six percent from Ibn Shihāb, five percent from Ibn Tāwus, four percent from Abū l-Zubayr, three percent from 'Abd Karīm, two percent from Hishām b. 'Urwa and two percent from Yaḥyā b.

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change and revision. Goldfeld, "The Tafsīr of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās", pp. 126 and 135. See also Motzki, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence*, p. 95.

<sup>55</sup> Schoeler, "Die Frage", p. 224. Cf. Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam*, p. 35.

<sup>56</sup> Motzki, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence*; "The *Muṣannaf* of 'Abd Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī as a Source of Authentic *Aḥādīth* of the First Century A.H.," in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 50 (1991), pp. 1-21.

<sup>57</sup> Motzki, *The Origins*, pp. 57, 68.

<sup>58</sup> Motzki, "The *Muṣannaf* of 'Abd Razzāq", p. 2.

<sup>59</sup> This approach, which examines the material of a particular transmitter is, according to Motzki, familiar in Western Islamic scholarship since J. Wellhausen's work "Prolegomena zur ältesten Geschichte des Islams," *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. 6 (Berlin 1899). Cf. Motzki *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence*, xii.

Sa'īd, between one point five and one percent each from Ibn Abī Mulayka, Musa b. 'Uqba and 'Amr b. Shu'ayb. Another group of ten names compose seven percent, each only between one and nought point five percent. The remaining 20 percent come from 86 people, each with very few texts. One percent is the personal legal opinion of Ibn Jurayj.<sup>61</sup> For Motzki, this strange distribution of authorities implies that fabrication is improbable. Suppose that Ibn Jurayj is a forger, it is implausible that he would have accredited his material to his authorities in such a complicated way. He could have more easily mentioned one, two or a few older *fuqahā'* for all his texts. Motzki suggests, therefore, that the names of informants indicate real sources. The implausibility of fabrication is, for Motzki, corroborated by the fact that each of Ibn Jurayj's major sources seems to have an individual character. The sources reveal much diversity: (1) Variance in form. For example, the use of *ra'y* is unevenly distributed. (2) Variance in the relationship between Ibn Jurayj's informant and the latter's main authority and the numbers of accounts transmitted from him. The relationship may be pupil/teacher, e.g. in the case of 'Aṭā' b. abī Rabāḥ and Ibn 'Abbas, son/father as in the case of Ibn Tāwūs and Tāwūs, or *mawlā*/patron, as in the case of Nāfi' and Ibn 'Umar. (3) Strong variance in the proportions of traditions from the Prophet, the *ṣaḥāba* and the *tābi'ūn*. (4) Variance in the use of the *isnād*. In some sources *isnāds* are rare, in others frequent (5) Great variance in the terminology of transmission, that is, how Ibn Jurayj presents his sources. He for instance never uses the word "*an*" when he quotes Ibn Mulayka, whereas in 60 to 80 percent of his transmissions from Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd, Mūsā b. 'Uqba and 'Amr b. Shu'ayb he uses the term "*an*". This fluctuation can also be found in his usage of the term "*sami'tu*".<sup>62</sup> For Motzki, all these variances argue against the possible assumption that Ibn Jurayj fabricated the texts or projected them to older authorities. A last argument put forward by Motzki to confirm his conclusion on the reliability of Ibn Jurayj's material in the

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<sup>61</sup> Motzki's source analytical and tradition historical approach leads him to establish the historicity of relationship between 'Abd Razzāq and his alleged main authorities independent from biographical dictionaries. His conclusion on the relationship, however, coincides with what biographical dictionaries are telling about. See Motzki, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence*, pp. 62-71.

Motzki, "The *Muṣannaḥ*", p. 6, for detailed elaboration of Ibn Jurayj's sources see Motzki, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence*, pp. 204-233.

<sup>62</sup> Motzki, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence*, pp. 234-36; "The *Muṣannaḥ* of 'Abd Razzāq...", pp. 7-8.



*Muṣannaf* is the fact that Ibn Jurayj does not always mention his informants. Eight percent of his material is anonymous. This he also takes as an indication that Ibn Jurayj did not fabricate his informants. Motzki asks:

"Why does he cite Nāfi', Ibn Shihāb and even his teacher 'Aṭā' indirectly or anonymously, although he was in contact with them and otherwise always passes on their teachings and traditions directly? For what reason does he transmit *ḥadīths* of the Prophet which for a continuous *isnād* lack only the link before himself, which would be so easy to fabricate, and traditions of the Prophet completely without informants, although he was familiar with a number of a good *isnāds*?"<sup>63</sup> In sum, the theory of "back projection", championed by Schacht does not apply in the case of Ibn Jurayj's transmission.

Motzki does not stop with Jurayj's materials. He goes further in examining materials by Ibn Jurayj's most frequently cited sources, i.e., 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. 115/733) and 'Amr b. Dīnār (d. 126/743-4). Motzki bases his argument on what he calls "extrinsic and intrinsic formal criteria of authenticity". By extrinsic criteria he means the existence of different genres of texts and their frequency. The materials ascribed to both informants can be classified in different genres, that is, *responsa*<sup>64</sup> and *dicta*<sup>65</sup> of 'Aṭā', and 'Amr, which appear in very different proportions.<sup>66</sup> To confirm his hypotheses that the relationship between Ibn Jurayj and 'Aṭā' is historical, Motzki scrutinizes how Ibn Jurayj presents 'Aṭā's materials. He eliminates six intrinsic criteria of authenticity. The criteria refer to (1) the existence of Ibn Jurayj's opinions. This means that he did not feel that it was necessary to project his own opinion backwards to an older authority. (2) Ibn Jurayj's commentary on 'Aṭā's statements. Motzki considers it is implausible that Ibn Jurayj invented a text, then attributed it to 'Aṭā', and later criticized it or commented on it. (3) Ibn Jurayj's indirect transmissions from 'Aṭā'. If he were a forger, he could have easily quoted 'Aṭā' directly without having to use a third person. (4) Ibn Jurayj's occasional expression of uncertainty about 'Aṭā's wording. This for Motzki indicates the truthfulness of Ibn

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<sup>63</sup> Motzki, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence*, p. 243.

<sup>64</sup> By *responsa*, Motzki means answers of 'Aṭā' on questions of Ibn Jurayj or anyone else, named or unnamed.

<sup>65</sup> By *dicta*, he means statements of 'Aṭā', which are not preceded by a question.

<sup>66</sup> For the variance of genres see Motzki, *The Origins*, pp. 79-81.

Jurayj's materials. (5) Ibn Jurayj's record of 'Aṭā's variant traditions. (6) Records of the deficiencies of 'Aṭā, who occasionally express his uncertainty and ignorance, presents contradictory opinions and changes of mind. If Ibn Jurayj had been a forger, then he would not have reported these weaknesses.<sup>67</sup> All the "extrinsic and intrinsic formal criteria" for Motzki argue against the theory that Ibn Jurayj projected material back to earlier authorities. That is to say, Ibn Jurayj's transmission of 'Aṭā's material contained in the *Muṣannaf* of 'Abd Razzāq is historical.

Motzki goes even further in examining 'Aṭā's materials. 'Aṭā refers to some *ṣaḥāba*, such as Ibn 'Abbās, 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, 'Alī, 'Ā'isha, Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, Abū Hurayra, Ibn 'Umar, Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, Mu'āwiya and others. Again his "variance" argument argues against the assumption that 'Aṭā is a forger. 'Aṭā's transmission from Ibn 'Abbās, for example, represents half of all his traditions from the *ṣaḥāba*. Motzki further observes that 'Aṭā nevertheless refers to Ibn 'Abbās infrequently; when he does it, he does not mean to give his own opinion more weight; 'Aṭā sometimes cites Ibn 'Abbās indirectly though he could have always cited him directly; he does not always agree with Ibn 'Abbās, 'Aṭā's Ibn 'Abbās material varies in genre and style; he does not quote any prophetic *ḥadīth* from Ibn 'Abbās although the canonical *ḥadīth* collections abound with them. All this indicates in Motzki's eyes the genuineness of 'Aṭā's Ibn 'Abbās material.<sup>68</sup> As for 'Aṭā's few traditions from other *ṣaḥāba* Motzki suggests that 'Aṭā either really heard and met them or transmits traditions heard from informants (not always given by him) or current at the time.

Most interesting is Motzki's analysis of 'Aṭā's *ḥadīths* from the Prophet, which are rare in his material. He examines several traditions and their variants preserved in other collections in order to date them. One example of his studies is the legal maxim "*al-walad li -l-firāsh wa-li-l-'ābir al-ḥajar*". This maxim is to be found not only in the *Muṣannaf* of 'Abd al-Razzāq but also in the *Muwatta'* and other early and later collections. The variant of the maxim in Mālik's *Muwatta'* and all early variants of the long version have the *isnād* "Ibn Shihāb (al-Zuhri) from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from 'Āisha". There is also short version with the *isnād* "Al-Zuhri from Ibn al-Musayyab

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<sup>67</sup> Motzki, *The Origins*, pp. 83-93; "The *Muṣannaf*", pp. 11-12.

<sup>68</sup> Motzki, *The Origins*, pp. 117-120, 140-147; "The *Muṣannaf*", p. 13-14.

and Abū Salama from Abū Hurayra" From the different variants it is possible to infer that, al-Zuhrī is a common link in the *isnāds* of the texts. Referring to al-Zuhrī's and 'Aṭā's transmissions and references to the maxim, Motzki is sure that the maxim was known by the first decade of the second century. Motzki's dating of the maxim does not stop here. Because 'Aṭā' generally did not transmit from Ibn Shihāb, yet sometimes from 'Urwa, and because 'Urwa is the informant of the common link al-Zuhrī for the maxim "*al-walad li-l-firāsh*", Motzki considers the death of 'Urwa (d. 92/711) as the *terminus ante quem* for the existence of the maxim. This means that not only the maxim but also the long version of this tradition was already in circulation in the second half of the first century A.H.. Motzki does not even rule out the possibility that the maxim was known earlier, and goes back to the Prophet himself.<sup>69</sup> This dating differs widely from that of Schacht, who dates the maxim to the second quarter of the second century. It also contradicts Schacht's theory that traditions from Companions and Successors are generally earlier than those from the Prophet and that there is no tradition from the Prophet which could be regarded as authentic.<sup>70</sup>

Motzki's conclusion that Ibn Jurayj's transmission contained in the *Muṣannaf* of 'Abd al-Razzāq is reliable does not mean that he generally precludes the possibility of fabrication of traditions, but only that he thinks it possible to distinguish between genuine and spurious traditions.<sup>71</sup> Motzki's "variance" argument has not gone unchallenged. As Herbert Berg argues that the variance "may exist because of theological agenda of one or more of the texts' redactors or tradents" it may also "be a product of a less deliberate manipulation of the material in the *Muṣannaf*".<sup>72</sup> This argument, however, as Berg admits is purely hypothetical, and not based on the analysis of the *Muṣannaf*.

Motzki's judgment on the *isnāds* contained in 'Abd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf*, which he bases on the diversity of *isnāds* and *matns*, is in harmony, to a great extent, with the information given by Muslim scholars in biographical dictionaries. Whereas Sezgin and most Muslim scholars, if not all, mainly base their judgment on *isnāds* upon biographical dictionaries, Motzki

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<sup>69</sup> Motzki, "The *Muṣannaf*", pp. 16-18.

<sup>70</sup> Motzki, "The *Muṣannaf*", pp. 16-20; Cf. Joseph Schacht, *Origins*, p. 3.

<sup>71</sup> Motzki, "The *Muṣannaf*", p. 9.

mainly bases his judgment on an analysis of *isnāds* and *matns* found in the collections of traditions.

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<sup>72</sup> Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam*, p. 113.

## 2. Muhammad Mustafa Az(a)mi.

Like Sezgin and Abbott, Azmi argues that the writing down of *ḥadīths* began very early, even at the time of the Prophet. He then proceeds to list fifty Companions, forty-eight Successors in the first century, eighty-six in the late first and early second century and two hundred fifty six in the early second century, who were involved in these literary activities.<sup>73</sup> Azmi, however, fails to eliminate the doubt of his non-Muslim counterparts,<sup>74</sup> because he selects this information mainly from the sources of the third or later century and simply ascribes their sources without having qualms about their authenticity<sup>75</sup>.

Azmi's opinion about the early recording of *ḥadīth* necessitates his dealing with two opposing opinions: a) The argument of some Muslim scholars, who reject that the *ḥadīths* were recorded at an early date and who put forward as proof the existence of *ḥadīths* against writing,<sup>76</sup> and b) the claims of non-Muslim scholars, especially Schacht, who also argue against the early recording of *ḥadīth*.<sup>77</sup> In this regard Azmi first of all deals with the seemingly contradictory *ḥadīth* of the Prophet on the permissibility and non-permissibility of recording *ḥadīth*. Then, Azmi looks in detail at the claims of Western scholarship, especially on Schacht's views on *ḥadīth*.

The reports concerning the question of whether or not it was permissible to record the Prophet's utterances are divergent and even contradictory.<sup>78</sup> The *ḥadīth* forbidding the writing, for example, runs as follows "Do not write

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<sup>73</sup> Mohammad Mustafa Azmi, *Studies in Early Ḥadīth Literature*, pp. 34-182.

<sup>74</sup> Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, p. 4; Motzki, *The Origins*, p. 45; Herbert Berg, *The Development*, p. 26.

<sup>75</sup> Azmi's main sources are, *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl* of Ibn abī Ḥātim, *ʿIlal* of Tirmidhī, *al-Muḥaddith* of Rāmāhurmuzī, *al-Istīʿāb* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, *Taqyīd al-ʿilm* of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tabdhīb* of Ibn Ḥajar, and other sources of the third century or later.

<sup>76</sup> It has already been stated above that classical scholarship portrays the process of *ḥadīth* transmission as primarily oral, at least in the first century. Based on this view Abū Rayya argues that the late date of *ḥadīth* recording became a major obstacle to the accurateness of *ḥadīth*. See Abū Rayya, *Aḍwāʾ*, p. 10; see also Muḥammad Taufiq Ṣidqī, "Kalimāt fī al-naskh wa-tawātūr wa-akhbār al-aḥād wa-al-sunna," in *al-Manār* 11 (1908): 594-598, 688, 696, 771-780; Aḥmad Amīn, *Fajr al-Islām*, p. 210. Similarly, other Muslim scholars stress the *riwāya bi l-maʿnā*, "transmitting according to the sense rather than the exact words" as a source of corruption in *ḥadīth*. Aḥmad Khan, *Maqālat*, II, 190.

<sup>77</sup> Western scholars demanded documentary evidence. Most of them argued that the late recording and the flawed process of transmission, that is oral transmission, are a source of corruption with which the *ḥadīth* literature was beset.

<sup>78</sup> The different reports are mentioned in Ibn Rajab's (d. 795) *Sharḥ ʿilal al-Tirmidhī*, ed. Ṣubḥī al-Sāmarrāʾī, Beirut 1985, pp. 49-50.

anything from me except the *Qur'ān* and whoever has written anything from me other than the *Qur'ān* must erase it" (*lā taktubū 'annī, wa-man kataba 'annī ghayra l-qur'ān fal-yamḥubu*).<sup>79</sup> Likewise, Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī is reported to have been asked to write down the traditions transmitted by him; he refused and said that *ḥadīths* should not be set down in *maṣāḥif*; the Prophet issued his utterances and the Companions kept them in their memory. The people of *ḥadīth* should merely remember what the transmitters tell them.<sup>80</sup> Furthermore, Abū Hurayra is reported to have sat with other Companions writing down the utterances of the Prophet. When the Prophet came and saw their work, he forbade them to do it. He, however, gave them permission to relate the traditions of the Banū Isrā'īl.<sup>81</sup> However, according to a report in the *Sunan* of al-Tirmidhī, one of the *ansār* complained to the Prophet about his weak memory and was advised by the latter to take the help of his right hand (i.e. writing).<sup>82</sup> Similarly, when 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr asked the Prophet: "Shall I write down everything I hear from you?", the Prophet said: "Yes, everything,...I do not speak but the truth".<sup>83</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Transmitted by Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, "Zuhd", 72, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taqyīd al-'ilm*, p. 29-35; Ibn Qutayba, *Ta'wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, p. 365, Muhammad 'Ajāj al-Khaṭīb, *al-Sunna qabla al-tadwīn*, p. 303; Other *ḥadīths* against writing are transmitted by Abū Hurayra, Zayd b. Thābit and Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī (al-Baghdādī, *Taqyīd al-'ilm*, pp. 29-35). Criticizing the *isnāds* of the *ḥadīths*, Azmi argues that the *ḥadīths* against writing are all weak and unacceptable, except the above mentioned *ḥadīth*. Azmi suggests that the *ḥadīth* seems to come from the Prophet, but he explains that the *ḥadīth* means that nothing should be written with the *Qur'ān* on the same sheet. See Azmi, *Studies*, p. 23. See also Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. 'Abd al-Khālīq Khan al-Afghānī, Hyderabad 1966, I, p. 293...*fa-qāla* Abū Sa'īd: *Kunnā lā naktubu shay'an illā l-qur'āna wa-tashabbuha*; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Akhhār ahl al-rusūkh fī al-fiqh wa-al-taḥdīth bi-miqdār al-mansūkh min al-ḥadīth*, ed. Tāhā 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Sa'd, Cairo, n.d., pp. 13-14.

<sup>80</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm*, I, p. 64. The dislike of writing down the *ḥadīth* went together with an aversion to reading the *Qur'ān* from a written book without keeping the words in memory. For a detailed discussion on this topic see M.J. Kister, "Lā taqra'ū l-qur'āna 'alā l-muṣṣafīyyīn...Some Notes on the transmission of *ḥadīth*" in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 22 (1998), pp. 127-162.

<sup>81</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, II, p. 265; *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, II, pp. 280, 287.

<sup>82</sup> Al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi'*, vol. ii, p. 91. It is also reported that 'Alī b. abī Ṭālib had a *ṣaḥīfa* concerning religious obligations, and allowed Abū l-Shah to copy it. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm*, I, p. 71; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Maḥmūd and Aḥmad Shākīr, Cairo 1958, XVIII, pp. 135-6; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, III, p. 58; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalanī, *Fath al-bārī*, I, pp. 82-3; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad 'Abd al-'Azīz, Cairo, 1978, I, p. 396.

<sup>83</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm*, p. 71; Al-Bukhārī, "ilm", 39; Abū Dāwud, "ilm", 3; 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ is reported to have said that two things stimulate him in his desire for life: the scroll dictated to him by the Prophet, *al-ṣaḥīfa al-ṣādiqa*, and the estate of Waht. See al-Rāmāhurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*, pp. 365-67, nos. 319-24; Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī: *al-Madkhal ilā al-sunan al-kubrā*, ed. Muḥammad Diyā'u l-Raḥmān al-A'ẓamī, Kuwayt, 1984, pp. 412-13; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, III, p. 58

Likewise, Rāfi' b. Khadīj<sup>84</sup> is reported to have asked the Prophet whether he would be permitted to write down the utterances of the latter. The Prophet gave his permission and said *uktubūhā wa-lā ḥaraj*<sup>85</sup> "write them down there is nothing bad in them". In addition, Abū Hurayra is said to have stated that there was nobody who surpassed him in the knowledge of *ḥadīth* except 'Abdallah b. 'Amr b. al-Āṣ, for the latter used to write down the Prophet's traditions while Abū Hurayra did not.<sup>86</sup> Furthermore, the Prophet is reported to have sent hundreds of letters containing the formulae of rites and rituals, while the *Qur'ān* itself demands a written record of credit transactions.<sup>87</sup>

Although he does not go as far as to analyze these divergent phenomena, except for a few reports, Azmi put forward two arguments for this thesis that: first, the prohibition refers to the writing of the *Qur'ān* and non-qur'anic material on the same sheet.<sup>88</sup> Second, he takes recourse to the theory of abrogation, which to Azmi means that the prohibition of writing down *ḥadīth* was made earlier and abrogated by later *ḥadīths* permitting it.<sup>89</sup>

### Azmi's defense of the historicity of *ISNĀD* and his criticism to Schacht.

Like most Muslim scholars, Azmi argues that the *isnād* came into use after the murder of third caliph 'Uthmān b. 'Affān in 35/656, when people transmitting *ḥadīth* could no longer be automatically trusted, but their

<sup>84</sup> About him see Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isāba fī tamyiz al-ṣaḥāba*, Cairo 1972, II, 436-37.

<sup>85</sup> Ibn 'Adī, *al-Kāmil fī du'afā' al-rijāl, al-muqaddima*, ed. Ṣubḥī l-Badrī l-Sāmarrā'i, Baghdād, n.d., 48; 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān b. Shāhin, *Nāsikhū l-ḥadīthi wa-mansūkhuh*, ed. Samir b. Amīn al-Zuhrī, al-Urdun 1988, p. 470; Ibn al-Ḥājī, *al-Madkhal*, Beirut 1972, IV, p. 228.

<sup>86</sup> Ibn 'Adī, *al-Kāmil*, p. 48; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isāba*, IV, 194; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb fī ma'rifat al-aṣḥāb*, Cairo 1960, III, p. 957; *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm*, I, p. 70; al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ ma'ānī l-āthār*, IV, pp. 318-19; al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, I, p. 106; al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, II, p. 567; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, I, pp. 184-5.

<sup>87</sup> Sūra, ii, 282.

<sup>88</sup> Azmi, *Studies*, p. 23. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, I, p. 218.

<sup>89</sup> This interpretation is held by a large number of Muslim scholars, see Ibn Qutayba, *Ta'wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, 365; al-Khaṭṭābī, *Ma'ālim al-sunan*, iv, 184; Ibn Qayyim, *Tahdīb al-sunan*, v, 245; Aḥmad Shākīr, *Alfiyat al-Suyūṭī*, 146; *al-Bā'th al-ḥadīth*, 148-9, cited by Azmi, *Studies*, pp. 23-4. See also Abū Zahw, *al-Ḥadīth wa-l-muḥaddithūn*, p. 122-125; Muḥammad 'Ajjāj al-Khaṭīb, *al-Sunna qabla al-tadwīn*, p. 307. Conversely, Rashīd Riḍā argues that *ḥadīths* prohibiting writing came later, abrogating earlier *ḥadīths* which permitted the writing of *ḥadīth*, see *al-Manār* 10 (1907): 752-768. See also Juynboll, *The Authenticity of Tradition Literature*, pp. 47-61; On this issue see also, G. Schoeler, "Mündliche Thora und Ḥadīth: Überlieferung, Schreibverbot, Redaktion", in: *Der Islam* 66 (1989), 213-251 (English version in H. Motzki (ed.), *Ḥadīth. Origins and Development*, Aldershot 2004, 67-108) and M. Cook, "The Opponents of the Writing of Tradition in Early Islam", in: *Arabica* 44 (1997), 437-528.

reliability, veracity and character had to be scrutinized. The basis of this conviction is the saying attributed to Muḥammad b. Sīrīn (d. 110/728):

"*Lam yakūnū yas'alūna 'ani-l-Isnādī fa-lammā waqa'at al-fitnatu qālū sammū lanā rijālakum fa-yunẓaru ilā ahl al-sunna fa-yu'khabhu ḥadīthuhum wa-yunẓaru ilā ahl al-bida'i fa-lā yu'khabhu ḥadīthuhum*". They (the people) were not used to asking about the *isnād*, but when the *fitna* (civil war) occurred they said: Name us your informants. Thus, if these were *ahl al-sunna* their traditions were accepted, but if they were *ahl al-bid'a* their traditions were not accepted"<sup>90</sup>

Schacht regards the attribution of the statement to Ibn Sīrīn as spurious, for he died in 110 A.H., whereas the civil war, in the former's eyes, began with the killing of the Umayyad Caliph Walīd b. Yazīd (126 A.H.). Subsequently, Schacht argues that the use of *isnād* could not have been older than the beginning of the second century.<sup>91</sup> To Azmi this interpretation is arbitrary. Azmi has rightly pointed out that there were many *fitnas* before the assassination of Yazīd. There was the civil war between Ibn al-Zubayr and 'Abd Mālik b. Marwan about 70 A.H. There was a civil war between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya, which is described by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn as the fiercest quarrel in Islamic history.<sup>92</sup>

The civil war (*fitna*) in this report is generally taken by Muslim scholars to indicate the *fitna* following 'Uthmān's murder.<sup>93</sup> Azmi substantiates this notion with a grammatical analysis and points out that Ibn Sīrīn relates a practice earlier than his own period. Ibn Sīrīn's use of the words "*lam yakūnū yas'alūna*" (they did not ask) implies that he points to a practice in earlier days.<sup>94</sup> According to Azmi, it can also be inferred, from these words

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<sup>90</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ bi-sharḥ an-Nawawī*, I. 84.

<sup>91</sup> Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 37.

<sup>92</sup> Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *al-Fitna al-kubrā*, Cairo 1951, p. 5. Cf. Azmi, *On Schachtes Origins*, p. 168.

<sup>93</sup> Muḥammad 'Ajjāj al-Khaṭīb, *As-sunna qabla l-tadwīn*, p. 187; Mustafā al-Sibā'ī, *al-Sunna wa-makānatuhā fī al-tashrī' al-islāmī*, p. 89; Subḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *'Ulūm al-ḥadīth wa-mustalahātuhū*, p. 286; Abū Lubāba Ḥusayn, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*, Riyad, 1979, pp. 32-6; H.U. Rahman, *A Chronology of Islamic History 570-1000 C.E.*, London 1989, p. 36; Muhammad Yusuf Guraya, "Historical Background of the Compilation of the *Muwatta'* of Mālik b. Anas" in *Islamic Studies Journal of the Islamic Research Institute Pakistan*, vol. vii, No. 4, December 1968, p. 379; B.J. Dikken, *Muhammad, Jews and the Christians: A Short Survey of the Position of the Jews and the Christians in Arabia in Early Islam According to Muslim Tradition*, B. J. Dikken 1993, p. 10; Another scholar indicates as the onset of *waq'* (forgery) in early Islam the *fitna* following Ḥusayn's death, see Nūr al-Dīn 'Itr, *Manhaj al-naqd fī 'ulūm al-ḥadīth*, Damascus 1972, p. 47.

<sup>94</sup> Azmi's dating, however, has to answer the question "how early the practice was". Ibn Sīrīn was still a small boy or probably he was not yet born at the time of Uthman's death. How could he know with certainty about this time, if he himself did not have the experience.



that the practice of *isnād* was in existence, but people did not usually inquire.<sup>95</sup>

Azmi also attacks Schacht's claim that the *isnāds* were arbitrarily and carelessly put together by those who projected their doctrines onto ancient authorities. Consequently, the texts of *ḥadīths* came first and then the *isnāds* were arbitrarily added, later improved and extended backwards.<sup>96</sup> "We find therefore a number of alternative names in otherwise identical *isnāds*, where other considerations exclude the possibility of the transmission of a genuine old doctrine by several persons"<sup>97</sup> To support his claim, Schacht provided six examples of alternative attributions in the generation preceding Mālik. (1) Nāfi' and Sālim (2) Nāfi' and 'Abd Allāh b. Dīnār (3) Nāfi' and Zuhri (4) Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar al-'Umarī (5) Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd and Rabī'a (6) Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm and Abū Bakr (b. 'Amr) b. Ḥazm.<sup>98</sup> Azmi finds ample evidence for rejecting the claim of Schacht. Azmi argues that these people "were all genuine historical people; all were of the same generation or lived in the same city for a period of 30 to 40 years".<sup>99</sup> Referring to biographical dictionaries, Azmi is able to establish the possibility that Nāfi' (the *maḥlā* of Ibn 'Umar) and Sālim (the son of Ibn 'Umar) lived in the same city and had ample opportunity to study from Ibn 'Umar.<sup>100</sup> With regard to Nāfi' and 'Abd Allāh b. Dīnār, Azmi finds it

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<sup>95</sup> Azmi, *Studies*, p. 217.

<sup>96</sup> Schacht, *Origins*, p. 163.

<sup>97</sup> Schacht, *Origins*, p. 163.

<sup>98</sup> Schacht, *Origins*, pp. 163-4.

<sup>99</sup> Azmi, *On Schacht's Origins*, p. 169.

<sup>100</sup> Concerning the position of Nāfi' in *ḥadīth* literature, Juynboll has devoted thirty seven pages in an article in which he points out that very little is known about his life histories, there are contradictions in what is known about him, his biography is missing in the *tabaqāt* works dealing with the Medinese successors, such as, *Kitāb al-tabaqāt al-kabīr* of Ibn Sa'd and *Ṣifat al-ṣafwa* of Ibn al-Jawzī. These phenomena lead Juynboll to conclude that (1) the Nāfi'-Ibn 'Umar-Prophet strand cannot be maintained "as a historically feasible chain of transmission." (2) The relation between Mālik and Nāfi' as "student-teacher" which is mentioned in the biographical literature is not historical. (3) The *ḥadīths* with the *isnād* Nāfi'-Ibn 'Umar which are not transmitted via Mālik are all later inventions or falsifications by the authors of the canonical collections or their teachers. (4) Mālik is irrefutably the common link and Nāfi' is the seeming common link of Nāfi'-Ibn 'Umar supported materials. Therefore, Juynboll argues that the *ḥadīths* with *isnād*-Nāfi'-Ibn 'Umar in the canonical collections go back not to Nāfi', but mostly to Mālik b. Anas. See Juynboll, "Nāfi', the *maḥlā* of Ibn 'Umar...", especially pp. 217, 240-242. Cf. Harald Motzki, "*Quo vadis, Ḥadīth* - Forschung?...", especially, p. 42-43, 54. Juynboll's assertions on Nāfi' have been criticized in detail by Motzki. Motzki does not refute the usefulness of *isnād* analytical study in dating a particular *ḥadīth*. He, however, refutes Juynboll's whole conclusion about Nāfi', as mentioned above. Motzki differs fundamentally from Juynboll in interpreting the phenomena of common link and single strand (see the next chapter on the discussion of common link). Juynboll's thesis is that Mālik is the common link of most *ḥadīths* with the

probable that the two scholars had the same opportunity to transmit or to learn a *ḥadīth* from Ibn 'Umar, for 'Abd Allāh b. Dīnār was also a freed man of Ibn 'Umar. Concerning Nāfi' and al-Zuhri, Azmi mentions the transmission of both scholars from different authorities on *ilā'*.<sup>101</sup> Al-Zuhri, who was associated with Ibn al-Musayyab for seven years, transmitted the *fatwās* of the latter, while Nāfi' transmitted the *fatwās* of Ibn 'Umar (his master). The fact that both *fatwās* are fundamentally different contradicts Schacht's notion that there was "a single doctrine ascribed to two early authorities".<sup>102</sup> In the case of Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṣārī and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar al-'Umarī, who both transmitted *āthār* from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taymī, Azmi refers to the fact that the three scholars lived together in Medina, which enabled the former two to transmit the *āthār* from the latter. In Azmi's eyes, common place of living and possibility of contact explain the facts that Schacht considered to be the result of careless compilation of the *isnād*.<sup>103</sup> For the case of Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd and Rabī'a, and of Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm and Abū Bakr (b. 'Amr) b. Ḥazm, as in the former four cases, Azmi again finds no proof for Schacht's claim that the *isnāds* were put together carelessly and in an arbitrary manner.<sup>104</sup>

Schacht's theory of "back projection" is to Azmi illogical in view of the fact that there are "a number of traditions common in form and sense in the traditionist literature of different Muslim sects...who had split off only thirty years after the death of the Prophet. Had all the legal traditions been

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*isnād* Nāfi'-Ibn 'Umar, because it was only Mālik's students who each transmitted the *ḥadīths* to several students, while the other paths of transmission from Nāfi' are all spiders or single strands. Motzki argues that while Juynboll states that he used sources other than the six canonical collections, he does not use it systematically. Motzki suggests that when one wants to draw far reaching conclusions, as Juynboll does, one has to use all transmission that can be found. He further says that one may argue that later collections might include falsifications based on the *isnāds* of the canonical collections, but to Motzki there is no reason for neglecting the earlier collections, namely Mālik's *Muwatta'*, Ibn Abī Shayba's *Muṣannaf*, Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*, al-Ṭayālīsī's *Musnad*, 'Abd Razzāq's *Muṣannaf*, al-Ḥumaydī's *Musnad*, to name the most important ones. In all the *isnād* bundles he studies (nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 8 of Juynboll's article), Motzki is able to show that other paths of transmission exist in addition to the ones adduced by Juynboll, and that therefore most of the spiders and single strands are not what they seem to be. Therefore Nāfi' has to be seen as the real common link, even when applying Juynboll's criteria. Motzki's stronger argument is the *matn cum isnād* analysis of the variants of a Nāfi' *ḥadīth*. For more detailed analysis of Motzki's refutation on Juynboll's claims see, Motzki "Quo vadis, *Ḥadīth* - Forschung?...", in *Der Islam* (73) 1996, pp. 40-80, 193-229.

<sup>101</sup> To swear to abstain from sexual intercourse with one's wife for four month)

<sup>102</sup> Azmi, *On Schacht's Origins*, p. 173.

<sup>103</sup> Azmi, *On Schacht's Origins*, pp. 173-4.

<sup>104</sup> Azmi, *On Schacht's Origins*, pp. 171-176.

fabricated in the second and the third century A. H., there could not be a single tradition common to sources of these different sects".<sup>105</sup> Furthermore, Azmi asks why would scholars choose weak personalities for their *isnāds*, whereas they could simply have chosen more respected figures? This is illogical to Azmi.<sup>106</sup> Perhaps even more compelling is Azmi's argument that in many cases a single *ḥadīth* was transmitted by a large number of transmitters of different localities. It is almost impossible that they would have met and agreed on this kind of fabrication.<sup>107</sup> The strength of Azmi's argument seems to depend on whether or not the *isnāds* were fabricated and when. Those who consider fabrication to be probable regard Azmi's argument as circular.

Schacht's third thesis, criticized by Azmi, is his claim that *isnāds* were gradually improved through fabrication and alteration. The *isnāds* tend to grow backwards. This backward growth is identical with the projection of doctrines back to the older authorities. "The most perfect and complete *isnāds* are the latest".<sup>108</sup> Schacht quotes examples on which he bases his theory that *isnāds* gradually improved.<sup>109</sup> Schacht's claim has been picked up by Juynboll in its entirety. Like Schacht, Juynboll argues that *ḥadīth* were transmitted randomly, but when the situation required a full *isnād*, both historical personalities and fictitious people were chosen to fill the gap in the *isnād*.<sup>110</sup>

Azmi accuses Schacht of not only having failed to appreciate the nature of the sources he quoted but also of having applied a false methodology, which drove him to a false conclusion. Azmi argues that early legal scholars, like Abū Yūsuf and even Shāfi'ī and others, did not always feel obliged to mention all the authorities or *isnāds* and sources available to them, especially if the *ḥadīth* in question was well known among the scholars.<sup>111</sup> "Their main concern was the legal point at issue". Therefore, for Azmi it is incorrect to

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<sup>105</sup> Azmi, *Studies*, pp. 242-243.

<sup>106</sup> Azmi's argument on the illogicality of "back projection" is similar to Motzki's argument on the implausibility of back projection, even if their methods are different. See above.

<sup>107</sup> Azmi, *Studies*, p. 237.

<sup>108</sup> Schacht, *Origins*, p. 165.

<sup>109</sup> Schacht, *Origins*, pp. 165-167.

<sup>110</sup> G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, p. 5. Juynboll has been strongly influenced by Schacht's theories on *ḥadīth* research, particularly the latter's backward growth of *isnād* and common link theory. This is reflected in almost all, if not all, of Juynboll articles. See, Juynboll, *Studies on the Origins and Uses of Islamic Ḥadīth*, Aldershot 1996.

<sup>111</sup> For examples on this pattern see Azmi, On Schacht's *Origins*, Appendix 1, pp. 206-212.

study *fiqh* and *sīra* literature for the study of *isnād*, and then impose the result of the study on the whole literature, as Schacht did. Azmi then analyses the examples adduced by Schacht to exemplify his assertion on the gradual improvement of *isnād*. Azmi concludes that four out of six of Schacht's examples prove that complete *isnāds* were recorded before incomplete ones. This undermines Schacht's theory that the most complete *isnāds* are the latest.<sup>112</sup> In other words, when incomplete *isnāds* appear in a later work to be more complete, they are not necessarily an improvement or fabrication of later scholars. This phenomenon might have been caused by the nature and the character of *fiqh* literature. It is a fact, however, that there are many examples in *ḥadīth* literature, in which the *isnāds* are better and more perfect in later collections. One cannot criticize, therefore, the theory that the *isnāds* tend to grow backwards as such, but only Schacht's generalization on the gradual improvement of *isnāds*.

Parallel with the improvement of *isnāds* by backward growth and back projection, Schacht further claims that additional authorities were created in order to obviate the objection of a *ḥadīth* being isolated.<sup>113</sup> In the example he adduces to exemplify his assertion, Schacht points out how the creation of additional authorities was made. Mālik, for example, refers to the instruction given by 'Umar concerning *zakāt* without *isnād*, but later the instruction was improved in Ibn Ḥanbal and in the classical collections in which the *isnād* was completed, and was projected back to the Prophet.<sup>114</sup> To refute Schacht's argument Azmi quotes Mālik's contemporary, Abū Yūsuf, who recorded the *ḥadīth* with the *isnād* "Zuhrī - Sālim - Ibn 'Umar - The Prophet. The Prophet dictated a decree on *zakāt*, which was followed by Abū Bakr and then 'Umar."<sup>115</sup> This means that the *ḥadīth* had already been recorded with full *isnād* by Abū Yūsuf in the time of Mālik, and it was not the improvement of Ibn Ḥanbal, who mentioned it with full *isnād*. In addition, Azmi considers Schacht to have primarily used an *argumentum e silentio*,<sup>116</sup> which assumes that "if one scholar at any given time was ignorant of a particular *ḥadīth* or failed to mention it, or, rather, that if it was not

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<sup>112</sup> Azmi, *On Schacht's Origins*, p. 188.

<sup>113</sup> Schacht, *The Origins*, p. 166. For an objection of Schacht's assertion see, Motzki, "The Prophet and the Cat...", in *JSAL* 22 (1998), p. 32.

<sup>114</sup> Schacht, *The Origins*, p. 167.

<sup>115</sup> Azmi, *On Schacht's Origins*, p. 189.

mentioned by later scholars that earlier scholars used that particular *ḥadīth*, then the *ḥadīth* did not exist at that time”<sup>117</sup>

Furthermore, Azmi criticized Schacht’s assertion on the family *isnād*, and on the common link. Azmi does not consider all the family *isnāds* to be genuine, nor does he regard them all as spurious. “If a statement of a father about his son or vice versa, or wife about her husband, or a friend about a friend, or a colleague about a colleague is always unacceptable, then on what basis could a biography possibly be written?”<sup>118</sup>

The “common link” is the earliest transmitter from whom multiple *isnād* strands begin to fan out. Schacht claims that a *ḥadīth* that has a common link in its *isnāds* was brought into circulation by the common link himself, provided the common link was not a first century figure in which case the purported transmission from the common link is not historical.<sup>119</sup> Schacht’s concept has been further developed, refined or criticized by G.H.A. Juynboll, M. Cook, H. Motzki and others.<sup>120</sup> Criticizing Schacht, Azmi points out that the example adduced by Schacht as the common link is in fact not a common link. Azmi further scrutinizes the *ḥadīth Barīra*, the example adduced by Schacht to illustrate his assertions on the common link. According to Schacht, the Medinese allowed the sale of the *mukātab* slave. This can be found in a *ḥadīth* with the *isnād* Mālik – Hishām – ‘Urwa (Hishām’s father) – ‘Ā’isha (‘Urwa’s aunt) – Prophet. Hishām is the common link in the several versions of this family *isnād*. Family *isnāds* are, according to Schacht, spurious.<sup>121</sup> Applying Schacht’s theories regarding common links leads to the assumption that the *ḥadīth* was fabricated in Hishām’s time, either by himself or by someone, who used his name.<sup>122</sup> It is here that Azmi strongly differs from Schacht. Azmi argues it is improbable that the transmitters of Hishām, who have learned the *ḥadīth* from him did not know the name of their teacher. It is improbable that transmitters of Hishām conspired to use Hishām’s name. It also cannot be imagined that “anonymous scholars convince several different students that they should

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<sup>116</sup> A detailed review on this term will be dealt with in the next chapter.

<sup>117</sup> Azmi, *On Schacht’s Origins*, p. 116.

<sup>118</sup> Azmi, *On Schacht’s Origins*, p. 197.

<sup>119</sup> Schacht, *The Origins*, pp. 171-179.

<sup>120</sup> See the next chapter on the discussion of the „common link“ concept.

<sup>121</sup> Schacht, *The Origins*, p. 174.

<sup>122</sup> Schacht, *The Origins*, pp. 171-173.

fictitiously ascribe the *ḥadīth* to Hishām"<sup>123</sup> After having examined in detail Schacht's claims on the *isnāds*, Azmi concludes that the *isnād* system is completely reliable.

Azmi also criticizes Schacht's depiction of the *sunna* concept as nothing more than the "living tradition" of the ancient schools of law<sup>124</sup>, which is expressed by terms such as *al-ʿamal al-mujtamaʿ ʿalayh* "generally agreed practice", *al-amr ʿindanā* "our practice...".<sup>125</sup> Schacht claims that "the practice existed first and traditions from the Prophet and from Companions appeared later".<sup>126</sup> To corroborate his claim Schacht quotes Ibn Qāsim from the *Mudawwana* of Saḥnūn, who says "This tradition has come down to us, and if it were accompanied by a practice..., it would be right to follow it. But in fact it is like those other traditions which are not accompanied by practice"<sup>127</sup>. Azmi has rightly pointed out that Ibn Qāsim does not say anywhere or even imply that the practice existed first and the traditions from the Prophet appeared later, as Schacht claims. Azmi asserts that Ibn Qāsim's statement merely implies that there are two kinds of traditions transmitted on the authority of the Prophet. The first is accompanied by practices of Companions and Successors and the other is not. In the case of a conflict, the first should be adopted.<sup>128</sup>

With regard to the authenticity of *ḥadīths*, Azmi generally accuses Schacht of having "inconsistencies both within the theory itself and in the use of source material, unwarranted assumptions and unscientific method of research, mistakes of fact, ignorance of the political and geographical realities of the

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<sup>123</sup> Azmi, *On Schacht's Origins*, p. 204. For a detailed analysis of the Barīra-tradition see U. Mitter, *Das frühislamische Patronat*, Nijmegen 1999, pp. 101-144. She has pointed out that the common link is not Hishām, but ʿUrwa, and Schacht's dating is incorrect.

<sup>124</sup> Schacht, *The Origins*, p. 58.

<sup>125</sup> Schacht, *The Origins*, pp. 62-3.

<sup>126</sup> Schacht, *The Origins*, p. 63.

<sup>127</sup> Schacht, *The Origins*, p. 63.

<sup>128</sup> Azmi, *On Schacht's Origins*, p. 58. With regard to the relationship of *ʿamal* and *ḥadīth* ʿIyād discusses it in some detail, saying that: "(i) the *ʿamal* in question will accord with the *ḥadīth*, in which case it will serve as a support for the validity of the *ḥadīth*; or (ii) the *ʿamal* will accord with one *ḥadīth* but be contradicted by another, in which case the *ʿamal* is one of the strongest arguments for preferring the first *ḥadīth* to the second; or (iii) the *ʿamal* will contradict the *ḥadīth* (or *ḥadīths*). If in this last instance the *ʿamal* is *ʿamal naqlī*, i.e. derives from the time of the Prophet, it is to be preferred to the *ḥadīth*, because this type of *ʿamal* is definitely authoritative (*qaṭʿī al-thubūt*) whereas the *khābar al-wāḥid* is only presumptively authoritative (*ẓannī al-thubūt*). If, however, it is *ʿamal* based on *ijtihād*, then the predominant view is that *akhbār al-āḥād* are given preference over it" If there is a *ḥadīth* on a point but no *ʿamal*, ʿIyād says "there is of course no conflict and the *ḥadīth* is followed, providing it is authentic and that there is no contradictory *ḥadīth*". Yasin Dutton, *The Origins of Islamic Law. The Qurʾān, The Muwaṭṭa and Madinan ʿAmal*, Curzon 1999, pp. 41-2.

time, and misinterpretation of the meaning of the texts quoted, and misunderstanding of the method of quotation of early scholars"<sup>129</sup>.

However, Azmi's refutations of Schacht's claims have not gone unchallenged. Criticizing Azmi, Motzki suggest that Azmi's polemical attitude toward Schacht's assertion has sometimes led Azmi to misunderstand Schacht's views. Whereas Azmi accuses Schacht of having sometimes incorrectly understood the sources he quotes, Motzki accuses Azmi of having sometimes misunderstood Schacht's argumentation.<sup>130</sup>

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Azmi, *On Schacht's Origins*, p. 116. For Azmi's detailed argument, see Azmi, *On Schacht's Origins*, pp. 117-153

<sup>130</sup> For example see Motzki, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence*, pp. 40-43.

## V. Non-Muslim scholars' approach to ḤADĪTH literature

### 1. The concept of common link and single strand".

Unlike Muslim scholarship's emphasis in *ḥadīth* research, which stresses how to verify a particular *ḥadīth* in order to distinguish the reliable from the unreliable ones, the emphasis in Western *ḥadīth* research is how to date a particular *ḥadīth* to assess its provenance. This is because most Western scholars, if not all, believe that very few, if any, *ḥadīths* can be historically attributed to the Prophet. Therefore, the research question is: when, where and by whom was a particular *ḥadīth* invented. In order to answer that question, a number of methods have been developed in Western scholarship. One of the methods has introduced the so-called 'common link' concept, which has led to the creation of other concepts like "partial common link", "spider", "single strand" and "diving". How these concepts work, and to what extent we can lay credence on them, will be dealt with in the following pages.

The concept of a common link was introduced by Joseph Schacht. His book *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, published in 1950, has become the primary source of inspiration for *ḥadīth* research in more recent Western scholarship. Schacht's general conclusion on *ḥadīth* was that no *ḥadīth* can be historically traced back to the Prophet. This was based on the hypothesis that *isnāds* tend to grow backwards. By studying carefully the growth of *isnāds* and by analyzing the *isnāds* of a particular *ḥadīth*, he tried to identify the common transmitter of the *ḥadīth* in question. He came to the conclusion that the occurrence of a common link in all or most *isnāds* of a given *ḥadīth* would be a strong indication of its having originated in the time of the common link<sup>1</sup>. Thus, in spite of their partially fictitious character, *isnāds* could be used to discover the author of a given *ḥadīth* by comparing their different *isnāds* and looking for their common link.

Schacht's concept has been adopted by Josef van Ess. Like Schacht, he recognizes that *isnāds* grew backwards and he accepts the common link theory. Contrary to Schacht, however, the common link may serve not only

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<sup>1</sup> Joseph Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, p. 172.



a *terminus post quem* but also a *terminus ante quem*<sup>2</sup>.

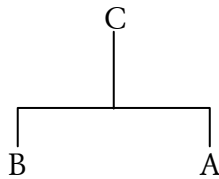
Unlike van Ess, Michael Cook is skeptical about the value of the common link theory and the historical information it may convey. Criticizing the phenomenon of common link, Michael Cook deals with the proliferation or the spread of *isnāds*<sup>3</sup>, that is, the creation of additional authorities (transmitters) for the same *matn*. The proliferation of *isnāds* might have occurred in various ways: Firstly, by omitting a contemporary transmitter. Hypothetically speaking, assume that a transmitter (we call him A) has heard of a tradition from one of his contemporary traditionists (we call him B), who has heard it from his teacher (C). If A is scrupulous in his transmitting, he will mention B as his authority when he in turn passes on the *matn* (see diagram 1).

Diagram 1



Because the shorter the *isnād* the more elegant it is, and imagining some credit for himself, A does not quote B, who might be a mere contemporary or even younger. Rather, he directly mentions the teacher of B, i.e. C (see diagram 2).

Diagram 2



Secondly, a common link may also appear by ascribing the saying to a different teacher. Hypothetically speaking, let us assume that ‘Abd Allāh tells Ibn Sa‘īd a saying he has heard from Ibn Jubayr who got it from Ibn ‘Abbās. But instead of claiming to have heard it from ‘Abd Allāh who heard it from his teacher Ibn Jubayr (that would give the *isnād* of diagram 3), Ibn Sa‘īd ascribes the *ḥadīth* from Ibn ‘Abbās to his own teacher Ibn

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<sup>2</sup> See J. van Ess, *Zwischen Hadīt und Theologie*, Berlin, New York 1975, pp. 5-32.

<sup>3</sup> Michael Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, Cambridge 1981, pp. 107-116.

Jurayj because it may be well-known that Ibn Sa‘īd never met Ibn Jubayr or because the latter was not regarded by the Ibn Sa‘īd as an important person.) Assuming that the transmission of ‘Abd Allāh survives independently of Ibn Sa‘īd’s, later generations who put the two transmissions together will find that Ibn ‘Abbās is the common link.<sup>4</sup> See diagram 4.

Diagram 3

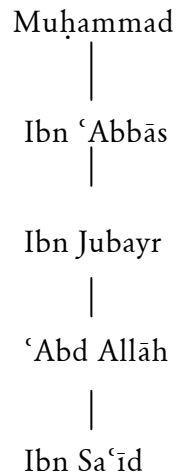
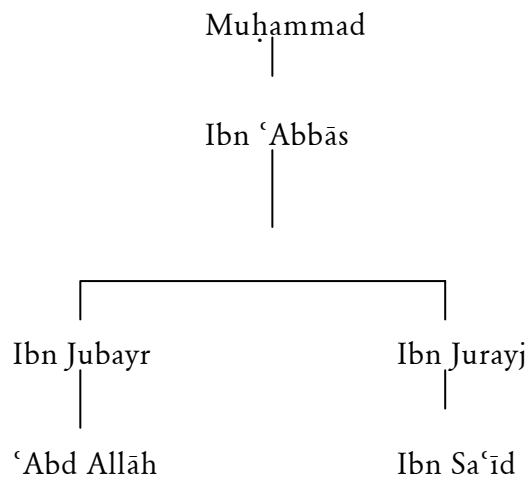


Diagram 4




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<sup>4</sup> The names are not given by Michael Cook but by Herbert Berg in his summary of Cook’s argument.. See Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam*, pp. 42-45. The names chosen, however, are not convincing as example because Ibn Jurayj cannot have heard Ibn ‘Abbās. Thus Ibn Sa‘īd would most likely not make this choice for a fictitious *isnād*. Cf. H. Motzki, “The Question of the Authenticity of Muslim Tradition”, in: H. Berg (ed.), *Method and Theory in the Study of Islamic Origins*, Leiden 2003, p. 222, note 35.

Thirdly, by obviating the "isolated" *ḥadīth*. "Because a well-attested *ḥadīth* carries more weight, there would be a strong motivation to discover other *isnāds*"<sup>5</sup>.

These methods of creating *isnāds*, according to Cook, yield the appearance of a common link. Yet it is the result of forgery. The appearance of a common link, therefore, cannot provide a fixed historical point of *ḥadīth* transmission. Thus, he doubts not only the transmissions of single strands but also those with common links. Cook, however, is not sure yet about whether "spread of *isnād* was a process operative on a historically significant scale, or just an ingenious idea of Schacht's"<sup>6</sup>. The process of creating authority as described by Cook may have occurred to a certain degree, but to imagine that it was the common feature of *ḥadīth* transmission is historically untenable, for at least two reasons. (1) Cook's description is more imaginary than based on historical facts. He does not provide his description with enough historical evidence.<sup>7</sup> (2) It is not difficult to find in *ḥadīth* literature a *ḥadīth*, which has independently been transmitted by some transmitters of different regions (Juynboll terms them partial common links (pcl)), who ascribe their respective transmission to a given transmitter (according to Schacht's term the common link (cl)). In such case, though according to Juynboll's later theory they are very rare,<sup>8</sup> the historicity of the transmission of common link is difficult to deny<sup>9</sup>.

Another scholar who criticizes the common link theory and the reliable information it may convey is Norman Calder. He denies that the common link has any relevance for dating traditions. A *ḥadīth*, which has a common link in the *isnāds* was not the result of fabrication by the common link. Calder's understanding of the appearance of a common link in the *ḥadīth* literature is different from what Schacht has depicted. The common link was, according to him, the result of competition among groups in and after

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<sup>5</sup> Michael Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, pp. 107-116; Cf. Herbert Berg, *The Development of Early Exegesis in Early Islam*, pp. 42-45; G. H. A. Juynboll, "Some *Isnād* Analytical Method...", pp. 354-355.

<sup>6</sup> Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, p. 111.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Motzki, "The Question", p. 222.

<sup>8</sup> See the discussion of Juynboll's theory.

the second half of the third century<sup>9</sup>. When a *matn* of a *ḥadīth* attained acceptance in several groups, each group provided it with *isnāds* reflecting the scholarly tradition of the respective groups. "Since nearly all groups recognized the common heroes of the age of the Prophet, it tends to be at about the level of Successor that *isnāds* start converging". When they were competing with one another "they engage in a mutual process of *isnād* criticism, which, again because they share a common respect for the generation of the Companions and the Successors, tends to focus on ousting a *ḥadīth* by destroying the third and fourth link"<sup>10</sup>. This scenario "leads to the common link phenomenon, which reflects nothing whatsoever about the origins of the *matn* of the *ḥadīth*. It reflects *isnād* criticism and competition in or after the second half of the third century"<sup>11</sup>. According to Calder "the common-link phenomenon as a feature of *ḥadīth* relates to a method of *isnād* criticism current amongst jurists and others in the second half of the third century"<sup>12</sup>. Thus, unlike Schacht who regards the common link as the fabricator of *matn*, he considers it to be the figure preceding the figure, which became the focus of dispute in mutual *isnād* criticism. Calder states "The dispute took place in the second half of the third century. It was during this period that all of these *isnāds* were discovered (or invented)"<sup>13</sup>. To substantiate his claim, Calder analyzed the *isnāds* of a *ḥadīth* about *mass al-dhakar*, with material from al-Ṭaḥāwī's *Ma'ānī al-āthār*, where the Mālikīs and Ḥanafīs took simple opposing positions<sup>14</sup>. His analysis of the *isnāds* of this particular *ḥadīth* leads him to the general conclusions about the appearance of common links as described above. If Calder's scenario were generally true, then the common link concept loses every utility for dating *ḥadīth*. That it is generally true can be doubted however, for he based his conclusion only on al-Ṭaḥāwī's presentation of a *ḥadīth* in *Ma'ānī al-āthār*, which is, according to him, of a "partisan nature" and works not only with "ad hoc arguments" but also with "arbitrary and irresponsible manipulation

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<sup>9</sup> Cf. Juynboll, "Some *Isnād* Analytical Methods", pp. 355-356.

<sup>10</sup> Norman Calder, *Studies*, 237.

<sup>11</sup> Norman Calder, *Studies*, 237.

<sup>12</sup> Norman Calder, *Studies*, 237.

<sup>13</sup> Norman Calder, *Studies*, 240.

<sup>14</sup> Norman Calder, *Studies*, 240; Cf. Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam*, p. 47-48.

<sup>15</sup> Norman Calder, *Studies* 237-240.

of prophetic and Companion dicta”<sup>16</sup>. The scenario, claimed by Calder, has been challenged by Motzki. Having analyzed the *isnāds* and identified the common link of the ”cat” *ḥadīth*, he suggests that Calder’s scenario does not work in this case.<sup>17</sup>

Unlike Cook and Calder, who criticize Schacht's concept of common link, Juynboll has picked it up in totality, has even given a new perspective on it and increased its scope, even though he differs from Schacht in several significant points. Juynboll, like most other Western scholars, is not inclined to ascribe a particular *ḥadīth* to the Prophet merely because it is found in the so-called canonical collections. In dating a given *ḥadīth*, he has always addressed himself to three key questions, i.e., where, when and by whom may a certain *ḥadīth* have been brought into circulation. In his view, the responses to the three questions can, at the same time, answer the questions of provenance, chronology and authorship of a particular *ḥadīth*<sup>18</sup>. To answer the three questions, one must, first of all, identify the common link of a given *ḥadīth*. In so doing, the *isnād* of a particular *ḥadīth* must be analyzed, for example, by constructing an *isnād* bundle<sup>19</sup>.

In his research, Juynboll has pointed out that the common characteristic of the *isnāds* which accompany the *ḥadīths* of the Prophet ”consists of only single strands of three (or four, or five) transmitters after the Prophet before the transmission paths of a report start branching out in various directions along several different strands”<sup>20</sup> (see diagram 5). The fourth or the fifth transmitter, from whom the *matn* is transmitted onwards through numbers of transmitters, ending up finally in a number of canonical collections, is, since the time of Schacht, called the ‘common link’. A pupil of the common link who himself has several pupils is called ‘partial common link’ (pcl) by Juynboll, whereas the single transmission line between the common link and the Prophet is called by Juynboll ‘single strand’.

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<sup>16</sup> Harald Motzki, ”The Prophet and the Cat”, pp. 37-8.

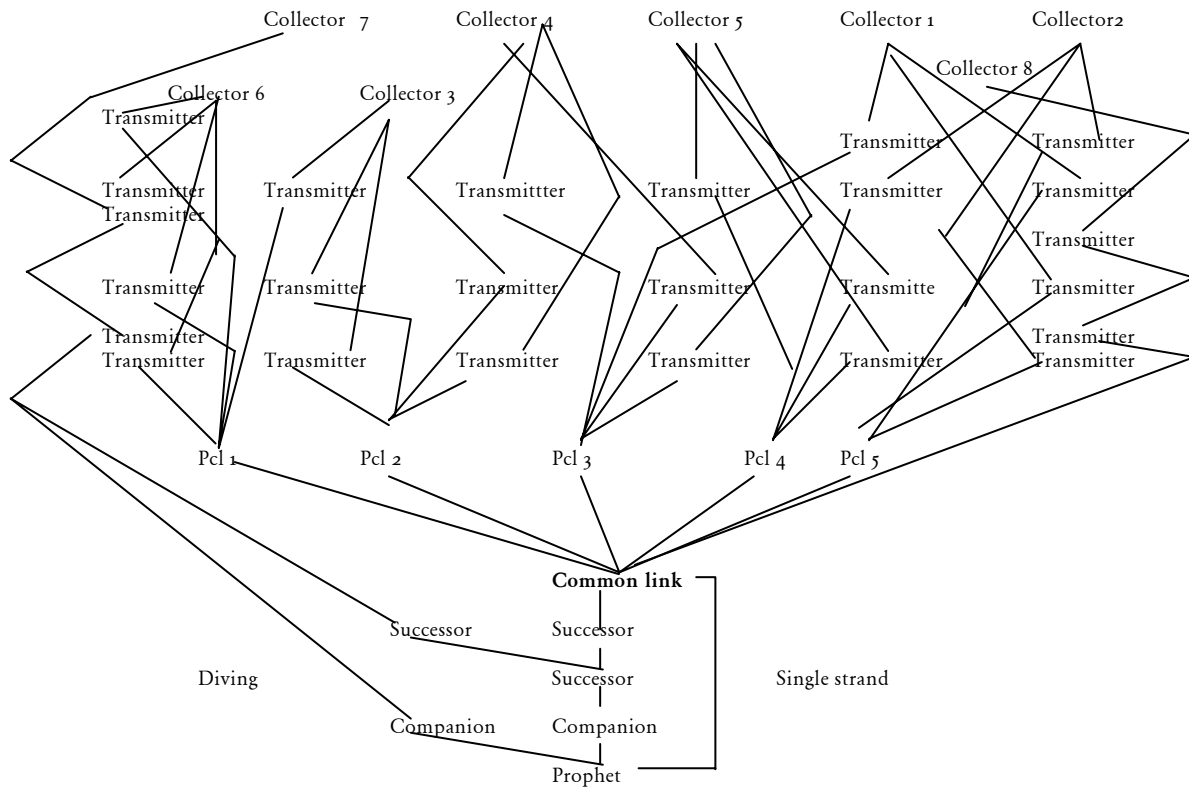
<sup>17</sup> Motzki, ”The Prophet and the Cat”, pp. 36-38. For another critique of Calder’s ideas, see M. Muranyi, ”Die Frühe Rechtsliteratur zwischen Quellenanalyse und Fiktion,” pp. 224-41.

<sup>18</sup> G. H. A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, p. 7.

<sup>19</sup> Juynboll makes use of Mizzi’s *Tuhfat al-ashraf bi-ma’rifat al-aṭrāf* in most of his *isnād* bundles.

<sup>20</sup> G. H. A. Juynboll, ”The Role of the *Mu’ammārūn*”, p. 155.

Diagram 5



According to Juynboll, only the transmission of a common link, which is backed up by several partial common links can be regarded as historically tenable (the transmission from the common link to collectors 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6). Whereas diving transmissions, i.e. *isnāds* which circumvent the common link and single strand transmissions, either from the Prophet to the common link or from the common link to the later generations, until they reach a collector (see collectors 7 and 8), have to be rejected as being historically improbable or, to say the least, historically fragile. This has to be presumed even if the text was allegedly transmitted through written materials. As Juynboll puts it: "If someone gave his tradition files, his *ṣaḥīfas*, to just one pupil for copying, it is unlikely that the latter passed them on for copying similarly to just one pupil, and it is even more unlikely that the last mentioned passed them on for copying again in the same fashion to another single pupil. In early Islam *ṣaḥīfas* are described as going from hand to hand, even if there was no formal master/pupil relationship between original compiler and later transmitters"<sup>21</sup>. Moreover,

<sup>21</sup> Juynboll, "Nāfi", the *Mawlā* of Ibn 'Umar", p. 212; "Some Notes on Islams's first *Fuqahā'*

owing to his distrust of single strands, Juynboll coined the term "diving" to explain the phenomenon of given *ḥadīths*, which are allegedly transmitted by more than one Companion or Successor according to *isnāds*, which "dive" beneath the level of the common link.

Juynboll is of the opinion that it was the common link, which was responsible for both the *matn* (the text) of a given *ḥadīth* and for the strand of transmitters connecting the common link with the Prophet<sup>22</sup>. He asserts that if the ascription to the Prophet would be historical than it should begin to fan out immediately after the Prophet, i.e., at the level of the Companions and not after three, four or five generations. That sort of transmission, as Juynboll claims, regrettably cannot be found in the so-called canonical collections. To explain the phenomenon of a strand, which is, according to him, seemingly transmitted by more than one Successor or more than one Companion beneath the common link, he introduced the term "diving", which, on the basis of his scrutiny, means that at first sight the *ḥadīth* seems to have been transmitted by more than one Successor or Companion, but upon inspection of the *isnād* it turns out to be a single strand. Such a strand is, according to Juynboll, invented by a particular collector to substantiate the transmission of the *ḥadīth* in question. It bypasses the common link, and directly dives either to the Successor's or to the Companion's level. He said of this phenomena of diving: the deeper the "dive" under the common link, the more recent is the date of origin of the *isnād*.

Juynboll's views on *isnād* analysis have been continuously subjected to modification. He even sharpened the conditions for a real common link at the beginning of the nineties. This has led him to conclude that most common links have turned out to be merely seeming common links, and it is one of the partial common links that has to be regarded as the real common link. Juynboll has explained this phenomenon in detail in his article "Nāfi' the *mawlā* of Ibn 'Umar", in which he does not regard the apparent common link Nāfi' as the real common link, but the partial

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distilled from Early *Ḥadīth* Literature", p. 296.

<sup>22</sup> G. H. A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, pp. 206-217; "The Role of the *Mu'ammārūn*", p. 155; "Nāfi'", p. 210.

common link Mālik b. Anas.<sup>23</sup>

How does one explain the phenomenon that there is a single strand from the Prophet to common link, and that the common link belongs to the third and fourth generation, instead of the first and second generation which is a general feature of *ḥadīth* according to Juynboll? He continues to speculate that this striking phenomenon was closely related to the birth of the *isnād* which is regarded as a requirement of authenticity. He claims that this took place only between 63-73, when ‘Abd Allāh b. az-Zubayr proclaimed rebellion against Umayyad authority<sup>24</sup>. Since this time all transmitters were obliged to name their informants or older authorities. To fill in the gap between themselves and the Prophet, transmitters after this time chose haphazardly both historical personalities and fictitious persons as their alleged informants.<sup>25</sup>

What Juynboll described as the common feature of *ḥadīths* in the canonical collections is, indeed, found very often. That is, the transmission from the Prophet to the common link is a single strand, and it is only after the common link that the transmission begins to fan out. This fact, however, does not rule out the fact that there are some traditions, which do not follow this pattern but which are transmitted in a *tawātur* way (multiplied transmission from generation to generation). This kind of *ḥadīth* can be found in Azmi’s edition of *Nuskhat* Suhail. In editing Suhail’s work, Azami showed that some of its *ḥadīths* have been transmitted in a *tawātur* way. For example, the *ḥadīth*

”inna *ma* l-*imāmu* la-yu’tammu bihi, fa-idhā kabbara fa-kabbirū, wa-idhā raka’a fa-rka’ū, wa-idhā qāla sami’a allāhu liman ḥamidahu fa-qūlū allāhumma rabbanā laka l-ḥamdu, wa-idhā sajada fa-sjudū wa-lā tasjudū ḥattā yasjuda, wa-idhā rafa’a fa-rfa’ū walā tarfa’ū ḥattā yarfa’a, wa-idhā ṣallā qā’idan fa-ṣallū qu’ūdan ajma’ūn”<sup>26</sup>

According to Azmi’s list of transmitters based on several collections, this *ḥadīth* was transmitted by seven Companions at the first stage, i.e., Abū

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<sup>23</sup> G. H. A. Juynboll, "Nāfi‘, the *mawlā* of Ibn ‘Umar..." pp. 207-244.

<sup>24</sup> Juynboll, "Nāfi‘...", p. 210.

<sup>25</sup> Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, p. 5.

<sup>26</sup> *Ḥadīth* 3 of *Nuskhat* Suhail.



Hurayra, ‘Ā’isha, Jābir, Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr, Abū Umāma, Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī and Anas b. Mālīk. The first four belong to Madīna, the last two belong to Baṣra and Abū Umāma belongs to al-Shām (Syria). At the second stage the number of transmitters becomes larger. Abu Hurayra's tradition has transmitted by at least seven students from different regions. Four of them came from Madīna, two from Egypt and one from Yemen. These students of Abū Hurayra in turn have students, who total at least twelve. This *ḥadīth* has also been transmitted by other Companions to their own students of different localities, which increases to at least sixteen in the second generation and up to twenty six in the third generation<sup>27</sup>. If a particular *ḥadīth* was transmitted by a number of Companions to a number of Successors of different regions and then to a number of transmitters of different localities in the next generation, it is unlikely that in every generation the transmitters of different regions consulted each other to forge the *ḥadīth*. If *isnāds* are considered as generally reliable, it is difficult to deny the historicity of such *ḥadīth*. However, one may wonder how many canonical *ḥadīths* have been transmitted in a *tawātur* way. Yet Juynboll questions the historicity of this kind of transmission. He would first ask: Are all these Companions partial common links, which in turn have several partial common links as transmitters, and are the transmitters of the latter likewise partial common links of this type? If this is not the case then Juynboll would not regard the transmission as historical. Juynboll's conditions for a historical transmission going back to the Prophet seem to be rarely fulfilled, if at all, in *ḥadīth* literature. This proves for Juynboll that the earliest parts of the *isnāds* are unreliable and do not reflect a real transmission. Yet the strange phenomenon of early single strand cannot only be explained as result of fiction but also of collection. Juynboll fails to consider this possibility.<sup>28</sup>

Juynboll's explanation that the chronology of the appearance of the *isnād* led to the appearance of common links and single strands has been criticized by Harald Motzki. According to the latter, this chronology does not explain why common links are not usually found at the level of the

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<sup>27</sup> For more detailed informations about this *ḥadīth* and other *ḥadīths*, which have been transmitted in a *tawātur* way see Azami, *Dirāsāt fī al-ḥadīth al-nabawī*, Beirut 1968, pp. 27-31.

<sup>28</sup> See below in the discussion of Motzki's views

early Successors but one or more generations later. It explains at best the phenomenon of single strands. Motzki, therefore, has tried to find another explanation for the phenomena of common links and single strands.

Unlike Schacht, Juynboll and others, who consider the common link to be the fabricator and originator of a particular *ḥadīth*<sup>29</sup>, Motzki interprets the common links as the first systematic collectors of traditions, who recorded and transmitted them in regular classes of students out of which an institutionalized system of learning developed<sup>30</sup>. The common links, i.e., the first systematic collectors, who passed on the *ḥadīths* of the first century provided their transmissions with *isnāds*, i.e., they named the informant from which they had received a particular *ḥadīth* together with an *isnād* or not. The explanation for the fact that these first collectors (common links) quoted only one authority for their transmission is that they exclusively passed on the version of the *ḥadīth* that they had received and/or considered as the most reliable one and that the necessity to quote more authorities and informants, and that means also variant *matn* versions, was not yet required. It is, however, possible that collectors (common links) added the most suitable informants if they had forgotten their real informants<sup>31</sup>.

His interpretation of the common link phenomenon leads Motzki to a different explanation of the single strand between the common link and the earlier authority and of the phenomenon of diving. The single strand in his opinion does not necessarily mean that there was only one line of transmission, through which a given *ḥadīth* was transmitted. The single strand exclusively means that the common link when transmitting a particular *ḥadīth* from his collection mentioned only one line of transmission, the version he knew best. There might have been other versions with their channels, which were not collected or which died out because the common links (first collectors) did not receive them or did not pass them on, or because they were unknown at their time and place. Later on, students of the common links or later collectors tried to discover further versions and their information channels. If they succeeded they could "dive" one or more generations under the common link. This also

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<sup>29</sup> Schacht, *Origins*, pp. 171-172. Juynboll, "Some *Isnād* Analytical Methods", pp. 359-369

<sup>30</sup> Harald Motzki, "Quo vadis Ḥadīṭ - Forschung?...", p. 45.

<sup>31</sup> Motzki, "Quo vadis", p. 45.

means that a "diving" strand is not necessarily the result of the fabrication of later collectors, as Juynboll believes<sup>32</sup>.

Unlike Juynboll who regards the common link as the one who is responsible for, besides the *matn*, the names linking their time with that of the first and oldest authority<sup>33</sup>, Motzki does not reject *a priori* the claim of a common link to have received a particular *ḥadīth* from the informant or authority he mentioned; that is, the first member of the single strand which stretches from common link to an earlier authority (mostly Successor, Companion or the Prophet). In other words, he does not reject the claim of a common link regarding his informant as long as there are no clear indications of fabrication,<sup>34</sup> e.g., that the lifetimes of the common link and his alleged informant are not compatible with the claim that the former has received a particular transmission from the latter. If there was a fabrication, the motive for which may also be found through a thorough scrutiny of the *matn* of the *ḥadīth* in question<sup>35</sup>, and by comparing the variant texts with the different *isnāds* and the information available on the transmitters<sup>36</sup>. In principle, although Motzki's appreciation of the common link concept is different from those of Schacht and Juynboll, he is, like Schacht and Juynboll, inclined to admit at least heuristically the possibility that the *isnād* system in general and the common link concept in particular can be used for dating purposes.

Motzki's conclusions have not gone unchallenged. Irene Schneider has accused Motzki of having failed to acknowledge that the common link may have invented the message of the Prophet along with one or more channels of transmission<sup>37</sup>. In fact, Motzki does not reject the possibility. He merely rejects the idea that the common link has *necessarily* to be interpreted as the inventor of the *ḥadīth* in question. Motzki, according to Schneider, has implicitly argued that an authentic transmission was passed on by the

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<sup>32</sup> Motzki, "*Quo vadis*", p. 46; "Der Prophet und die Schuldner. Eine *ḥadīth* - Untersuchung auf dem Prüfstand", in *Der Islam*, p. 10.

<sup>33</sup> Juynboll, "Nāfi'", p. 210.

<sup>34</sup> Motzki, "*Ar-radd 'alā r-radd* - Zur Methodik der *ḥadīth* - Analyse" in *Der Islam* (78) 2001, p. 157.

<sup>35</sup> Harald Motzki, "The Collection of the *Qur'an*: A Reconsideration of Western Views in Light of Recent Methodological Developments", in *Der Islam* (78) 2001 p. 30.

<sup>36</sup> Harald Motzki, "The Prophet and Cat", p. 32.

<sup>37</sup> Irene Schneider, "*Narrativität und Authentizität: Die Geschichte vom Weisen Propheten, dem dreisten Dieb und dem Koranfesten Gläubiger*" in *Der Islam* (77) 2000, p. 89.

common link. Schneider considers it improbable that an original message of the Prophet may have been transmitted to the common link since the very beginning, as the care for transmitting the exact words of the Prophet including the accurate quoting of the transmitter was not yet practiced at the beginning. The structure of a common link, therefore, means that people in a certain time were aware of this shortcoming and then began to collect<sup>38</sup>. It is, therefore, logical to assume that the common link has played a central role for a particular tradition. That does not mean, however, that the transmitter concerned, embodied by the common link, has been created by the common link from nothing. Rather, old materials might have been used as a starting point, for example, by providing a higher authority (Prophet, Companion) or through an inner revision to adapt a newly emerged legal problem<sup>39</sup>. Schneider's judgment on the role played by a common link is more in line with that of Motzki than those of Schacht and Juynboll.

However, Schneider is not convinced by Motzki's explanation of the single strand phenomenon. That is, that the common links quoted only one transmitter or authority because they might have received the text only from him or thought it the most reliable one. This explanation is, according to Schneider, not convincing because it is contrary to the practice of later transmissions, which consider the single transmission to be weak. Like Juynboll, she wonders, why there have been no other independent proofs for a particular *ḥadīth*, which was transmitted through transmitters other than common link<sup>40</sup>.

In fact, Motzki's explanation of the "diving" phenomenon<sup>41</sup> (the term coined by Juynboll) answers part of Schneider's question. Motzki has also answered Schneider's doubt about the "single strand" phenomenon. He argues that (1) the first collectors or the early transmitters could not have known what the later practice transmission would be, neither could they

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<sup>38</sup> Schneider, "Narrativität und Authentizität", p. 91. Schneider does not give a certain date of the appearance of the *isnād* system. She simply quotes Juynboll's view, which appraises the appearance of *isnād* in 61-73. She agrees also with Motzki who said that it might have taken a certain time until the usage of *isnād* was generally practiced in several Islamic centers.

<sup>39</sup> Irene Schneider, *Kinderverkauf und Schuldknechtschaft*, p. 70; "Narrativität und Authentizität", p. 89.

<sup>40</sup> Irene Schneider, *Kinderverkauf und Schuldknechtschaft, Untersuchungen zur Frühen Phase des Islamischen Rechts*, Stuttgart 1999, pp. 69-70.

have known that later generation would distinguish between the single transmissions (*āḥād*) and *tawātur* transmission<sup>42</sup>. (2) It can be shown from a few *isnād* bundles that the provision of several authorities for the same tradition (Juynboll terms it an inverted common link) occurred at the level of a common link or later. That is, at the level at which the channels of transmission fan out. But this practice was the exception, not the rule. It was only the compilations of the third century or later, which often but not invariably, provided several channels of transmission<sup>43</sup>.

Motzki does not reject *a priori* the claim of the common link to have received something from the authority he quoted<sup>44</sup>, neither does he conclude *a priori* that the whole information or part of it really came from the quoted informants<sup>45</sup>. In other words, he does not give a specific answer to the question whether or not the informants of a common link are historical. According to him, this has to be investigated for every tradition. In some of his articles, Motzki has dealt with this problem and he has pointed out that some *ḥadīths* can be dated before the time of common link<sup>46</sup> and that at least their cores, might have already been circulated at the time of the Prophet. In his article "The Murder of Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq"<sup>47</sup> Motzki established that the transmission of this event, in which al-Zuhri is the common link, might really be ascribed to one of the family of Ka'b b. Mālik (the informants of al-Zuhri). This event is, therefore, to be dated to the last quarter of the first century.<sup>48</sup>

Gregor Schoeler upholds a similar view to that of Motzki. He thinks that a common link does not have to be interpreted as the fabricator of a particular *ḥadīth*. His methods of dating a particular *ḥadīth* has led him to an earlier time of dating than the time of the common link. In his article

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<sup>41</sup> See above

<sup>42</sup> This problem, according to Motzki, emerged in the time of al-Shāfi'ī.

<sup>43</sup> Motzki, "Der Prophet und die Schuldner", p. 10.

<sup>44</sup> Motzki, "The Collection of the *Qur'ān*...", pp. 30.

<sup>45</sup> Motzki, "Der Prophet und die Schuldner", p. 10.

<sup>46</sup> Motzki, "Ar-radd 'alā r-radd - Zur Methodik der *ḥadīṭ* - Analyse" in *Der Islam* 78 (2001), p. 151

<sup>47</sup> H. Motzki, "The Murder of Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq..." in Motzki, *The Biography of Muhammad: The Issue of the Sources*, Leiden 2000, 170-239.

<sup>48</sup> See also his article "The Prophet and the Cat" in which he established that the *ḥadīth* in question is not to be dated in the time of the common link Ishāq b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Ṭalḥa (d. 130-134). The *ḥadīth* could have been brought into circulation in the time of the Successor Qatāda, i.e., in the last quarter of the first century. Another example see A. Görke, "Die frühislamische Gesichtsüberlieferung zu Hudaybiyya" in *Der Islam* 74 (1997), 193-237.

"Mūsā b. 'Uqba's *Maghāzī*" he demonstrated that one of the informants of the common link al-Zuhrī ('Urwa b. Zubayr) is really his source. This can be proven for those traditions which go back to 'Urwa not only through al-Zuhrī but also through the independent transmission of Hishām, a son of 'Urwa.<sup>49</sup> Analyzing the *ḥadīth al-ifk*, Schoeler argues that the common link al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742) really received the *ḥadīth* in question from his informant 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr (d. 94/712), and did not fabricate it.<sup>50</sup> This *ḥadīth*, therefore, was already brought into circulation in the first century of Hijra. Motzki and Schoeler are probably not as skeptical as most Western scholars about the possible historicity of single strand transmissions. They are, however, more skeptical and cautious than most Muslim scholars in using *isnād*, *matn* and biographical information about transmitters for dating purposes.

In classical Muslim scholarship of *ḥadīth*, the single strand is labeled as *shādhdbh* (irregular) and *gharīb* (unusual or strange) or *fard* (single). The reliability of such transmission depends on the quality of the transmitters. If the transmitters are reliable (*thiqa*), their transmissions are considered to be *thiqa* as well<sup>51</sup>. However, if a *ḥadīth* is transmitted by a trustworthy transmitter, but goes against the narration of people more reliable than him (a *shādhdbh ḥadīth*), this transmission is considered to be unreliable. The single strand or the absolute singleness (*fard muṭlaq*) of transmitters in every stage does not affect the reliability of transmission as long as the transmitters in every stage are *thiqa*, and the transmission does not go against the narration of people, who are considered more reliable<sup>52</sup>. It is here that Muslim scholars in general differ fundamentally from Western scholars. The method, to which most, if not all, Western scholars object, is that Muslim scholars determine the reliability of a *ḥadīth* primarily through the transmitters and that they base their judgment on the transmitters on

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<sup>49</sup> Gregor Schoeler, "Musa b. 'Uqba's *Maghāzī*" in Harald Motzki, *The Biography of Muammad. The Issue of the Sources*, Brill 2000, p. 86; Gregor Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie der muslimischen Überlieferung über das Leben Mohammeds*, Walter de Gruyter 1996, pp. 20, 144, 150.

<sup>50</sup> Gregor Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie*, pp. 20, 144.

<sup>51</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, p. 68; al-Hākim, *Ma'rifat 'ulūm al-ḥadīth*, p. 148; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bā'ith al-ḥathīth*, p. 56; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrib al-rāwī*, I, p. 232; al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-I'tidāl*, III, pp. 140-141.

<sup>52</sup> If a narration, which goes against another authentic *ḥadīth*, is reported by a weak narrator, it is known as *munkar* (denounced).

the *kutub al-rijāl*. Non-Muslim scholars consider this to be little reliable, if not completely devoid of value<sup>53</sup>.

The classical Muslim scholars' view on the reliability of single strand (*tafarrud al-riwāya*), which is transmitted by reliable transmitters at every stage, has not gone unchallenged by Muslim scholars as well. Asad Sālim Tayyīm, a Modern Muslim scholar, objects to the consideration of *tafarrud al-riwāya* as reliable. He claims that even reliable transmitters (*thiqāt*) could have made mistakes in their transmission, especially when the path of transmission began to fan out in a large scale. He argues that the classical critics of *ḥadīth* generally rejected the *aḥādīth gharā'ib*, in which their transmitters (at the end of second century) are alone in their transmission. For example, 'Abd Raḥmān b. Maḥdī (d. 198), who is considered as one of the most reliable transmitters of his time, was alone in transmitting something from Mālik. Rejecting his transmission, the critics of *ḥadīth* asked how could Ibn Maḥdī have transmitted the *ḥadīth* from Mālik whereas all the other transmitters of the *Muwatta'* have not. Asad said that the rejection of, or the suspension of judgment on the reliability of single transmissions is the principle of *ḥadīth* critics. Their acceptance of such transmission is only an exception.<sup>54</sup>

Although it has been differently interpreted, the common link concept has been extensively used as a powerful research tool for *isnād* analysis in Western scholarship of *ḥadīth*. Because it is an orientalist one, it seems that this concept and its methodological implications have not been realized, or even have not been known, let alone used much,<sup>55</sup> in modern Muslim scholarship of *ḥadīth*. This concept has also driven some Western scholars to date a few *ḥadīths* earlier than commonly agreed by their colleagues. In other words, in spite of an approach that differs from that applied by Muslim scholars to judge the reliability of *ḥadīth* transmission, Motzki's and Schoeler's<sup>56</sup> dating of particular *ḥadīths* are earlier than that of Joseph

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<sup>53</sup> For a Western general judgment on *kutub al-rijāl* see, G. H. A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, pp. 134-217; "Ridjāl", *EI*, Leiden 1995.

<sup>54</sup> Asad Sālim Tayyīm, *Takhrīj ḥadīth al-thaqafī*, pp. 30-31.

<sup>55</sup> With the exception: e.g. Sezgin, Azmi, I. Zaman.

<sup>56</sup> Motzki and G. Schoeler work with the concept extensively and developed it further in their *isnād-cum-matn* method of analysis. See Motzki, "The Murder of Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq..."; Gregor Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie der muslimischen Überlieferung über das Leben Mohammeds*

Schacht, the one who made the concept popular. In contrast to them, Juynboll's dating of particular *ḥadīths* has fundamentally changed as a result of his recent views on the conditions for a real common link. He found during his scrutiny of *isnād* bundles that there are some common links which turned out to be only seeming common links. This modification of his views on the *isnāds* has in general led Juynboll to a later dating than that based on Schacht's dating principles. Juynboll claims that many common links appeared as a result of *isnād* fabrication by later transmitters and collectors. In this case, he is in line with Michael Cook's and Norman Calder's views on the *isnād* system without going so far to reject the whole system as historically unreliable as is advocated for by both Cook and Calder. Juynboll's dating therefore cannot be regarded as a representative of a dating which tries to arrive at a time before the common link.

## 2. Non-Muslim Western scholars' use of ARGUMENTUM E SILENTIO.

As it has been alluded to in the foregoing discussion, the majority of Western scholars accepted the general thesis that traditions from the Prophet and from his Companions appeared considerably later than the Islamic sources claim. Joseph Schacht, one of the champions of the thesis proposed some criteria and methods to date traditions, among them also the *argumentum e silentio*.<sup>57</sup> This concept will be addressed and its application will be tested in our scrutiny of *ḥadīth* scholarship in the next chapter.

It was Schacht who first systematically used the *argumentum e silentio* to prove the non-existence of many traditions in *ḥadīth* literature: If a tradition is not found in a collection, in which its occurrence must be expected, then the tradition did not exist when this collection was made. Schacht himself puts it as follows:

“The best way of proving that a tradition did not exist at a certain time is to show that it was not used as a legal argument in a discussion which would

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<sup>57</sup> This concept is also familiar to Western scholarship of Christianity. It has, for example, been used by skeptics against the virgin birth of Christ. Since St Paul does not mention the virgin birth, the skeptics argue accordingly from his silence that he did not know of it. See, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/argument\\_from\\_silence](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/argument_from_silence)



have made reference to it imperative, if it had existed...This kind of conclusion *e silentio* is furthermore made safe by Tr. VIII, ii, where Shaybani says: 'This is so unless the Medinese can produce a tradition in support of their doctrine, but they have none, or they would have produced it.' We may safely assume that the legal traditions with which we are concerned were quoted as arguments by those whose doctrine they were intended to support, as soon as they were put into circulation."<sup>58</sup>

Schacht's concept of *argumentum e silentio* has not only been adopted by many scholars, but has also been the subject of critiques and refutations by many others. G.H.A. Juynboll and Norman Calder, for example, have often taken recourse to *e silentio* conclusions, whereas Zafar Ishaq Ansari and Harald Motzki argue against its application.

Ansari writes that Schacht's *argumentum e silentio* is justified only if we assume that 1) Whenever legal doctrines were recorded during the first two centuries of Islam, traditions were always mentioned to support them; 2) The traditions familiar to a traditionist must have been equally familiar to his contemporary traditionist; 3) All circulating traditions were well preserved so that failure to find a particular tradition in a compilation of a known scholar means that it did not exist in his time. However, these assumptions are, according to Ansari, not corroborated by the historical facts. He argues that at the time of the compilation of traditions, around the middle of the second century, traditionists did not always find themselves under obligation to quote traditions from the Prophet or Companion to support their doctrines.<sup>59</sup> This might explain why a particular *ḥadīth*, which is not to be found in an earlier compilation, is to be found in a later compilation. To undermine Schacht's *e silentio* argument, Ansari provides examples of traditions, which are to be found in even earlier works but not found in later works, the reverse assumption of Schacht.<sup>60</sup>

Similarly, Motzki argues against the general application of *argumentum e silentio*. In his *Die Anfänge*<sup>61</sup> Motzki criticized the adoption of

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<sup>58</sup> Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, pp. 140-1.

<sup>59</sup> For the more detailed argument proposed by Ansari see Zafar Ishaq Ansari "The Authenticity of Traditions: A Critique of Joseph Schacht's Argument *e Silentio*," in *Hamdard Islamicus*, VII/Number 2 1984. pp. 51-61.

<sup>60</sup> Ansari, "The Authenticity of Tradition...", p. 53.

<sup>61</sup> Motzki, *Die Anfänge der islamischen Jurisprudenz*, English version *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence*.

this concept and provides examples which show that *e silentio* conclusions are dangerous.<sup>62</sup> Analyzing Ibn Jurayj's transmission from 'Aṭā', he concludes that scholars in early Islam did not invariably feel obliged to mention all details of the traditions, although he knew them. In addition, the fact that a scholar did not mention a particular tradition may have been due to the fact that he did not know it. This does not necessarily mean that the tradition did not exist at all. Finally, the sources at our disposal are not complete but fragmentary ones. Therefore, the occurrence of traditions in later sources, which are lacking in earlier ones, does not necessary imply that these traditions are fabrications.<sup>63</sup>

*Pace* Ansari and Motzki, Juynboll often takes recourse to *e silentio* conclusions in his dating of particular *ḥadīths*. For example, in his dating of the *man kadhaba ḥadīth*<sup>64</sup> (a *ḥadīth* considered *mutawātir* by Muslim scholars), Juynboll obviously even prefers the *e silentio* conclusion to the application of the "common link" concept as will be shown in the following pages. First of all, Juynboll argues that Muslim collectors generally found themselves under obligation to include the material their predecessors had compiled. Therefore, he considers the non-occurrence of certain materials in certain collections as "a relevant fact with significant implication for the chronology of that material or its provenance".<sup>65</sup> He then scrutinizes the collections of tradition to ascertain the date or the age of a particular *ḥadīth*. With respect to the *man kadhaba tradition*, for example, Juynboll examined the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik (d. 179) and did not find it. According to Juynboll, there are three *ḥadīths* referred to in the *Muwaṭṭa'*, relating to the *man kadhaba ḥadīth*. One is *mursal*, another has a defective *isnād* and the third has the word *taqawwala*.<sup>66</sup> None of the *ḥadīth*, with the exception of the third one, which points in the direction of *man kadhaba*, can be regarded as variants of the *man kadhaba* tradition. Juynboll concludes accordingly that the *ḥadīth* in question does not occur in the Hijāzī<sup>67</sup> collections before 180/800.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> For examples, see *die Anfänge*, pp. 81-2; *The Origins*, pp. 89-90.

<sup>63</sup> Motzki, *The Origins*, p. 90.

<sup>64</sup> G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, pp. 96-133.

<sup>65</sup> Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, p. 98.

<sup>66</sup> *Muslim Tradition*, p. 112.

<sup>67</sup> In addition to the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik, the *Jāmi'* of 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb has been

Juynboll finds the *ḥadīth* in various forms in the *al-Risāla* of al-Shāfi‘ī, which he considers as the earliest stages of the evolution of the *man kadhāba* tradition.<sup>69</sup> Again, Juynboll is struck by the fact that three alleged transmitters<sup>70</sup> of the *ḥadīth* found in *al-Risāla* are Mālik’s teachers. Why would Mālik not have included it in his *Muwatta’* if he had indeed heard it from one of his teachers. In other words, Juynboll would probably say if the *ḥadīth* had existed before Mālik and circulated by the three alleged transmitters, who were at times the alleged masters of Mālik, it would have been made available in Mālik’s *Muwatta’*. This leads Juynboll to conclude that the *man kadhāba* tradition must have come into circulation in the Hijāz between Mālik’s *Muwatta’* and al-Shāfi‘ī’s *al-Risāla*. The ones who are responsible for the *ḥadīth* in question are those whose names are mentioned in the *isnāds* and died in the 180 or 190.<sup>71</sup>

Then, Juynboll examines the Iraqi *ḥadīth* compilations: The *Musnads* of Abū Ḥanīfa, al-Ṭayālīsī and the *Jāmi’* of al-Rabī‘ b. Ḥabīb. Juynboll argues that it occurs in the *Musnad* of Abū Ḥanīfa, it is true, but with problematic *isnāds*. The *ḥadīth* does not occur in the collections of al-Rabī‘ b. Ḥabīb (d. second half of the second century, perhaps 170 A.H.), a collection compiled earlier than al-Ṭayālīsī’s *Musnad*. The *man kadhāba* tradition does occur in the *Musnad* of al-Ṭayālīsī, in which Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 160) is the common link of five out of the seven lines. This leads Juynboll to conclude that the *man kadhāba* tradition “must have come into circulation in Iraq sometime between the two dates death of al-Rabī‘ b. Ḥabīb and al-Ṭayālīsī, in other words, sometime in the last third of the second century A.H. Responsible for the dictum are probably the various pupils – or people using their names – of the key figures, or common links in the *man kadhāba isnāds*, such as Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 160), active in Basra and Kufa, Abū ‘Awāna al-Waḍḍāḥ b. ‘Abd Allāh (d. 176), active in Wāsiṭ and Baṣra, and ‘Abd Allāh b. Lahī‘a (d. 174), active in Egypt although

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scrutinized by Juynboll. According to the latter, The *man kadhāba* tradition does not occur in the *al-Jāmi’* either.

<sup>68</sup> *Muslim Tradition*, p. 109.

<sup>69</sup> *Muslim Tradition*, p. 113.

<sup>70</sup> 1) Muḥammad b. ‘Ajlān, d. 148, who allegedly passed the *ḥadīth* to al-Darāwardī, d. 186, the informant of al-Shāfi‘ī 2) Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b. ‘Alqama who transmitted the *ḥadīth* to again al-Darāwardī, the informant of al-Shāfi‘ī 3) ‘Ubayd Allāh who transmitted to Yaḥyā b. Sulaymān, the informant of al-Shāfi‘ī.

the majority of his masters and many of his pupils were Iraqi".<sup>72</sup> One may wonder why Juynboll does not accuse Shu'ba b. al-Ḥajjāj, the common link of al-Ṭayālīsī's variants, of being responsible for the *man kadhaba* tradition, which would mean that the *ḥadīth* must have come into circulation in the first, rather than in the second, half of the second century. Obviously, an *e silentio* conclusion (the *man kadhaba* tradition is not to be found in the *Jāmi'* of Rabi' b. Ḥabīb) seems more plausible and convincing to Juynboll than the fact that Shu'ba is the common link of most of al-Ṭayālīsī's variants.<sup>73</sup>

Furthermore, Juynboll studies the *ḥadīth* in later *ḥadīth* collections: Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*, the "*kutub al-tis'a*" and Ibn al-Jawzī's *Kitāb al-marwū'āt*. He points out that the number of *ḥadīths* with different *isnāds* increased considerably over the course of time. We find, accordingly, more variants of the *ḥadīth* in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* than in al-Ṭayālīsī's *Musnad*. Most variant of the *ḥadīth* are found in Ibn al-Jawzī's *Kitāb al-marwū'āt*. Juynboll argues "the thirty one *isnāds* which al-Jawzī lists but are not found in the nine older *ḥadīth* collections, have to be considered as fabrications from the fourth century A.H. onward".<sup>74</sup> Obviously, Juynboll favours the *e silentio* argument.<sup>75</sup> In another article,<sup>76</sup> Juynboll rules out the historicity of a tradition reportedly transmitted by Ibn Ḥanbal from 'Abd al-Razzāq, since it is not to be found in 'Abd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf*. Juynboll accuses Ibn Ḥanbal of having invented the tradition.<sup>77</sup>

Like Juynboll, Norman Calder uses the *e silentio* argument, which has led him to date Mālik's *Muwatta'* later than generally hitherto believed, even later than Goldziher and Schacht believed, the ones who were highly sceptical of the historicity of early Islamic literature. For example, to substantiate his argument, Calder quotes a *ḥadīth*,<sup>78</sup> found in the *Muwatta'* in the recension of Yaḥyā b Yaḥyā al-Laythī al-Maṣmūdī (d. 234), but not to

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<sup>71</sup> Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, pp. 112-14.

<sup>72</sup> Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, pp. 128-9.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. H. Motzki, "Dating Muslim Tradition. A Survey," in: *Arabica* 52 (2005).

<sup>74</sup> Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, p. 130.

<sup>75</sup> A detailed critical review of Juynboll's article "The *man kadhaba* tradition" and of his using the *e silentio* conclusion in it will be published by H. Motzki in: "Dating Muslim Traditions (I used the manuscript with the kind permission of the author).

<sup>76</sup> Juynboll, "Some *isnād* analytical methods illustrated on the basis of several woman – demeaning sayings from *ḥadīth* literature" in *al-Qanṭara*, 10 (1991), pp. 376-377.

<sup>77</sup> See also Motzki, "Dating", pp. 20-27.

be found in the *Mudawwana* of Ṣaḥnūn (d. 240), a collection of teachings and traditions of Mālik and his pupils. He then surmises that the *ḥadīth* must have been available in the *Mudawwana* if Mālik had transmitted the *ḥadīth* from the Prophet.<sup>79</sup> Accordingly, he argues that *Muwattaʿ* must be later than the *Mudawwana*.<sup>80</sup>

In my scrutiny on the “*ṣawm ḥadīth*”,<sup>81</sup> dealt with in the next chapters, I came across the following case: a *ḥadīth* reportedly transmitted by ‘Abd al-Razzāq from Ibn Jurayj – ‘Aṭā’, which is not to be found in ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s *Muṣannaf*, but later in Muslim’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*, with the *isnād* “Muslim – Muḥammad b. Rafīʿ – ‘Abd al-Razzāq – Ibn Jurayj – ‘Aṭā’ – Abū Ṣāliḥ – Abū Hurayra – the Prophet”.<sup>82</sup> Abiding by Juynboll’s premise, one should accuse Muslim or his teacher Muḥammad b. Rafīʿ of having fabricated the *ḥadīth*. There is every reason, however, to argue against the surmise that Muslim or his teacher has invented the *ḥadīth*, despite its absence in the *Muṣannaf* of ‘Abd al-Razzāq. In the first place, it is a logical fallacy to take the non-occurrence of the *ḥadīth* in the *Muṣannaf* as conclusive evidence that ‘Abd al-Razzāq did not know the *ḥadīth*. Ignorance is only one possible reason for the absence of the *ḥadīth* from the *Muṣannaf*. It is also possible that he referred to it in texts that have been lost or mutilated at the time of Iṣḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Dabārī, the transmitter to whom the greater part of the preserved version of the *Muṣannaf* goes back.<sup>83</sup> This is to say, Muslim’s claim to have received ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s tradition from Muḥammad b. Rafīʿ cannot be rejected merely by virtue of the *e silentio* argument. Moreover, a comparison of ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s tradition found in Muslim’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* with

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<sup>78</sup> Norman Calder, *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence*, Oxford 1993, p. 25.

<sup>79</sup> Norman Calder, *Studies*, p. 25, see Motzki’s critique on his theory in “The Prophet and the Cat,” pp. 24-5.

<sup>80</sup> Though his conclusion not only rested on *e silentio* argument, but also and more importantly on the analysis of the content of the *Muwattaʿ* and on a comparison between the *Muwattaʿ* with the *Mudawwana* of Ṣaḥnūn, which is beyond the concern of this study, his conclusion has been shown to be without merit. See Motzki, “The Prophet and the Cat”, 18-83; Miklos Muranyi, “Die frühe Rechtsliteratur zwischen Quellenanalyse und Fiktion,” 225-41; W. Hallaq, “On Dating Malik’s *Muwattaʿ*,” *UCLA Journal of Islamic and Near Eastern Law*, 1 (2001): 47-65; Yasin Dutton, “‘Amal vs. *Ḥadīth* in Islamic Law: The Case of *Saḍl al-Yadayn* (Holding One’s Hands by One’s Sides) When Doing Prayer,” *Islamic Law and Society* 3 (1996): 13-40.

<sup>81</sup> See the following chapter.

<sup>82</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *ṣiḡām*, 163.

<sup>83</sup> For the issue of the *Muṣannaf* transmission and completeness cf. H. Motzki, “The Author and his Work in the Islamic Literature of the first Centuries: the Case of ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s *Muṣannaf*,” in: *JSAI* 28 (2003), 179-201.

variants of other alleged transmitters from Ibn Jurayj, e.g. Rawḥ and Hishām's tradition found respectively in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*<sup>84</sup> and al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*,<sup>85</sup> reveals that they share a characteristic feature that points to the conclusion that Ibn Jurayj is the common source of 'Abd al-Razzāq, Hishām and Rawḥ.<sup>86</sup> Interdependence of the texts can be ruled out. Put otherwise, the *ḥadīth* ascribed to 'Abd al-Razzāq in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* is most probably really transmitted by 'Abd al-Razzāq, for it is corroborated by those of Rawḥ and Hishām. The non-occurrence of the *ḥadīth* in 'Abd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf* is, therefore, no proof for the non-existence or the non-occurrence of transmission. In view of this example, and since the sources preserved from the second or even the third century are very fragmentary, a recourse to a silence argument is dangerous and can lead to unsubstantiated assertions.

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<sup>84</sup> Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 516; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 270.

<sup>85</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *ṣawm*, 9.

<sup>86</sup> For more detail see the following discussion on *isnād cum matn* analysis, viz., 'Aṭā'-Abū Ṣāliḥ's *ḥadīth*.

## VI. The scrutiny of the ṣawm ḤADĪTH with the Muslim Methods of ḤADĪTH criticism.

In the following pages, an attempt will be made to assess the historicity of a *ḥadīth* according to Muslim methods. It will also be shown to what extent we can lay credence in the reliability of the method.

The majority of Muslim scholars assume that the occurrence of a *ḥadīth* in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* is a proof of its provenance from the Prophet. Its historicity is undeniable if its occurrence in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* is confirmed by other canonical and non-canonical collections. They assume that the methods applied by the collectors of *ḥadīth* books, especially al-Bukhārī and Muslim, to filter authentic *ḥadīths* from fabricated ones are reliable.<sup>1</sup>

Because the *ṣawm ḥadīth* appears not only in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* but in other canonical and even non-canonical collections as well, the majority of Muslim scholars would consider the *ḥadīth* to be authentic, and probably in the eyes most of them, a renewed scrutiny of the *ḥadīth* would be superfluous. For the reason that will be clear in the following pages, I argue, however, that every *ḥadīth*, no matter where it occurs and how highly it is appreciated by scholars, has to be scrutinized before any scholarly judgment on its reliability is made.

In the following, an analysis of the transmitters and the nature of transmission of *ḥadīths*, I call them the *ṣawm ḥadīths*, according to Muslim scholars' method is made. The *ḥadīths* that we are going to deal with appears both in canonical and non-canonical collections, that is, in Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*,<sup>2</sup> Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*,<sup>3</sup> Ibn Māja's *Sunan*,<sup>4</sup> Tirmidhī's *Sunan*,<sup>5</sup> al-Nasā'ī's *Sunan*,<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Al-Nawawī argues what makes al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* differ from other books of *ḥadīth* is that they contain authentic traditions, on which critical analysis is no more needed. They are absolutely to be acted upon. Other books are in need of scrutiny before their texts are applied. See al-Nawawī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim bi-sharḥ al-Nawawī*, I, p. 20; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ argues the absolute authenticity of al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* as well, for the Muslim community regard them so, See Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth*, p. 25; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bāʿith al-ḥathīth*, p. 17; Maḥmūd al-Ṭaḥḥān, *Uṣūl al-takhrīj wa-dirāsāt al-asānīd*, p. 181-2.

<sup>2</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *kitāb al-ṣawm*, 9, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, 35, *Kitāb al-tauḥīd*, 50, *Kitāb al-libās*, 78.

<sup>3</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *al-ṣiyyām*, 161, 163.

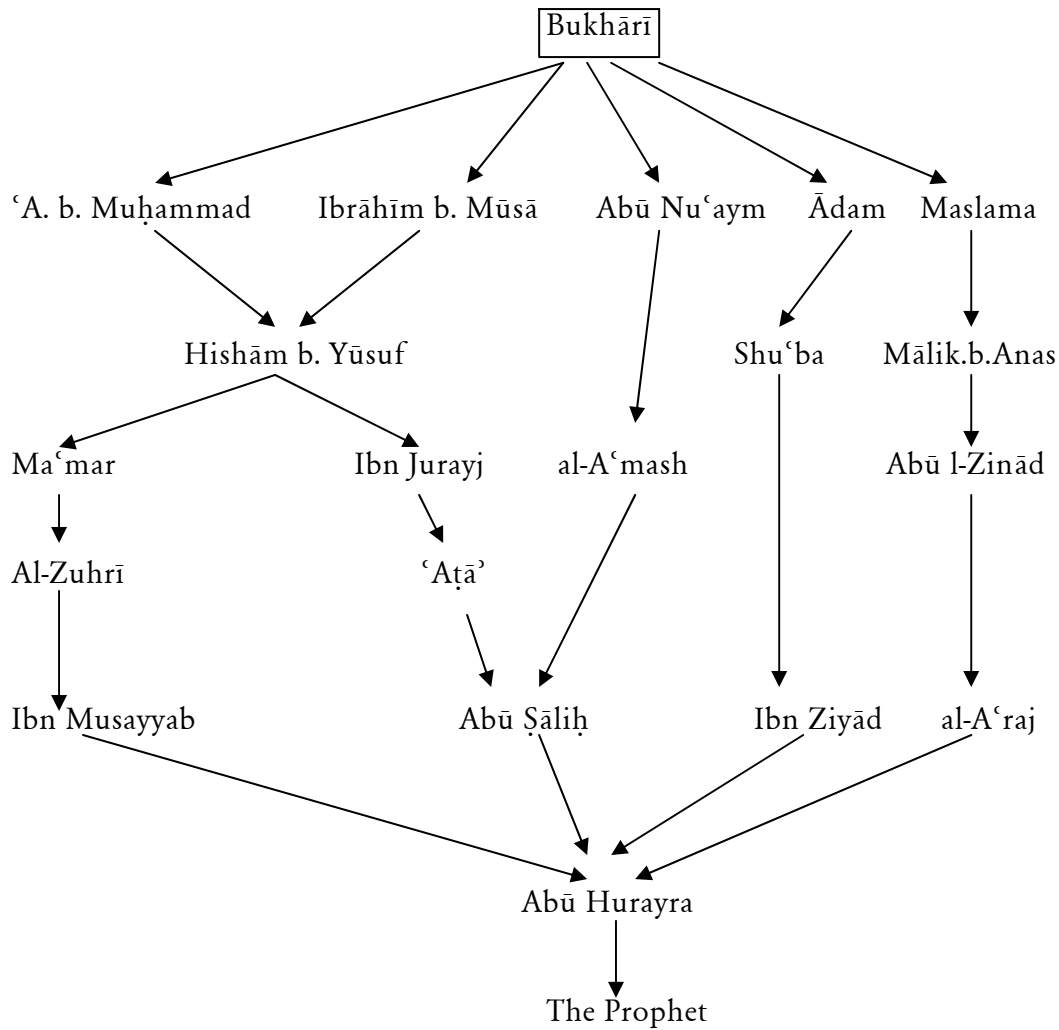
<sup>4</sup> Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, *kitāb al-ṣiyyām*, 1, *kitāb al-adab*, 58.

<sup>5</sup> Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, III, 136.

<sup>6</sup> al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, IV, 162, 163, 164, 165.

Mālik's *Muwatta'*,<sup>7</sup> 'Abd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf*,<sup>8</sup> al-Dārimī's *Sunan*, Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*,<sup>9</sup> and other *ḥadīth* collections.<sup>10</sup>

We start scrutinizing the *ḥadīth* recorded in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Al-Bukhārī relates it in short and long versions in five places. He transmits it from (1) Ādam - Shu'ba - Muḥammad b. Ziyād - Abū Hurayra (2) Abū Nu'aym - al-A'mash - Abū Ṣāliḥ - Abū Hurayra (3) Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā - Hishām - Ibn Jurayj - 'Aṭā' - Abū Ṣāliḥ - Abū Hurayra (4) 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad - Hishām - Ma'mar - al-Zuhri - Ibn al-Musayyab - Abū Hurayra (5) 'Abd Allāh b. Maslama - Mālik b. Anas - Abū al-Zinād - al-A'raj. See diagram 1. Diagram



Let us analyze each of al-Bukhārī's *isnāds* according to Muslim scholarship.

<sup>7</sup> Mālik, *Muwatta'*, 226-7.

<sup>8</sup> 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, iv, 306-7.

<sup>9</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 1, p. 446, vol. 2, pp. 234, 266, 281-2, 395, 410-1, 414, 466-7, 457, 458, 465, 475, 477, 480, 504, 516, vol. 2, pp. 257, 443, 503; vol. 3, pp. 5, 40, vol. 4, p. 240.



1. Ādam - Shu‘ba - Muḥammad Ibn Ziyād - Abū Hurayra.

"ḥaddathanā Ādam ḥaddathanā Shu‘ba ḥaddathanā Muḥammad b. Ziyād qāla sami‘tu Abā Hurayra ‘an al-nabī ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallam yarwīhi ‘an rabbikum qāla li-kulli ‘amalin kaffāratun wa-ṣ-ṣawmu lī wa anā ajzī bihi wa- la-khulūfu fam al-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda Allāhi min riḥ al-miski"<sup>10</sup> (Ādam informed us, [he said], Shu‘ba informed us, [he said], Muḥammad b. Ziyād informed us he said I heard Abū Hurayra from the prophet (pbuh) transmitting it from your Lord, he said: For every action is an expiation, and the fast is [meant] for me and I will reward it. And verily the smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God than the scent of musk).

Al-Bukhārī says "ḥaddathanā" Ādam. It is in the first sight not clear which Ādam he refers to. Al-Dhahabī mentions three transmitters called Ādam: Ādam b. Abī Iyās, Ādam b. ‘Alī al-‘Ijlī and Ādam b. Sulaymān. Using the information contained on them in the biographical dictionaries, however, it becomes clear that the one meant by al-Bukhārī is Ādam b. Abī Iyās. Although the first two (Ādam b. Abī Iyās and Ādam b. ‘Alī al-‘Ijlī) are found in the *isnāds* of al-Bukhārī, it is only Ādam b. Iyās who is reported to have transmitted *from* Shu‘ba, whereas Ibn ‘Alī al-‘Ijlī is reported to have related *to* Shu‘ba. In other words, it is Shu‘ba who was reported to have transmitted from him, not the other way round. Like al-‘Ijlī, the third Ādam (Ibn Sulaymān) is also reported to have related to Shu‘ba, and Shu‘ba is reported to have transmitted from him. He is, however, not mentioned in al-Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* but in other canonical collections, such as Muslim’s, al-Tirmidhī’s and al-Nasā’ī’s. It is therefore safe to say that according to biographical dictionaries the person meant in our case is Ādam b. Abī Iyās.<sup>12</sup>

Ādam b. Abī Iyās<sup>13</sup> died in 220-221. The *ḥadīth* critics label him *thiqa* (reliable).<sup>14</sup> Al-Bukhārī is the only collector of *ḥadīth* who preserved the

<sup>10</sup> See the following pages.

<sup>11</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *tauhīd* 50.

<sup>12</sup> See. Al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, I, pp. 54-55.; al-Mizzī, *Tabdhīb al-kamāl fī asmā’ al-rijāl*, II, pp. 301-309; Ibn Hajar, *Tabdhīb al-taḥdhīb*, I, pp. 196-197; al-Bukhārī, *al-Ta’rīkh al-kabīr*, II, pp. 37-39; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta’rīkh Baghdād*, vii, pp. 27-8.

<sup>13</sup> His name is ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad. See al-Bukhārī, *Ta’rīkh al-kabīr*, II, p. 39; al-Mizzī, *Tabdhīb al-kamāl*, II, p. 301. He is also called *nābiya*, see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta’rīkh Baghdād*, vii, p. 27.

<sup>14</sup> al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta’dīl*, ii, p. 268; Abū Dāwūd says he is *thiqa*, Aḥmad says he is unshakable with Shu‘ba. Al-Mizzī, *Tabdhīb al-kamāl*, p. 304; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta’rīkh Baghdād*, vii, p. 29;

*ḥadīth* from him. His relationship both with al-Bukhārī (as his student) and Shu‘ba (as his source) is well established in biographical dictionaries.<sup>15</sup>

The second stage of al-Bukhārī's *isnād* is Shu‘ba. Again al-Bukhārī does not explicitly mention which Shu‘ba he refers to. Biographical dictionaries help us determine which Shu‘ba is meant. The study of both the biographies of Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj<sup>16</sup> and Ādam b. Abī Iyās and of the other Shu‘bas shows that it was Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj, to whom al-Bukhārī refers. It is this Shu‘ba from whom Ādam b. Abī Iyās is reported to have transmitted.<sup>17</sup> The relationship of Ādam b. Abī Iyās and Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj is very well documented in biographical dictionaries.<sup>18</sup> Shu‘ba was born in 83 A.H. and died in 160 in Basra at the age of 77. He was a Basran scholar but is reported to have come to Baghdad twice. He is credited with the highest degree of trustworthiness, i.e. *amīr al-mu‘minīn fī al-ḥadīth*.<sup>19</sup> It seems that the comments of *ḥadīth* critics on him do not leave any room for doubt about his reliability. Moreover, Shu‘ba’s *ḥadīths* are not only to be found in al-Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*, but also in the *Musnads* of al-Ṭayālīsī,<sup>20</sup> Ibn al-Ja‘d’s,<sup>21</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal<sup>22</sup> and Ibn Rāḥawayh.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta‘rīkh Baghdād*, vii, p. 28.

<sup>16</sup> Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, vii, 270; Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, 13/15781; al-Bukhārī, *al-Ta‘rīkh al-kabīr*, iv, 2678; *al-Ta‘rīkh al-ṣagīr*, ii, 135; al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-l- ta‘dīl*, iv, 1609; *Muqaddimat al-jarḥ wa-l-ta‘dīl*, 11, 62, 65, 66; Ibn al-Madīnī’s *‘Ilal*, 38, 42, 59, 60, 62, 69, 75, 92; al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, ii, 2297; al-Dhahabī, *Sīyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, vii, 202; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, I, 193; Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, I, 351; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, xii, 2739; al-Khazrajī, *Khulāṣat Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmā’ al-rijāl*, I, 2950; Ibn Rajab, *Sharḥ ‘ilal al-Tirmidhī*, 116, 134; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, I, 188;

<sup>17</sup> Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta‘rīkh Baghdād*, ix, p. 255-261; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, iv, pp. 338-346; al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, ii, p. 11;

<sup>18</sup> Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta‘rīkh Baghdād*, p. 255; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, p. 343.

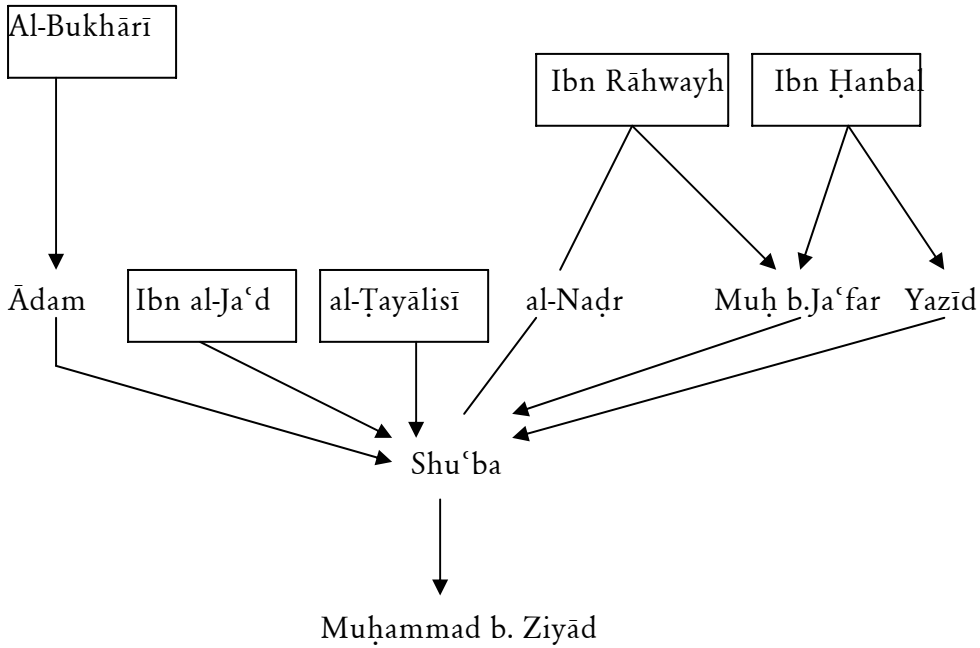
<sup>19</sup> His *‘adāla* and *ḍabt* is very well preserved. This is reflected in the comments of scholars on him. Abū Baḥr al-Bakrāwī says "*kāna Shu‘ba a‘bada li- Allāh*" (a very pious worshipper of God), Yazīd b. Zuray‘ says "*kāna Shu‘ba aṣḍaqa n-nās fī al-ḥadīth*" (the most reliable people in *ḥadīth*), Yaḥyā b. Ma‘īn says "*Shu‘ba imām al-muttaqīn*" (Shu‘ba is the leader of the devout people) Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal says "*kāna Sufyān rajulan ḥāfiẓan ṣāliḥan wa-kāna Shu‘ba athbatu minhu, wa-anqā rijālan, huwa anbalu rijālan wa-ansaqu ḥadīthan*" (Sufyān is a man who has an excellent memory and a devout man but Shu‘ba is more reliable than him; he has the purest and the most noble informants and the most well-arranged *ḥadīths*, Yaḥyā Ibn Sa‘īd says "*mā ra’aytu aḥadan aḥsana ḥadīthan min Shu‘ba*" (I saw nobody whose *ḥadīth* is better than Shu‘ba’s), Sufyān al-Thawrī: "*mā ra’aytu aḥadan awra‘u fī al-ḥadīthi min Shu‘ba*" (I saw nobody who is more pious (more carefull) in *ḥadīth* than Shu‘ba), Ḥammād: "*in aradta al-ḥadīth fa-alzam Shu‘ba*" (if you want the *ḥadīth*, be attached to Shu‘ba). Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta‘rīkh Baghdād*, pp. 255-266; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, xii, pp. 479-494.

<sup>20</sup> Al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, p. 325.

<sup>21</sup> ‘Alī b. al-Ja‘d b. ‘Ubayd, *Musnad*, p. 174.

<sup>22</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal provides Shu‘ba’s *ḥadīth* with two *isnāds* and *matns*. See Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, pp. 457, 504.

Diagram 2



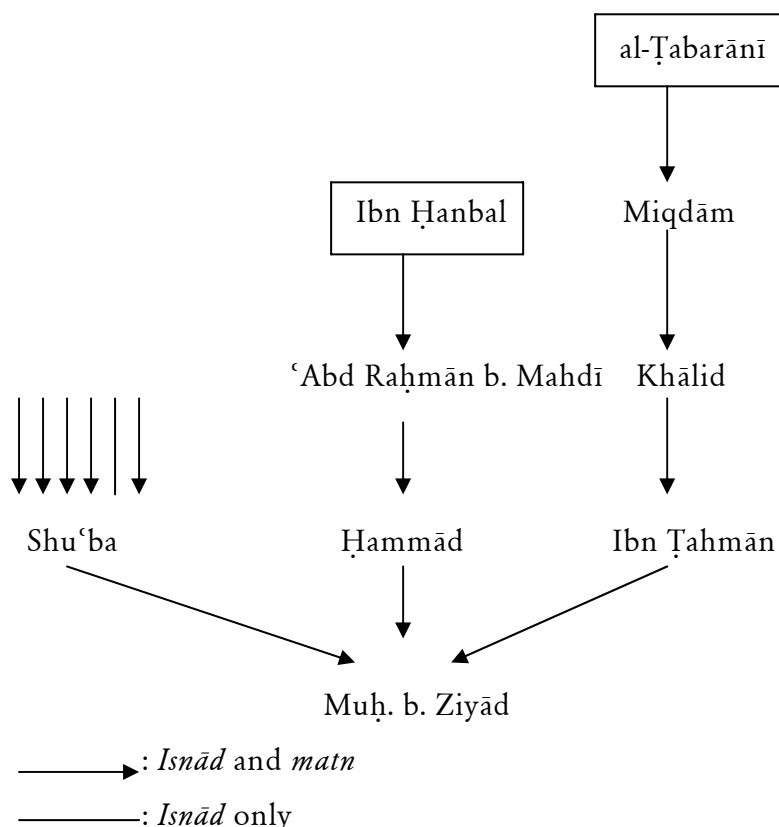
The third stage is Muḥammad b. Ziyād. He is said to have come from Madīna and then came and settled in Basra. He is reported to have transmitted from Abū Hurayra, ‘Ā’isha and Ibn ‘Umar, Ibn al-Zubayr, and related to Shu‘ba and Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān. His relationship with Shu‘ba is well documented in biographical dictionaries. Ibn Ma‘īn, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, al-Nasā’ī and other label him *thiqa*.<sup>24</sup> Shu‘ba’s transmission from Muḥammad b. Ziyād is corroborated by the transmission of Ḥammād b. Salama (d. 167/783)<sup>25</sup> and Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān<sup>26</sup> who relate the *ḥadīth* under scrutiny as well.

<sup>23</sup> Ibn Rāhwayh provides two *isnāds* of Shu‘ba’s *ḥadīth*; one with a *matn* and another without. See Ibn Rāhwayh, *Musnad*, vol. 1, p. 133.

<sup>24</sup> Al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta’dīl*, v, p. 257; al-Khazrajī, *Tahdhīb tahdhīb al-kamāl*, ii, p. 404; adh-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, vol. 3, p. 39; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, ii, p. 1198.

<sup>25</sup> Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, II, p. 466.

Diagram 3

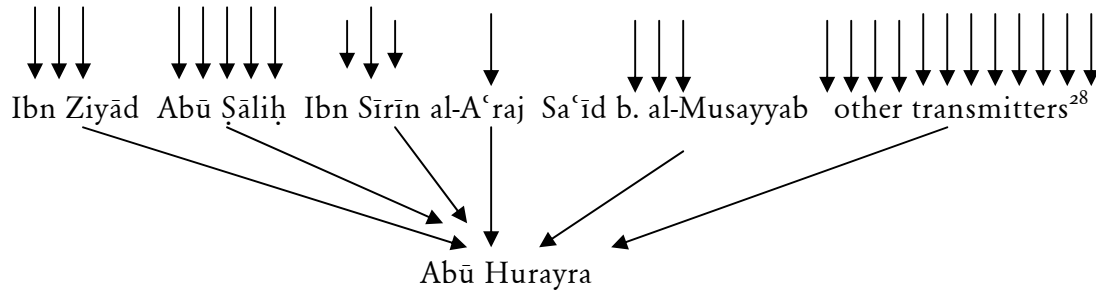


The next stage is the Companion Abū Hurayra. Ibn Ziyād's transmission from Abū Hurayra is confirmed by the transmission of other transmitters such as Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab, Hammām b. Munabbih, al-Aʿraj, Ibn Maslama, Dāwūd, Ibn Sīrīn, Mūsā b. Yasār, Abū Salama, Saʿīd b. Mīnā, ʿAjlān, Mujaḥid, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yaʿqūb, al-Ḥasan, Jābir b. Zayd, Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim and Saʿīd al-Maqbūrī. All transmissions can be found in both canonical and non-canonical collections.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, vol. 9, pp. 29-30.

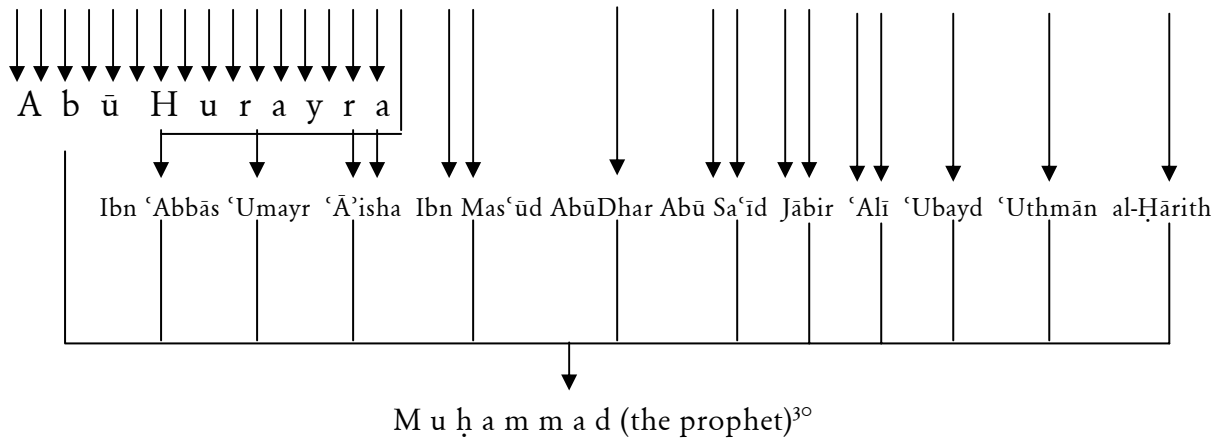
<sup>27</sup> See diagram 1-10.

Diagram 4



Likewise, the claim of Abū Hurayra to have transmitted the *ḥadīth* from the prophet is confirmed by the claims of ‘Ā’isha, Abū Sa’īd al-Khudrī, Ibn Mas‘ūd and other Companions, who have transmitted the *ḥadīth* as well. Moreover, the majority of *ḥadīth* critics regard the Companions to be ‘*udūl*, i.e., persons whose transmission is beyond reproach.<sup>29</sup>

Diagram 5



Accordingly, from a Muslim's point of view the ascription of the *ḥadīth* to the Prophet, found in al-Bukhārī, is undoubtedly reliable or *ṣaḥīḥ*, by virtue of the fact that all transmitters of the *ḥadīth* are according to *ḥadīth* critics reliable and the words used by them in the tradition in question

<sup>28</sup> There are 18 alleged students of Abū Hurayra who transmitted the *ḥadīth* under review from the latter. See the following discussion.

<sup>29</sup> See for example al-Khaṭīb al-Baghḍādī, *al-Kifāya fī ‘ilm al-riwāya*, Hyderabad 1357, p. 46.

<sup>30</sup> All *ḥadīths* of these Companions will be analyzed below in chapter *isnād cum matn* analysis.

(*ḥaddathanā* and *sami'tu*) are those to be used in cases of *samā'* (hearing).<sup>31</sup> This is bolstered by biographical dictionaries, which allegedly well preserve their relationship. The same applies to the higher stages of the chain, till it reaches the level of the Prophet. Moreover, the transmitters of this chain are not alone in their claim to have transmitted the *ḥadīth* from their respective informants, but they are corroborated by other transmitters. Thus both the quality and the quantity of transmitters involved in the transmission of the *ḥadīth* and the nature of transmission lead to the conclusion that the *ḥadīth* goes really back to the Prophet. Al-Bukhārī provides the *ḥadīth* with other chains of transmission, as the next pages will show.

## 2. Abū Nu'aym – al-A'mash – Abū Ṣāliḥ – Abū Hurayra.

"Ḥaddathanā Abū Nu'aym ḥaddathanā al-A'mash 'an Abī Ṣāliḥ 'an Abī Hurayra 'an al-nabī ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallam qāla yaqūlu Allāh 'azza wa-jalla al-ṣawmu lī wa-anā ajzī bihi yaḍa'u shahwatahu wa-aklahu wa-shurbahu min ajlī wa-l-ṣawmu junnatun wa-li-l-ṣā'imi farḥatāni farḥatun ḥīna yuṣtiru wa-farḥatun ḥīna yalqā rabbahu wa-la-khulūfu fam al-ṣā'imi atyabu 'inda Allāh min riḥ al-miski"<sup>32</sup> (Abū Nu'aym informed us, [he said] al-A'mash informed us from Abū Ṣāliḥ from Abū Hurayra from the Prophet (pbuh) he said: God the Powerful and the Sublime says: The fasting is [meant] for me and I will reward it. He abandons his desire, his food and his drinking for my sake. The fasting is protection. The one who fasts has two [chances] of joy: one joy when he breaks the fast and another joy when he meets his Lord. And verily the smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God than the scent of musk).

Abū Nu'aym is the *kunya* of al-Faḍl b. Dukayn 'Amr b. Ḥammād b. Zuhayr. He settled and died in Kufa in 219. *Ḥadīth* critics label him *thiqa*, and his relation both with al-Bukhārī and al-A'mash is well preserved.<sup>33</sup> Accordingly, his *ḥadīth* transmitted by al-Bukhārī is to be taken reliable. Moreover, Abū

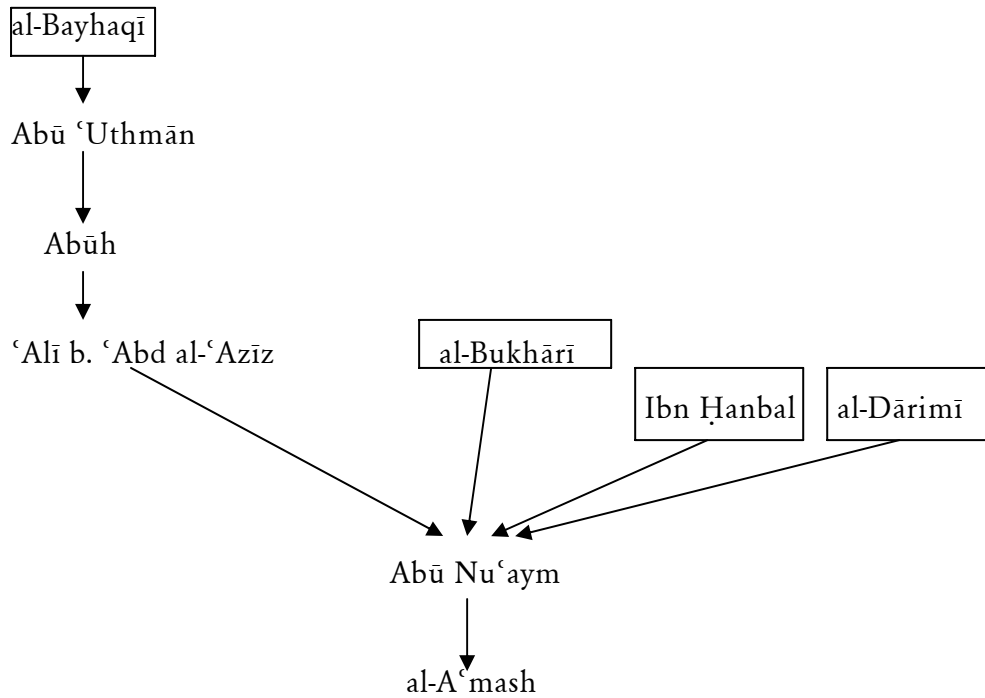
<sup>31</sup> It has been said in the foregoing discussion that the words linking transmitters in a chain allegedly reflect the nature of transmission and thus determine the quality of the chain of transmission. The words *ḥaddathanā* is taken to represent the transmission by way of *samā'*, which is considered to be the highest way of transmission. In some cases, however, the word *ḥaddathanā* was used not because a transmitter had directly received a particular *ḥadīth* from his source by way of *samā'*. This might happen when the transmitter is not *thiqa* (reliable). To determine the reliability of a transmitter one bases his judgment on what *ḥadīth* critics declare about the transmitter's character and qualities. See Syuhudi Ismail, *Kaedah Kesahihan Sanad Hadis*, pp. 191-196.

<sup>32</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, 35.

<sup>33</sup> Al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*, vii, pp. 61-2; Al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, ii, pp. 371-2; Aḥmad says he is *thiqa*. Al-Fasawī says *inna Abū Nu'aym kāna ghāyatan fī al-itqān*, see al-Khazrajī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, ii, p. 335.

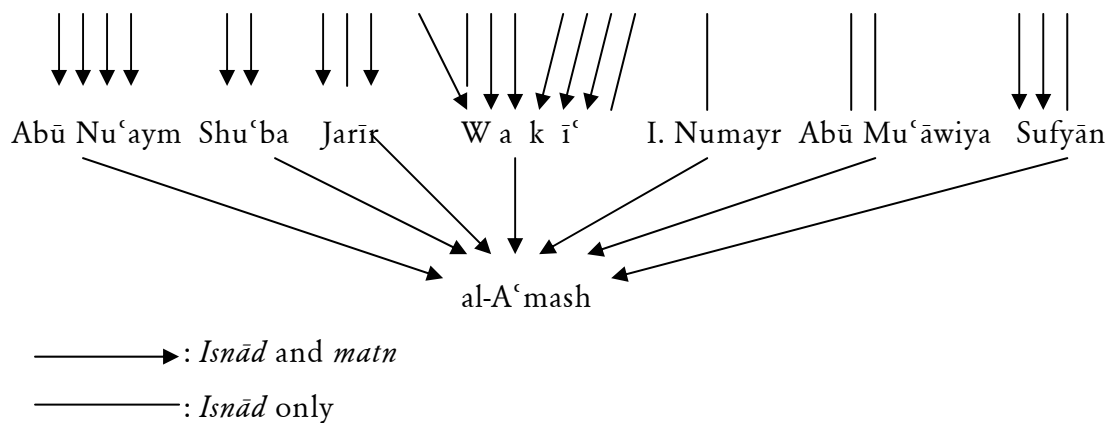
Nu‘aym’s *ḥadīth* is also to be found in Ibn Ḥanbal’s *Musnad*,<sup>34</sup> al-Bayhaqī’s *al-Sunan al-kubrā*<sup>35</sup> and al-Dārimī’s *Sunan*.<sup>36</sup>

Diagram 6



The reliability of Abū Nu‘aym's claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from al-A‘mash is corroborated by the same claim of other transmitters such as Sufyān al-Thawrī, Jarīr b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, Wakī‘ b. al-Jarrāḥ, Abū Mu‘āwiya and Shu‘ba who reportedly transmit the *ḥadīth* from al-A‘mash as well.<sup>37</sup>

Diagram 7



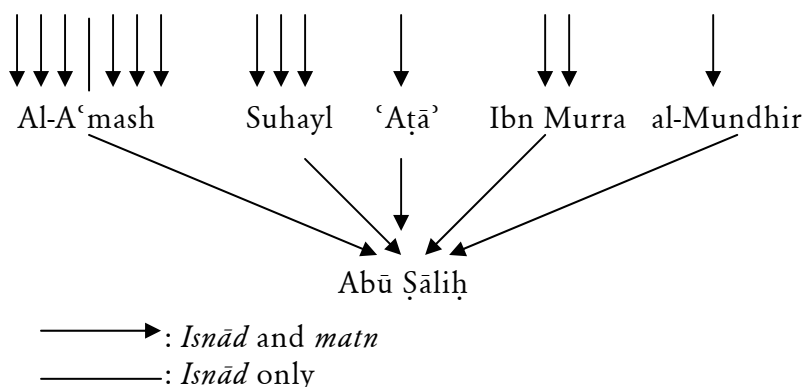
<sup>34</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. p.393.

<sup>35</sup> Al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 273.

<sup>36</sup> Al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, vol. 1, p. 1778.

The next stage is al-A‘mash. Al-A‘mash is the *laqab* of Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-Asadī al-Kāhilī.<sup>38</sup> He is a Kufan scholar, who is labeled *thiqa* by *ḥadīth* critics.<sup>39</sup> He allegedly heard from Abū Ṣāliḥ.<sup>40</sup> He died in 147 or 148 at the age of 87 or 88. He is also reported to have seen Anas b. Mālīk, but had no opportunity to learn from him. What he relates directly from Anas is *mursal*, which he took from companions of Anas.<sup>41</sup> His claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from Abū Ṣāliḥ is substantiated by the claim of other transmitters such as ‘Aṭā’, Suhayl b. Abū Ṣāliḥ, al-Mundhir b. ‘Ubayd and Ibn Murra who reportedly received the *ḥadīth* from Abū Ṣāliḥ as well.<sup>42</sup>

Diagram 8



<sup>37</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan‘ānī, *Muṣannaf*, iv, pp. 306-7; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, II, 443, 266, 477; See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Bāb faḍl al-ṣiyām*, 164; al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, *Faḍl al-ṣiyām*, 42; For the analysis of each *ḥadīth* see the chapter VIII on “*isnād cum matn* analysis”

<sup>38</sup> Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, vi, 342; Bukhārī, *al-Ta‘rīkh al-kabīr*, iv, 37-8; *al-Ta‘rīkh al-ṣagīr*, ii, 91; al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-t-ta‘dīl*, iv, 630; al-‘Ijlī, *Thiqāt*, 21; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta‘rīkh Baghdād*, ix, 3-13. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, iv, 222-6; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, i, 176; al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, i, 320; al-Khazrajī, *Khulāṣat*, i, 2748; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a‘yān*, ii, 400; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, vi, 226; *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, i, 145; *Mizān al-i‘tidāl*, ii, no. 3517; al-Dhahabī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, ii, 56; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, xii, 76-91.

<sup>39</sup> al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-t-ta‘dīl*, iv, 630; Hushaym says; *mā ra’aytu bi-al-Kūfa aḥadan kāna aqra’a li-kitāb Allāh min al-A‘ymash* (I saw nobody in Kūfa who read the book of Allah more than al-A‘mash), see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta‘rīkh Baghdād*, ix, 6-7; Abū Nu‘aym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyyā’*, v, 50. Zuhayr b. Mu‘āwiya says *mā adraktu aḥadan a‘qala min al-A‘mash wa-Mughīra*, see *Ta‘rīkh Baghdād*, ix, 9; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, xii, 85. ‘Alī al-Madīnī (d. 234) says: six persons preserved the knowledge to the *umma* of Muḥammad: For the people of Makka it is ‘Amr b. Dīnār (d. 126), for the People of Madīna it is Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124), for the people of Kūfa Abū Ishāq al-Sabī‘ī (d. 129) and Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-A‘mash (d. 148-9), and for the people of Basra Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr (d. 132) and Qatāda (d. 117), see Ibn al-Madīnī, *Ṭal*, 39-42; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta‘rīkh Baghdād*, ix, 9; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, xii, 84. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, iv, 223.

<sup>40</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, xii, p. 78.

<sup>41</sup> Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a‘yān*, ii, p. 400; al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-t-ta‘dīl*, iv, 146.

<sup>42</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-ṣawm*, 9; Al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan al-Nasā’ī bi-sharḥ al-Suyūṭī*, *faḍl al-ṣiyām*, *dhikr al-ikhtilāf ‘alā Abī Ṣāliḥ*, 42.



The next stage is Dhakwān Abū Ṣāliḥ. He is said to have transmitted from (*rawā 'an*) Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, Ibn 'Abbās, Ibn 'Umar, Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh and Abū Hurayra. A number of scholars are reported to have transmitted *ḥadīths* from him (*rawā 'anhu*), such as 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ, al-Zuhri, al-A'mash and others. This great scholar of Madina died in 101 A.H. Critics of *ḥadīth* credited him with high degree of reliability (*thiqa thiqa*).<sup>43</sup> He is taken to be very reliable, particularly in relation to his transmission from Abū Hurayra. He is reported to have transmitted 588 *ḥadīths* from the latter.<sup>44</sup> Abū Ṣāliḥ's transmission of the *ḥadīth* under scrutiny from Abū Hurayra is corroborated by the transmissions of others, such as, Ibn al-Musayyab, Sa'īd al-Maqburī, Hammām b. Munabbih, Ibn Ziyād, Dāwūd, al-A'raj, Ibn Sirīn, Mūsā b. Yasār, Abū Salama and Ibn Maslama.<sup>45</sup> (See diagram 4)

The next stage is the Companion Abū Hurayra, whose claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from the Prophet is supported by the claim of other Companions, such as, Abū Sa'īd, 'Ā'isha and Ibn Mas'ūd and others (see diagram 5) and by his *'adāla* (integrity) as a Companion.

It has become clear that the judgement on the reliability of the transmitters is based on the biographical dictionaries. The quality of transmission is judged on basis of the words linking the transmitters. Because al-Bukhārī is unanimously considered to be reliable, his use of the word *ḥaddathanā*, is taken as indicating that he directly received the *ḥadīth* from his informant. This claim of al-Bukhārī bolstered by information from biographical dictionaries, which well document the relationship between al-Bukhārī and Abū Nu'aym, is corroborated by other transmitters. Therefore, according to the method of Muslim scholarship which trusts the

<sup>43</sup> Al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-t-ta'dīl*, iii, 450; al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, i, 229; Bukhārī, *al-Ta'rikh al-kabīr*, iii, 895; *al-Ta'rikh al-ṣaghīr*, i, 239; al-Dhahabī, *Ṣiyar a'lām al-nubalā*, v, 36. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, iii, 219-220; al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām wa-tabaqāt al-mashāhīr wa-l-a'lām*, iv, 219; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmā' al-rijāl*, viii, 513-17; Ibn al-Madīnī's *Ilal*, 77, 80, 84.

<sup>44</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfat al-asbrāf bi-ma'rīfat al-aṭrāf*, vol. 10, pp. 89.

<sup>45</sup> See 'Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, vol. 4, pp. 306-7; Mālik, *Muwatta'*, p. 226; Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 1, p. 446; vol. 2, pp. 234, 257 (?), 266, 271, 395, 410-1, 414, 443, 466-7, 475, 477, 480, 504, 457, 458, 465, 516; vol. 3, p. 5, 40; vol. 4, p. 240; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* 35, 50; *Kitāb al-libās* 78; *Kitāb al-ṣawm* 9; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-ṣiyām*, 30:1, 30:3, 30:4, 30:5; al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, *Faḍl al-ṣiyām*, 42, 43; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, *Kitāb al-ṣiyām*, 1:1; *Kitāb al-adab*, 58; al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 3, p. 136; al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, 365; Ibn Ḥuzayma, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 3, pp. 197-8. See also diagram 1-10.

biographical information, al-Bukhārī's claim to have received the *ṣawm ḥadīth* from Abū Nu'aym is to be considered reliable. The same applies to Abū Nu'aym's claim to have received (*ḥaddathanā*) from al-A'mash. From the Muslim point of view, the chain of the *ḥadīth* is to be regarded uninterrupted until here.

Al-A'mash's claim to have received the tradition from Abū Ṣāliḥ is slightly problematic by virtue of his having not explicitly declared the way he received the *ḥadīth*. He uses the word "*an*". Some scholars take the *isnād* with the "*an* linking" to be interrupted. The majority regards it uninterrupted provided that (1) the encounter between the transmitter who used the word '*an*' and his direct informant can be established.<sup>46</sup> (2) The transmitter must have been devoid of defect of *tadlīs* (tampering with *isnāds*)<sup>47</sup>, that is to say the transmitter must have been a reliable person. If the transmitter meets the condition, his saying "*an*" is to be taken equal to his saying *sami'tu* or *ḥaddathanā*, that is, his transmission is uninterrupted.<sup>48</sup> Accordingly, al-A'mash's claim turns out to be unproblematic, he seems to meet the condition. His scholarly contact with Abū Ṣāliḥ is reported by *ḥadīth* critics. Likewise, he is not only credited to be *thiqa* by them, but also and more importantly he is considered to be free from the reproach of having made *tadlīs*. Furthermore, the fact that some other transmitters transmitted the *ḥadīth* under scrutiny from Abū Ṣāliḥ as well confirms al-A'mash's claim to have transmitted the *ḥadīth* from latter. The chain until here, therefore, is to be taken as uninterrupted from Muslim scholarship point of view. The same applies to Abū Ṣāliḥ's claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from Abū Hurayra.<sup>49</sup> Abu Hurayra's claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from the Prophet is confirmed by the claims of other Companions.<sup>50</sup> The application of the methods of Muslim scholarship to this *ḥadīth* leads us to the conclusion that

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<sup>46</sup> How the encounter should have been, is differently required by scholars. That the two transmitters were contemporaneous is for Muslim enough to prove their encounter. Others insist that there be a really intellectual contact. For more details see al-Nawawī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim bi-sharḥ al-Nawawī*, vol. 1, p. 32, 127-8; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bā'ith al-ḥathīth*, p. 30; Nūr al-Dīn 'Itr, *Manhaj al-naqd*, pp. 350-353.

<sup>47</sup> For an explanation of *tadlīs* see Nūr al-Dīn 'Itr, *Manhaj al-naqd*, pp. 381-386.

<sup>48</sup> See al-Nawawī, *al-Taqrīb*, p. 8; Subḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, p. 222; Nūr al-Dīn 'Itr, *Manhaj al-naqd*, p. 351.

<sup>49</sup> The fact that some other alleged students of Abū Hurayra reportedly transmitted the *ḥadīth* under review confirms the reliability of Abū Ṣāliḥ's transmission.

<sup>50</sup> See diagram 5.

the ascription of the *ḥadīth* to the Prophet is to be taken as genuine, that is, *ṣaḥīḥ*. Bukhārī provides his *ḥadīth* with other variants.

### 3. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā - Hishām - Ibn Jurayj - ‘Aṭā - Abū Ṣāliḥ - Abū Hurayra.

"*Ḥaddathanā Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā qāla akhbaranā Hishām b. Yūsuf ‘an Ibn Jurayj qāla akhbaranī ‘Aṭā’ ‘an Abī Ṣāliḥ al-Zayyāt annahu sami‘a Abā Hurayra yaqūlu qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallam qāla Allāh ‘azza wa jalla: Kullu ‘amal Ibn Ādam lahu illā al-ṣiyyām fa-innahu lī wa-anā ajzī bihi wa-al-ṣiyyāmu junnatun wa-idhā kāna yawmu ṣawmi aḥadikum fa-lā yarfuth wa-lā yaṣkhab fa-in sābbahu aḥadun aw qātalahu fal-yaqul innī ṣā’imun wa-lladhī nafsu Muḥammad bi-yadihi la-khulūfu fam al-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda Allāhi min riḥ al-miski li-al-ṣā’imi farḥatāni yafrāḥubumā: idhā aṭara fariḥa wa-idhā laqiya rabbahu fariḥa bi-ṣawmihi*".<sup>51</sup> (Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā informed us he said Hishām b. Yūsuf informed us from Ibn Jurayj he said ‘Aṭā’ informed us from Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Zayyāt, he heard Abū Hurayra say, the messenger of God (pbuh) said: God the Powerful and the Sublime says: Every act of the son of Adam is for him except fasting. It is [meant] for me and I will reward it. The fast is a protection. When anyone of you is fasting he should neither use obscene speech nor behave [otherwise] sinfully. If he is reviled let him say. "I am fasting". By him in whose hand is the soul of Muhammad, the smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God than the scent of musk. The one who fasts has two joys, at which he rejoices. When he breaks his fast he rejoices, and when he meets his Lord he is happy with his fast).

Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā died in 220. His *ḍabt* (reliability) and *‘adāla* (integrity) are established by *ḥadīth* critics. Abū Zur‘a for example says he is more thorough than Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba and his *ḥadīth* is more reliable than that of the latter.<sup>52</sup> Similarly, Hishām b. Yūsuf, a qāḍī of Ṣan‘a is credited to be *thiqa*.<sup>53</sup> He is reported to have transmitted from Ma‘mar, Ibn Jurayj, al-Qāsim b. Fayyād and others. Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi‘ī, ‘Alī b. al-Madīnī and Yaḥyā b. Ma‘īn are reported to have transmitted from him. He died in 197.

The next stage is ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Jurayj. His reliability (*ḍabt* and *‘adāla*) is likewise well established in *kutub al-rijāl*. ‘Alī b. al-Madīnī

<sup>51</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, kitāb al-ṣawm*, 9.

<sup>52</sup> *Huwa atqanu min Abī Bakr b. Abī Shayba wa-aṣaḥḥu ḥadīthan minhu*, see al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta‘dīl*, ii, 137; Abū Ḥātim regards him also *thiqa*, see al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī*, ii, 220, Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, i, 19; al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, i, 49; Ibn Hajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, i, 44

<sup>53</sup> Ibn Hajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 2, 93; al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, iii, 198; Abū Ḥātim says he is *thiqa mutqin*, al-‘Ijlī says he is *thiqa*, al-Ḥākim and al-Khalīlī regard him *thiqa* as well. See, Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 11, 57-8.

(from Yahyā b. Saʿīd) said Ibn Jurayj is more reliable (*athbat*) than Mālik on Nāfiʿ. Ibn Jurayj is in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's view the most reliable people on ʿAṭā'.<sup>54</sup> Aḥmad (from ʿAbd Razzāq) said I saw nobody, whose *ṣalāt* (daily prayer) is better than Ibn Jurayj's.<sup>55</sup> He was born in the year 80 and died at the age of seventy in the year 150.<sup>56</sup>

Ibn Jurayj's source is ʿAṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ. Like Ibn Jurayj, ʿAṭā' is described as *thiqa* (reliable), *faqīh* and that knew many *ḥadīths*.<sup>57</sup> Their relationship is well established. ʿAṭā' is considered the most knowledgeable in the field of *ḥajj* ceremonies.<sup>58</sup> His contemporaries eagerly desired his *ḥadīths*.<sup>59</sup> Although Ibn Jurayj and Qays ibn Saʿd (his most important students) left him towards the end of his life, he is generally regarded as a firmly reliable scholar.<sup>60</sup> He is reported to have died in 114, 115 or 117.<sup>61</sup>

All transmitters involved in this chain of transmission are credited with a high degree of reliability (*ʿudūl ḍābiṭūn*). To establish the continuity of the transmission the nature of transmission reflected in the words connecting the transmitters is to be analyzed. Assuming the information in biographical literature and the method of Muslim scholarship to be reliable, we may justifiably accept both Bukhārī's claim to have transmitted the *ḥadīth* from his informant Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā and the latter's claim to have transmitted it from his source Hishām b. Yūsuf. Bukhārī said *ḥaddathanā* and Ibrāhīm said *akbbaranā*. Both words were allegedly used for *samāʿ* (hearing), which is considered the best way of carrying and transmitting

<sup>54</sup> Ibn Jurayj is narrated to have attended ʿAṭā's circle for seventeen (in another transmission eighteen) years. See al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdad*, vol. 10, p. 402.

<sup>55</sup> al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdad*, vol. 10, p. 403.

<sup>56</sup> Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 5, pp. 361-362; Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 283; al-Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 3/1, pp. 422-3; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 316; al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-t-taʿdīl*, vol. 2/2, pp. 356-359; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, vol. 7, pp. 93-4; al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 10, pp. 400-407; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabdhīb*, vol. 6, pp. 402-406; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 2, p. 348; al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, ii, 185; *Mizān al-iʿtidāl*, vol. 2, p. 151, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, vol. 1, p. 169-171. For a detailed discussion on Ibn Jurayj's biography see Motzki, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence. Meccan Fiqh before the Classical schools*, Brill 2002, pp. 268-285.

<sup>57</sup> Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 5, p. 344. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabdhīb*, vol. 7, 200; al-Suyutī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz*, p. 39.

<sup>58</sup> Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 5, pp. 344-5; Ibn abī Ḥatīm, *Jarḥ*, vol. 3, p. 330; Abū Nuʿaym, *Hilya*, vol. 3, p. 311; al-Shirāzī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 659; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 2, pp. 423-424 (source Abū Ḥanifa); al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, vol. 1, p. 98. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabdhīb*, vol. 7, p. 201. See also Motzki, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence*, p. 249.

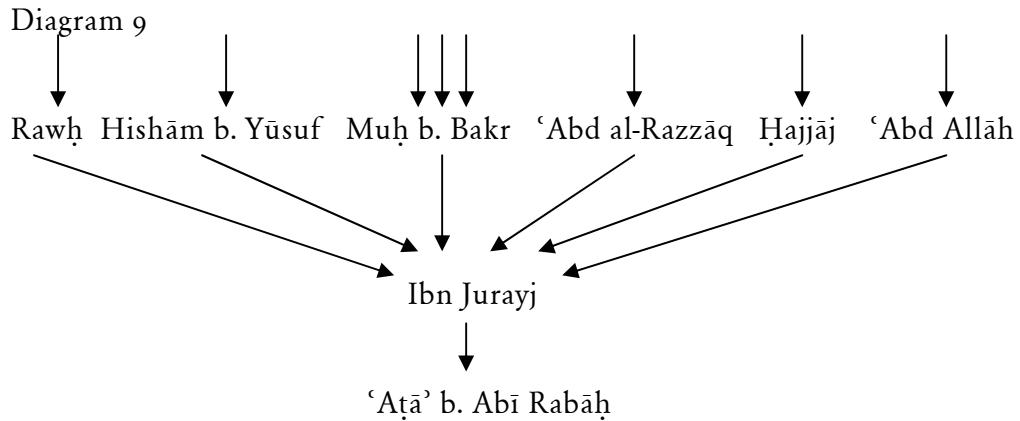
<sup>59</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabdhīb*, vol. 7, p. 201.

<sup>60</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabdhīb*, vol. 7, p. 203. For a detailed information on ʿAṭā' see also Motzki, *The Origins*, pp. 246-262.

<sup>61</sup> Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 280. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabdhīb*, vol. 7, 202.

*ḥadīth*. Furthermore, the scholarly relationship between Ibrahīm and Hishām is well documented in biographical dictionaries. The chain is until here uninterrupted.

Hishām b. Yūsuf did not explicitly declare the way he received the *ḥadīth* from Ibn Jurayj. He used the word "*an*". Their relationship is, however, established by *ḥadīth* critics. Besides, he is regarded as reliable and free from committing *tadlīs*. His claim to have received from Ibn Jurayj is, accordingly, to be taken reliable, albeit he did not clearly express the way he received the *ḥadīth*. Moreover, although al-Bukhārī recorded Hishām as the only student of Ibn Jurayj, who transmitted the *ḥadīth* from the latter, Hishām is not the only one who transmitted the *ḥadīth* from Ibn Jurayj. Some other students of Ibn Jurayj such as, ‘Abd al-Razzāq,<sup>62</sup> Muḥammad b. Bakr,<sup>63</sup> al-Ḥajjāj,<sup>64</sup> and Rawḥ<sup>65</sup> reportedly transmitted the *ḥadīth* as well (see diagram 9). Therefore, the chain until here, according Muslim point of view, is still considered uninterrupted.



The next stage is Ibn Jurayj’s transmission from ‘Aṭā’. Ibn Jurayj is the only student of ‘Aṭā’, who transmitted the *ḥadīth* under scrutiny from the latter. However, Ibn Jurayj’s claim to have transmitted the *ḥadīth* from ‘Aṭā’ seems to be unproblematic from Muslim point of view, in view of the fact that *ḥadīth* critics credits him with high degree of reliability, especially when he transmits from ‘Aṭā’. Furthermore, Ibn Jurayj declares clearly that he transmitted the *ḥadīth* from ‘Aṭā’ by way of *samā’*. This claim is confirmed by other information from biographical dictionaries, which

<sup>62</sup> See diagram 2.

<sup>63</sup> See diagram 9.

<sup>64</sup> See diagram 3.

<sup>65</sup> See diagram 10.

suggest their firmly scholarly contact. Accordingly, until here the transmission, according to Muslim method, is still to be considered uninterrupted.

The reliability of ‘Aṭā’s transmission from Abū Ṣāliḥ is equal to that of Hishām b. Yūsuf from Ibn Jurayj. Moreover, ‘Aṭā’s transmission from Abū Ṣāliḥ is confirmed by the transmissions of other students of the latter, who reportedly transmitted the *ḥadīth* as well. That is, the transmission of Ibn Murra,<sup>66</sup> al-A‘mash,<sup>67</sup> al-Mundhir b. ‘Ubayd<sup>68</sup> and Suhayl (see diagram 8). Abū Ṣāliḥ who is considered reliable as well is said to have directly heard Abū Hurayra. Abū Ṣāliḥ’s transmission from the latter is confirmed by the transmission of other students of Abū Hurayra See diagram (see diagram 4)

The next stage is Abū Hurayra’s claim to have transmitted the *ḥadīth* from the Prophet. His claim is to be taken as reliable, not only because he is one of the Companions of the Prophet, but also because he is not alone in transmitting the *ḥadīth* (see diagram 5). The *isnād* is therefore uninterrupted. We can safely conclude that the *ḥadīth*, from Muslim point of view, is *ṣaḥīḥ*, that is, its ascription to the Prophet is historical. Bukhārī bolsters his transmission with other variants *isnāds* and *matn*.

#### 4. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad - Hishām - Ma‘mar – Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī - Ibn al-Musayyab - Abū Hurayra.

*Ḥaddathanī ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad ḥaddathanā Hishām akhbaranā Ma‘mar ‘an al-Zuhrī ‘an Ibn al-Musayyab ‘an Abī Hurayra raḍiya Allāh ‘anhu ‘an al-nabī ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallam qāla: kullu ‘amali ibn Ādam lahu illā al-ṣaum fa-innahu lī wa-anā ajzī bihi wa-la-kbulufu fami al-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda Allāh min al-rīḥ al-miski.*<sup>69</sup> (‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad informed me he said, Hishām informed us, he said Ma‘mar informed us from al-Zuhrī from Ibn al-Musayyab from Abū Hurayra, may God bless him, from the Prophet (pbuh) he said: Every act of the son of Adam is his except fasting. It is meant for me and I will reward it. And verily the smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God than the scent of musk).

<sup>66</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 3, p. 5; al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, *Faḍl al-ṣiyām*, 42; Ibn Khuzayma, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 3, p. 198.

<sup>67</sup> See ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 4, p. 306; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, pp. 443, 266, 477; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, 35; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, *Kitāb al-ṣiyām*, 1; al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, *faḍl al-ṣiyām*, 42.

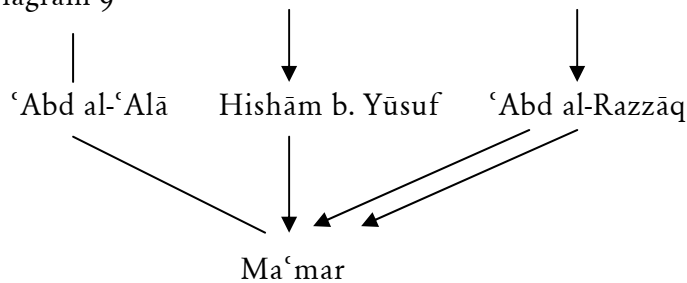
<sup>68</sup> Al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, *Faḍl al-ṣiyām*, 42.

<sup>69</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-libās*, 78.

‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad is Abū Ja‘far al-Ju‘fī al-Bukhārī al-Musnadī. He is named by the *laqab al-Musnadī* by virtue of his scholarly pursuit on *musnadāt* and his dislike for *mursalāt*.<sup>70</sup> He is reported to have heard Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna, Hishām b. Yūsuf, Yaḥyā b. Ādam and others, whereas al-Bukhārī, Abū Zur‘a, Abū Ḥātim and others are reported to have transmitted from him. He is known to have both precision in his transmitting (*itqān* and *ḍabt*) and proper conduct or religious integrity (*‘adāla*). Al-Khalīlī said he is reliable (*thiqa*). He died in 229.<sup>71</sup> His informant is Hishām b. Yūsuf. His transmission from the latter is confirmed by Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā’s transmission.<sup>72</sup> The next stage of the *isnād* is Hishām b. Yūsuf. He died in 197. He has already been mentioned.<sup>73</sup>

Hishām's informant is Ma‘mar b. Rāshid. His relationship to him is mentioned in biographical works.<sup>74</sup> Although al-Bukhārī only records Hishām as transmitter of the *ḥadīth* under review from Ma‘mar, Hishām is not the only alleged student of Ma‘mar, who transmitted the *ḥadīth*. Other alleged students of Ma‘mar, such as, ‘Abd al-Razzāq<sup>75</sup> and ‘Abd al-A‘lā’<sup>76</sup> are also recorded to have transmitted the *ḥadīth* from him.

Diagram 9



Ma‘mar was a Basran who lived in Yemen. Ibn Ma‘īn considers him to be reliable.<sup>77</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal (from ‘Abd Razzāq) said that nobody was more knowledgeable than Ma‘mar in his time. He belongs among those who

<sup>70</sup> See al-Baghdādī, *Ta’rīkh Baghdād*, vol. 10, p. 64. He is also reported to have been the first to collect the *musnad* of Ṣaḥāba, al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, II, p. 126. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 6, p. 9-10 (source al-Ḥākim)

<sup>71</sup> Al-Baghdādī, *Ta’rīkh Baghdād*, vol. 10, p. 65. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 6, pp. 9-10.

<sup>72</sup> See above p. 153..

<sup>73</sup> See above pp, 154.

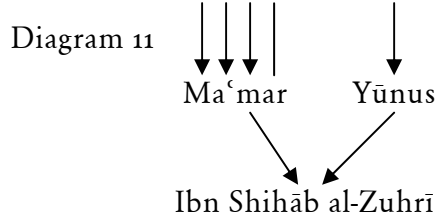
<sup>74</sup> Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, p. 244.

<sup>75</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 4, p. 306.

<sup>76</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 281.

<sup>77</sup> Ibn Ma‘īn even considers him to be more reliable than Ibn ‘Uyayna on al-Zuhrī.

arranged their texts thematically (*muṣannifūn*).<sup>78</sup> Both his intellectual capacity and religiously good character are established in biographical books. He died in 153-4.<sup>79</sup> His claim to have transmitted the *ḥadīth* in question from Ibn Shihāb is corroborated by the transmission of Yūnus, another alleged student of al-Zuhrī.<sup>80</sup>



The next stage is Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī. Ma' mar's transmission from al-Zuhrī is taken by *ḥadīth* critics to be very reliable.<sup>81</sup> Al-Zuhrī was one of the leading scholars of Madina.<sup>82</sup> This is reflected in the scholarly reviews of him. Ibn al-Madīnī said that the *isnād* (the *ʿilm al-thiqāt*) revolved upon three persons: in the Hijaz (Madina) al-Zuhrī (d. 124) and (in Mecca) ʿAmr b. Dīnār (d. 126); in Baṣra Qatāda (d. 117) and Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr (d. 132); in Kūfa Abū Ishāq al-Sabīʿī (d. 129) and al-Aʿmash Sulaymān b. Mihrān (d. 148).<sup>83</sup> Ayyūb said: I know nobody who is more knowledgeable than al-Zuhrī.<sup>84</sup> Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd said: I do not know anyone after the Prophet, who

<sup>78</sup> Ibn al-Madīnī, *ʿIlal al-ḥadīth*, p. 17; Cf. Motzki, "Zuhrī", p. 11.

<sup>79</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, p. 245; al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, vol. 3, p. 145. Al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām, wa-wafayāt al-mashāhīr wa-l-aʿlām (ḥawādith wa-wafayāt 121-140 A.H.)*, pp. 227-249.

<sup>80</sup> Al-Nasāʾī, *Sunan, Faḍl al-ṣiyām*, 42.

<sup>81</sup> Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2 (part 2), pp. 135-6; al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*, vol. 8, pp. 71-84; al-Bukhārī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 1, pp. 220-221; Khalīfa, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 261; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Jāmiʿ bayān al-ʿilm*, vol. 1, p. 73; al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, vol. 3, p. 85; *Mizān al-ʿitidāl*, vol. 4, p. 40; *Taḍkīrat al-ḥuffāz*, vol. 1, pp. 108-113; *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, vol. 5, pp. 326-350; al-Khazrajī, *Khulāṣat tahdhīb tahdhīb al-kamāl*, p. 359; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 9, pp. 445-451; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, vol. 4, pp. 177-179; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, vol. 9, 340; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifāt al-ṣafwa*, vol. 2, p. 77; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, vol. 3, p. 360; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vol. 1, p. 162; al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz*, p. 42.

<sup>82</sup> Al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*, vol. 8, p. 74; Al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām, (ḥawādith wa-wafayāt 121-140 A.H.)*, p. 227. Jaʿfar b. Rabīʿa is reported to have asked ʿIrāq b. Mālīk about who the most expert of *fiqh* of Madina was (*man afaqah ahl al-Madīna*). He said the most knowledgeable of the *qadāyā* (lawsuit) of the Prophet, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān and the most expert on *fiqh* and the most knowledgeable on what people had done in the past is Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab. The richest on *ḥadīth* was ʿUrwa (*aghzaruhum ḥadīthan fa-ʿUrwa*). But the most knowledgeable in my opinion was al-Zuhrī, for he combined their knowledge. Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 5, p. 337.

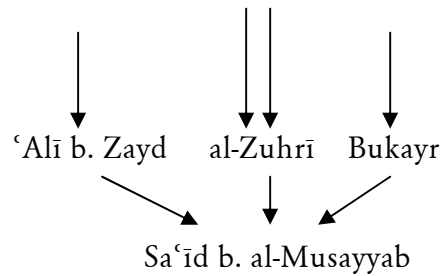
<sup>83</sup> Ibn al-Madīnī, *ʿIlal*, pp. 39-42; Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 5, p. 345.

<sup>84</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 1, p. 220. Ibn Ḥanbal said al-Zuhrī is the best people on *ḥadīth* and the most perfect on *isnād*. Adh-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 5, P. 335.



collected what Ibn Shihāb has collected.<sup>85</sup> ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Azīz is reported to have asked people to come to al-Zuhri, because he thought that al-Zuhri was the one who knows best about the *sunna* of the past (*sunna māḍiya*).<sup>86</sup> Mālik is reported to have said "*awwalu man asnada al-kitāb al-Zuhri*"<sup>87</sup> He allegedly reported from Anas b. Mālik, Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab, Sahl b. Sa‘d, Abū al-Ṭufayl, ‘Alqama b. Waqqāṣ and others. Some leading scholars are reported to have transmitted from him, such as, Ma‘mar, al-Awzā‘ī, Mālik, Ibn ‘Uyayna, Hishām b. Sa‘d and others.<sup>88</sup> He was born in 50 and died in 124 A.H. Although al-Bukhārī in his *isnād* records only al-Zuhri as transmitter of Ibn al-Musayyab for the *ḥadīth* under review, al-Zuhri is not the only one who is said to have transmitted the *ḥadīth* from Ibn al-Musayyab. Other alleged students of Ibn al-Musayyab such as ‘Alī b. Zayd<sup>89</sup> and Bukayr<sup>90</sup> reportedly transmitted the *ḥadīth* under scrutiny as well.

Diagram 12



The next stage is Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab.<sup>91</sup> He is reported to have transmitted from both senior and junior Companions like, ‘Uthmān b.

<sup>85</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh al-Islām*, p. 234; *Siyar*, vol. 5, p. 335. Rabī‘a said I do not think that one's knowledge has reached that of Zuhri. Al-Dhahabī, *op.cit.* p. 236.

<sup>86</sup> Al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-al-ta’dīl*, vol. 8, p. 72; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a’lām al-nubalā’*, vol. 5, p. 336. ‘Alī al-Madīnī said four people gave *fatwā*: al-Ḥikam, Ḥammād, Qatāda and al-Zuhri. The most expert (best qualified) among them was al-Zuhri. Al-Dhahabī, *op. cit.* p. 336.

<sup>87</sup> Al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-t-ta’dīl*, vol. 8, p. 74. Juynboll takes the word *asnada* to indicate two interpretations. Firstly Mālik indicated al-Zuhri as the first who made consistent use of *isnād*; secondly it indicated Zuhri's consistent search for *isnāds* going back all the way to the Prophet. He then prefers the first interpretation. See Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, pp. 18-19.

<sup>88</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ta’rīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 1, p. 220; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhbīrat al-ḥuffāḡ*, vol. 1, pp. 108-109. Even senior scholars (*al-kibār*) like ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Azīz, ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ, ‘Amr b. Dīnār, ‘Amr b. Shu‘ayb and Zayd b. Aslam have reportedly transmitted from him. Al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh al-Islām*, pp. 227-228.

<sup>89</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 414.

<sup>90</sup> Al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, *Faḍl al-ṣiyyām*, 42.

<sup>91</sup> Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2 (part 2), pp. 128-132; al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta’dīl*, vol. 4, pp. 59-61; Mizzi, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 11, pp. 66-75; al-Bukhārī, *Ta’rīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 3, pp. 510-511; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a’yān*, vol. 2, pp. 375-378; ‘Alī al-Madīnī, *al-Ilāl*, pp. 45, 46, 48, 73, 80; al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, vol. 1, p. 296; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a’lām al-nubalā’*, vol. 4, pp. 217-246. Al-Dhahabī; *Tadhbīrat al-ḥuffāḡ*, vol. 1, pp. 54-56; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 4, pp. 84-88; al-Khazrajī, *Khulāṣat tahdhīb tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 1, p. 390; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat al-ṣaḥāba*, vol. 2, pp. 79-82.

‘Affān,<sup>92</sup> ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, ‘Ā’isha, Anas b. Mālik, Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh, Zayd b. Thābit, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr, Abū Hurayra<sup>93</sup> and others. Some scholars are reported to have transmitted from him such as Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri, ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ, Abū l-Zinād b. Dhakwān and others.<sup>94</sup> Al-Zuhri is reported to have attended Sa‘īd b. Musayyab's circle for about 8 years.<sup>95</sup>

As a scholar, Ibn al-Musayyab received a few reviews. Alī al-Madīnī said: "I do not know any Successor, who is more knowledgeable than Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab".<sup>96</sup> Abū Ḥātim said: "none of the Successors are nobler than Sa‘īd and he is the most reliable of them on Abū Hurayra". He combined the expertise of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*, which indicates his intellectual capacity (*ḍabt*), and his *zuhd* (asceticism) *‘ibāda* (worship) and *wara‘* (piety) points to his religiously good conduct (*‘adāla*).<sup>97</sup> Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab was a *faqīh* (legal expert)<sup>98</sup> whose *fatwā* (legal opinion) was always coveted in Madina.<sup>99</sup> He is regarded *thiqa* and *imām*. He died in 93 or 4 at the age of 74 or 75. This year is called the year of the *fuqahā’*, because of the great number of *fuqahā’* died in this year.<sup>100</sup> Ibn al-Musayyab's transmission of the *ḥadīth* from Abū Hurayra is corroborated by the transmissions of other Successors (see diagram 4).<sup>101</sup>

All transmitters involved in this chain are credited with high degree of reliability. Their scholarly relationship with their respective informants is documented in biographical dictionaries. In view of these facts, Ma‘mar's, al-Zuhri's and Ibn al-Musayyab's use of "‘an" in this transmission is not to be

<sup>92</sup> He is allegedly the one who knew best about what ‘Umar and ‘Uthmān had decided. Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2 (part two), p. 129. Al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, p. 296.

<sup>93</sup> He is reported to have transmitted 287 *ḥadīths* from Abū Hurayra. See Mizzī, *Tuḥfat al-asḥrāf*, vol. 10, p. 8-10.

<sup>94</sup> Mizzī, *Tabdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 11, p. 66-70.

<sup>95</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh al-Islām (ḥawādith wa-wafayāt 121-140)*, p. 228 (source Mālik from al-Zuhri); *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, vol. 1, p. 109.

<sup>96</sup> He is also reported to have been the most expert on the *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām*. See al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta’dīl*, vol. 4, p. 60 (source Qatāda). See also al-Khazrajī, *Khulāṣat*, vol. 1, p. 390.

<sup>97</sup> Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a’yān*, vol. 2, p. 375. Al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, p. 296.

<sup>98</sup> He was one of the seven *fuqahā’* (legal experts) in Madina. Al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, vol. 1, p. 296.

<sup>99</sup> Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2 (part 2), p. 129; Mizzī, *Tabdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 11, p. 71 (source Ibn Hibbān).

<sup>100</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tabdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 11, p. 75.

<sup>101</sup> For the next stage, the Companion Abū Hurayra, see the foregoing discussion on him.

taken as interrupting the chain. The ascription of the *ḥadīth* to the Prophet is, accordingly, reliable according to the standards of Muslim scholars.

5. ‘Abd Allāh b. Maslama - Mālik - Abū al-Zinād – al-A‘raj.

*Ḥaddathanā ‘Abd Allāh b. Maslama ‘an Mālik ‘an Abī al-Zinād ‘an al-A‘raj ‘an Abī Hurayra raḍiya Allāh ‘anhū anna rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallam qāla: al-siyam junnatun fa-lā yarfuṭh wa-lā yajhal wa-in imru’un qātalabū aw shātamahū fa-l-yaqul innī ṣā’imun marratayn wa-l-ladhī naṣī bi-yadihi la-khulūfu fam al-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda Allāh ta’ālā min al-rīḥ al-misk yatrūk ṭa’amahu wa-sharābahu wa-shahwatahu min ajli, al-ṣiyāmu lī wa-anā ajzī bihi, wa-l-ḥasanatu bi-‘ashri amthālihā.*

Al-Bukhārī’s informant is ‘Abd Allāh b. Maslama al-Qa‘nabī.<sup>102</sup> He is the informant of several famous *ḥadīth* scholars, such as al-Bukhārī,<sup>103</sup> Muslim,<sup>104</sup> Abū Dāwūd, Abū Zur‘a, Abū Ḥātim and others. He reported from Shu‘ba, Mālik,<sup>105</sup> Nāfi‘ ibn ‘Umar, Nāfi‘ ibn Abī Nu‘aym, and others. He was a Basran scholar and is considered *thiqa* (reliable) by *ḥadīth* critics.<sup>106</sup> Al-Bukhārī’s transmission of Ibn Maslama’s *ḥadīth* under review is corroborated by the transmissions of Abū Dāwūd<sup>107</sup> and ‘Uthmān b. Sa‘īd, found in al-Bayhaqī’s *al-Sunan al-kubrā*.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ta’rīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 5, p. 212; al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, vol. 2, p. 117; *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, vol. 1, p. 383; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 6, pp. 31-33; al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz*, p. 165; Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dibāj al-madhhab*, p. 131.

<sup>103</sup> Al-Bukhārī reported 123 *ḥadīths* from him (Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 3, p. 32)

<sup>104</sup> Muslim reported 70 *ḥadīths* from him (Ibn Ḥajar, loc. cit).

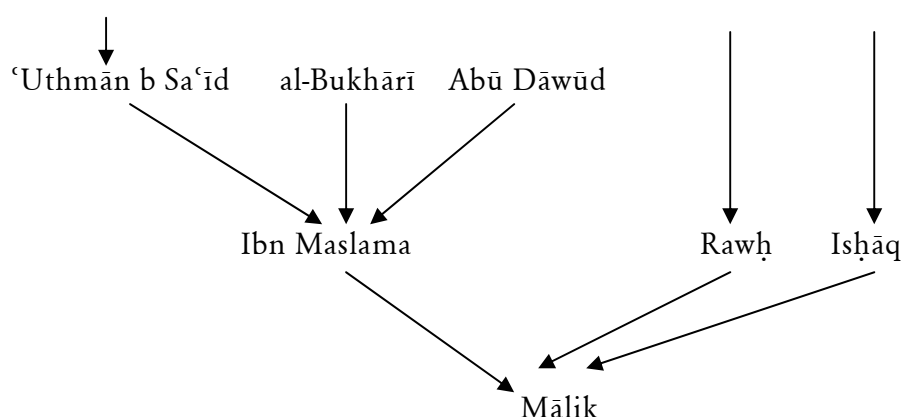
<sup>105</sup> Ibn al-Madīnī considered him the best transmitter of the *Muwatta’a*. (Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 6, p. 32.

<sup>106</sup> Abū Ḥātim said he is *thiqa ḥujja*, I do not see anyone who is more (God) fearing than him (*lam ara akhsbā minhu*). Abū Zur‘a said: "I do not write anything from anyone, which is better than that from him". See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 6, p. 32.

<sup>107</sup> Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, *al-sawm*, *al-ghība li-l-ṣā’im*.

<sup>108</sup> Al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 304

Diagram 13



Ibn Maslama is reported to have read half of the *Muwattaʿa* to Mālik, and Mālik allegedly read to him the remaining half.<sup>109</sup> He died in 221 A.H.<sup>110</sup> His relationship both with al-Bukhārī (his student) and with Mālik<sup>111</sup> (his teacher) is well established in biographical dictionaries. Although he did not clearly declare the way he received the *ḥadīth* from Mālik (he uses ‘*an*’), his claim to have the *ḥadīth* from the latter is considered to be reliable by virtue of the fact that his scholarly contact with Mālik is firmly established. Similarly, he is regarded as reliable transmitter, that is, free from making *tadlīs*. Moreover, ‘Abd Allāh b. Maslama’s transmission from Mālik is confirmed by the transmissions of other alleged students of Mālik.<sup>112</sup> (See diagram 13 above)

The next stage is Mālik b. Anas.<sup>113</sup> He is reported to have heard Zayd b. Aslam, Abū al-Zinād, Nāfi‘ and al-Zuhri, ‘Abd Allāh b. Dinār, Hishām b. ‘Urwa and others.<sup>114</sup> He was one of leading scholars of Madina, who earned his reputation mostly on *fiqh* and *ḥadīth*. Al-Nasāʿī said “nobody after the Successors is to me nobler and more reliable in *ḥadīth* than Mālik”. Ibn Ḥibbān said: “Mālik was the first of the *fuqahā*’ of Madina to select the

<sup>109</sup> Al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz*, p. 174.

<sup>110</sup> Al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz*, p. 174.

<sup>111</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fibrīst*, p. 199.

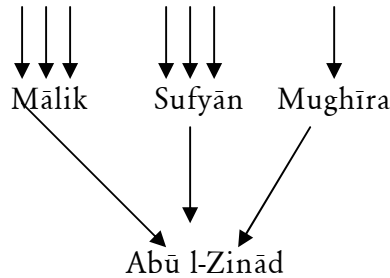
<sup>112</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, pp. 465, 516.

<sup>113</sup> For his biography see, Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fibrīst*, pp. 198-9; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, vol. 1, p. 439; Ibn Tagribirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, vol. 2, p. 96; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, vol. 6, p. 313; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmāʾ wa-l-lughāt*, vol. 2, pp. 75-79; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, p. 435; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, vol. 1, pp. 207-213; al-Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-jinān wa-maʾrifat al-yaqzān*, vol. 1, pp. 373-377; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, vol. 10, pp. 174-5; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 10, pp. 5-9; al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz*, pp. 89-90; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vol. 1, p. 289;

<sup>114</sup> Al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmāʾ wa-l-lughāt*, vol. 2, p. 75; al-Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-jinān*, vol. 1, p. 373; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 10, p. 5.

informants (*rijāl*). He rejected the narration of unreliable persons and transmitted nothing but from those of reliable persons”.<sup>115</sup> He died in Madina in 179 A.H.<sup>116</sup> Mālik's claim to have transmitted the *ḥadīth* from Abū al-Zinād, although he used the word "an" is to be considered reliable, for the same reason as in the case of al-Qa‘nabī's claim to have transmitted from Mālik. Both are considered reliable. In addition, Mālik's transmission from Abū l-Zinād is corroborated by Sufyān's and Mughīra's transmission (see diagram 14). Until here the chain is still uninterrupted.

Diagram 14



The next stage is Abū l-Zinād.<sup>117</sup> *Ḥadīth* critics grant him the highest degree of reliability (*amīr al-muminīn fī al-ḥadīth*).<sup>118</sup> Al-Bukhārī included him in the golden chains when he said that the most reliable *isnād* from Ibn ‘Umar is that of Mālik from Nāfi‘ and the most reliable *isnād* from Abū Hurayra is that of Abū l-Zinād from al-A‘raj.<sup>119</sup> Abū l-Zinād allegedly reported from Anas b. Mālik, Abū Umāma b. Sahl, Abān b. ‘Uthmān, ‘Urwa, Ibn al-Musayyab, al-A‘raj (he reported a lot from him). Mālik, Ibn Abī Mulayka, Hishām b. ‘Urwa, Ibn ‘Ajlān and others are reported to have transmitted from him. He died in 130-131 A.H.<sup>120</sup> *Ḥadīth* critics unanimously accept Abū l-Zinād's reliability.<sup>121</sup> Their judgment of the latter's reputation as

<sup>115</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 10, p. 9.

<sup>116</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fibrīst*, p. 199; al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz*, p. 90.

<sup>117</sup> Khalīfat, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 259; al-Bukhārī, *Ta‘rīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 5, p. 27; al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta‘dīl*, vol. 5, pp. 49-50; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vol. 1, p. 182; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, vol. 5, pp. 445-451; *Mizān al-i‘tidāl*, vol. 2, pp. 418-420; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 5, pp. 203-205.

<sup>118</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 5, p. 446; *Mizān al-i‘tidāl*, vol. 2, p. 418 (source Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal); al-Khazrajī, *Khulāṣat tahdhīb al-kamāl*, p. 196. Other terms used by scholars to describe his reliability are *thiqa* (reliable) *ḥujja* (authoritative), *faqīh* (legal expert). See al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ*, vol. 5, p. 49.

<sup>119</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 5, p. 446; al-Khazrajī, *Khulāṣat tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, p. 196.

<sup>120</sup> Khalīfat, *Ṭabaqāt*, 259; al-Bukhārī, *Ta‘rīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 5, p. 83; *Ta‘rīkh al-ṣagīr*, vol. 2, p. 27.

<sup>121</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 5, p. 449.

a *ḥadīth* scholar leaves no room to doubt his tradition, especially his tradition from al-Aʿraj. Accordingly, in this case, though he used the word "*an*" and is alone to transmit the *ḥadīth* from al-Aʿraj, Abū l-Zinād's tradition is to be considered reliable. Therefore, the chain is until here uninterrupted.

The next stage is ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Hurmuz al-Aʿraj<sup>122</sup>. *Ḥadīth* critics unanimously agreed on his reliability.<sup>123</sup> He allegedly heard Abū Hurayra,<sup>124</sup> Ibn ʿAbbās, and others. Many leading scholars are reported to have transmitted from him, such as Ibn Shihāb, Abū l-Zinād, Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, Zayd b. Aslam, Mūsā b. ʿUqba, Rabīʿa and others.<sup>125</sup> He died in 117 A.H.<sup>126</sup> His transmission of the *ḥadīth* under review from Abū Hurayra is bolstered not only by information provided by *ḥadīth* critics who documented their relationship, but also by the transmissions of other Successors who transmitted the *ḥadīth* as well (see diagram 4). The *ḥadīth* is accordingly until here uninterrupted.

The next stage is Abū Hurayra whose reliability is, according to the majority of Muslim scholarship of *ḥadīth* research, taken for granted. Applying the method of Muslim scholarship, we can safely conclude that the *ḥadīth* is highly reliable, that is, its ascription to the Prophet is genuine.

It has been clear from our analysis of al-Bukhārī's *isnāds* that all transmitters involved in the chains of transmission are reliable according to the classical Muslim *ḥadīth* experts. Likewise, the way they carried and transmitted the *ḥadīth* under scrutiny, which is reflected in the words used in the transmission, are purportedly reliable, despite the fact that some

<sup>122</sup> For detailed information of his biography see Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 5, p. 209; Khalīfat, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 239; al-Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 5, p. 69; *Taʾrīkh al-ṣaghīr*, vol. 1, p. 243; al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-t-taʿdīl*, vol. 5, p. 297; al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-islām*, vol. 4, p. 275; *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, vol. 1, p. 97; *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, vol. 5, p. 69; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 6, pp. 290-1; al-Khazrajī, *Khulāṣat tahdhīb tahdhīb al-kamāl*, p. 236; al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz*, p. 38; *Bughyat al-wuʾāt*, p. 91; Ibn Tagribirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, vol. 1, p. 276; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vol. 1, p. 153.

<sup>123</sup> Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 5, p. 209; Al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ*, vol. 5, p. 296; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 6, p. 290; al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-islām*, vol. 4, p. 275; al-Khazrajī, *Khulāṣat*, p. 236.

<sup>124</sup> He is one of the Successors, who transmitted a lot from Abū Hurayra. He is said to have transmitted about 350 *ḥadīths*, 243 of which have been transmitted by Abū al-Zinād from Aʿraj.

<sup>125</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 5, p. 360; Al-Khazrajī, *Khulāṣat*, p. 236; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 5, p. 69; *Taʾrīkh al-islām*, vol. 4, p. 275; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 6, pp. 290-1.

<sup>126</sup> Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 5, p. 209; Khalifa b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 239; Al-Khazrajī, *Khulāṣat*, p. 236.

transmitters have used the term “*an*”. Furthermore, the *ḥadīth* with its varied versions was not only transmitted by the transmitters provided by al-Bukhārī, but also by a large number of other transmitters, which appear in other *ḥadīth* collection. Some of them have been alluded to, and the other will be dealt with in the following chapter, for a reason that will be clear in the next pages (see below the complete diagram of the *ḥadīth* under scrutiny). From a Muslim point of view, the transmission by a lot of people makes it unnecessary to analyze each transmitter of all chains of transmission, assuming that they were unlikely to concurrently agree on a conspiracy to fabricate the *ḥadīth*. Applying the method of Muslim scholarship, therefore, we have every reason to judge the *ḥadīth* as *ṣaḥīḥ*, that is, its ascription to the Prophet to be genuine.

Now, if all *isnāds* given by al-Bukhārī for the *ḥadīth* in question are reliable, for all transmitters involved in the chain are reliable, why do the texts of the five *isnāds* differ strongly from one another? In this respect, it may be of interest to point out that in the *‘ulūm al-ḥadīth*, it is stated that a sound *isnād* does not necessarily mean a sound *matn*. In other words, there are some *ḥadīths* whose *isnāds* are highly reliable but their *matns* turn out to be otherwise. This suggests that *ḥadīth* critics cannot fully neglect *matn* analysis. With this regard, how do we have to interpret the textual differences of the *ḥadīth* from a Muslim point of view? Since the *ḥadīths* do not contradict to one another, despite their significant differences, the conclusion seems to suggest itself that instead of undermining each other, the *ḥadīths* corroborate one another. Formulated alternatively, the distinctive *matn* of the *ḥadīths* does not undermine the reliability of the transmitters involved in the chain of transmission.

Furthermore, a remarkable fact has come to light that al-Bukhārī’s *isnāds* are highly reliable according to Muslim standards. This feature will become apparent if we scrutinize the *ḥadīths* further in other *ḥadīth* collections.<sup>127</sup> It is no wonder, therefore, that al-Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* is regarded as the most highly respected *ḥadīth* collection by Muslim scholars. This is not to say, however, that *ḥadīth* critics unanimously regard al-Bukhārī’s transmitters as wholly reliable. The reliability of some of his transmitters is debated. Even the

reliability of some transmitters of the *ḥadīth* alluded to above, such as ‘Aṭā’, Ibn Jurayj, al-Zuhri and others are not undisputed, though they are in general considered reliable. It is by virtue of this general esteem that their transmissions of the *ḥadīth* under review are taken to be reliable.

After having scrutinized the *ḥadīth* under review with the Muslim scholars’ methods, a few intriguing questions remain: On what ground do the third and fourth century scholars base their judgment on the first and second century scholars? Is it only their subjective opinion? If not, on which evidence it is based? Is their judgment controllable? To answer this question is a formidable task, which is beyond this research. No general answer can be given to this question. Let it suffice to say that the information provided by the third and fourth century scholars about the first and second century scholars is too important to be completely neglected. As the following pages are going to uncover, the result of a study based primarily on the *isnāds* and *matns* themselves without having recourse to the judgements found in biographical literature often coincides with the information found therein. This is not to say that all information found in biographical works is reliable.

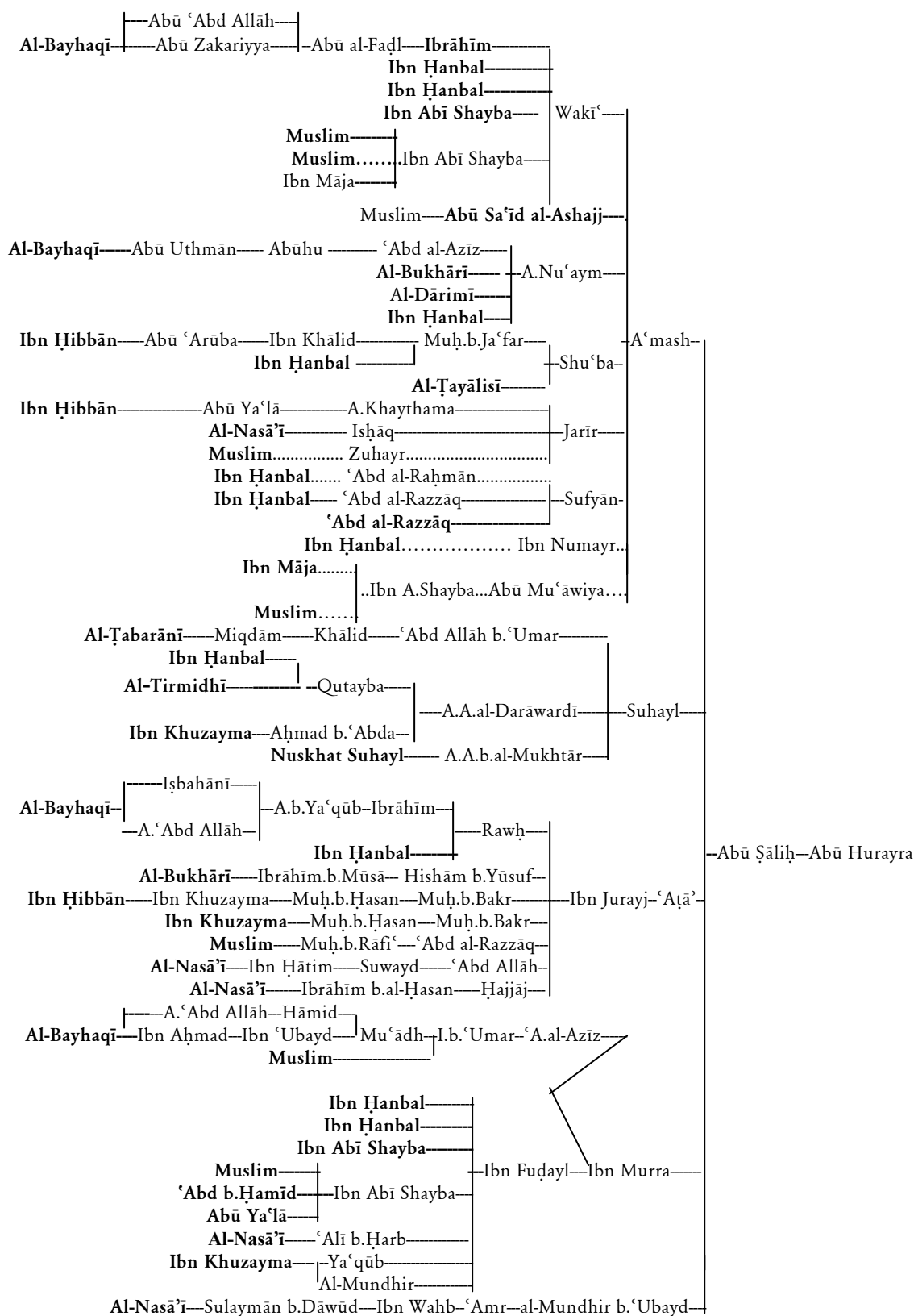
Are the judgments of the aforesaid scholars independent from one another? If this is not guaranteed and later scholars merely took over the opinions of their predecessors, a wide *ijmā’* on a particular scholar does not provide many values. Moreover, on what ground is the information about the relationship between student and teacher in the biographical works based? Is it based on real transmissions or is it developed from *isnāds*. As long as it is not clear where the information originates, it cannot be used as evidence for the reliability of an *isnād*. It would be a circular argument. It might be wise to assume that, as often happens both assumption are the case, that is, the information about relationship between student and teacher was based both on real transmission and on the *isnāds*. Accordingly, the information must be subjected to historical analysis.

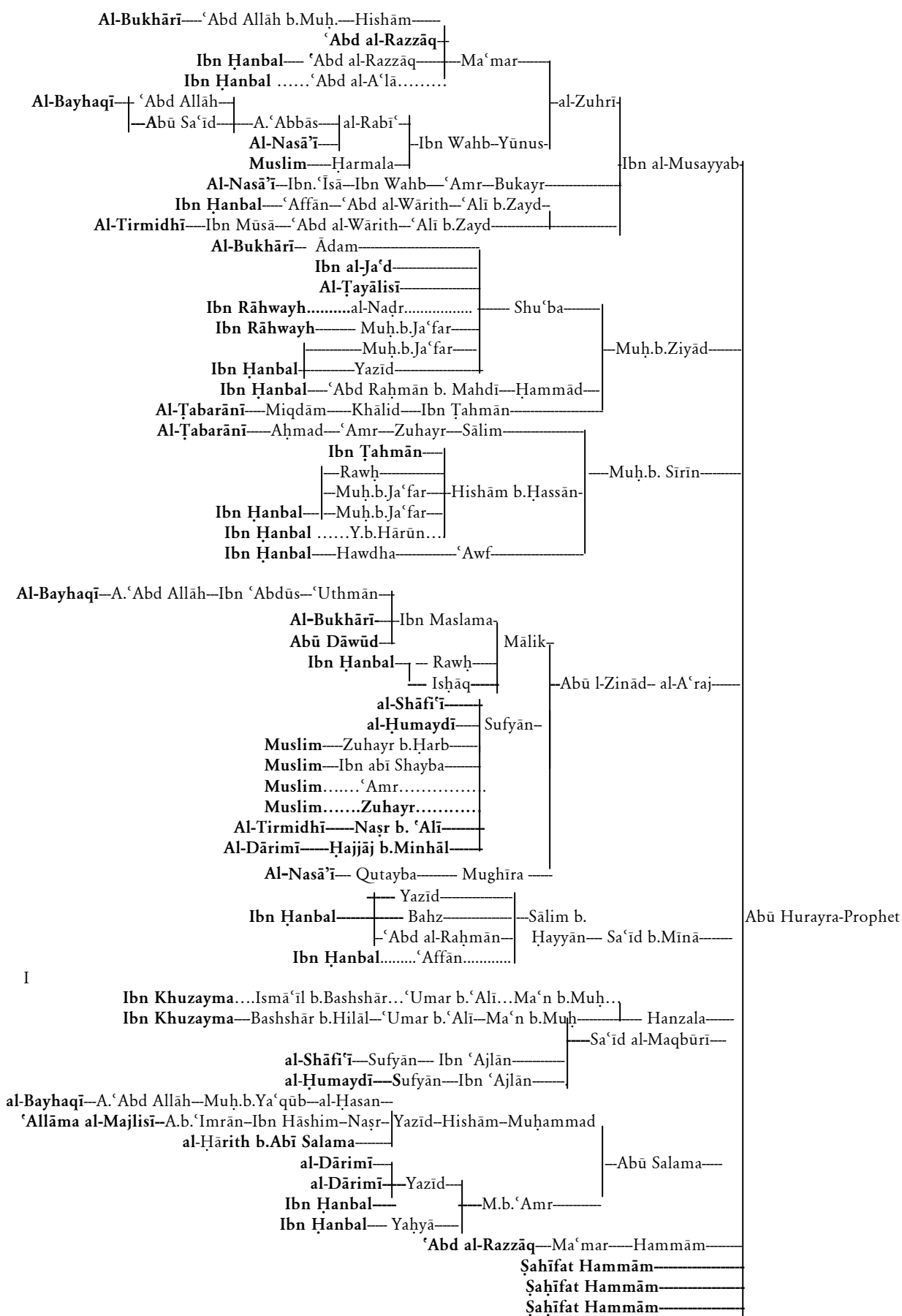
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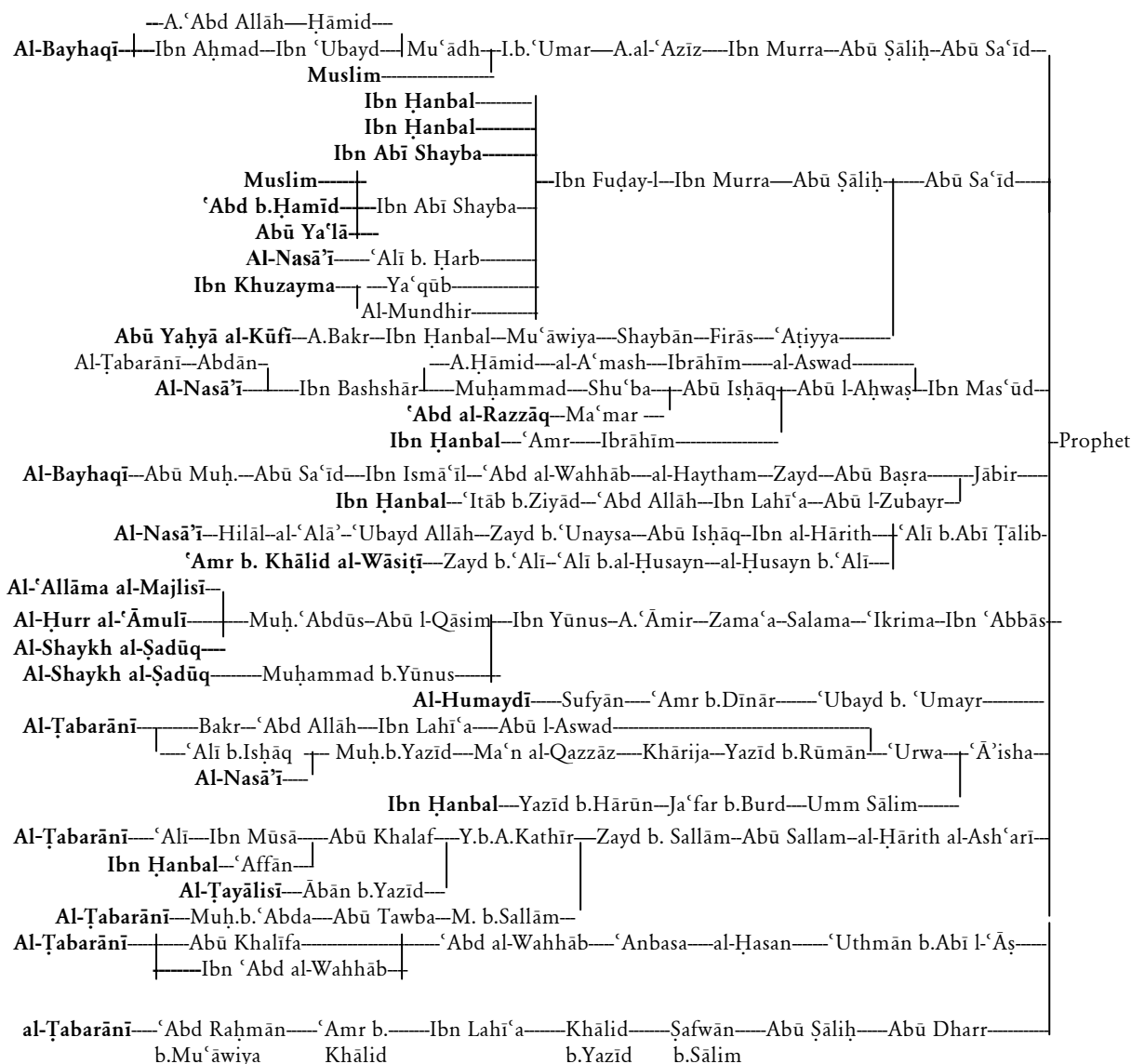
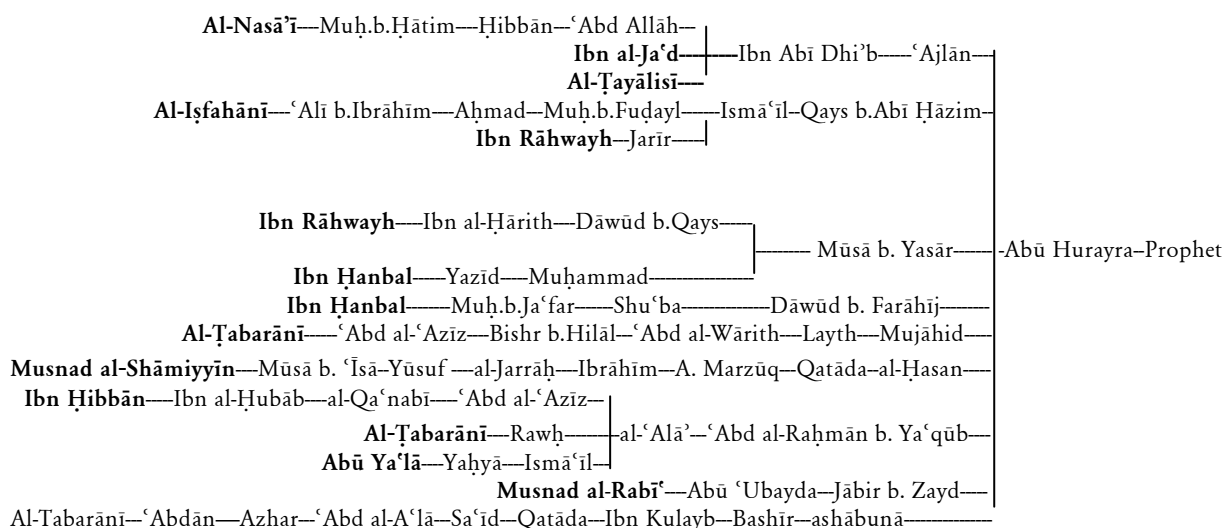
<sup>127</sup> Another piece of evidence corroborating this will be found in the *isnād cum matn* analysis.



## The complete ISNĀD bundles of the ṢAWM ḤADĪTH.







——: *Isnād* and *matn*

.....: *Isnād* only

**Bold:** *Ḥadīth* Collectors

## VII. The scrutiny of the ṢAWM ḤADĪTH with the Juynboll's recent method of ISNĀD analysis.

As it has already been alluded to, non-Muslim scholars totally reject the assumption that a mere occurrence of a *ḥadīth* in one or more canonical collections is a conclusive proof of its prophetic origin. To assess the historicity of any tradition, non-Muslim scholars date it with methods they coined themselves. What follows is an attempt to assess the reliability of one of these methods, Juynboll's recent *isnād* analytical method, by applying it to the tradition under scrutiny.

Juynboll's method of *isnād* analysis underwent modification in the course of time. The most significant point of change is his sharpening the conditions for a real common link. According to Juynboll, a transmitter, in order to be accepted as a real common link, has to have several partial common links. Similarly, these partial common links must have in turn several partial common links.<sup>1</sup> Put differently, a common link corroborated only by one partial common link and some single strands turns out to be a "seeming common link". The *isnād* structure which consists of several single strands bolstering a seeming common link is called by Juynboll a spider.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, some transmitters, which Juynboll earlier had identified as common links, turned out to be merely seeming common links. Applying his method to Nāfi', the *maṭlā* of Ibn 'Umar, Juynboll rules out the historicity of the 1088 strands, found in canonical collections allegedly transmitted by Nāfi'. Juynboll argues that Nāfi' never deserves the qualification of a real common link, by virtue of the fact that he never has more than one historically believable partial common link. The only historical partial common link of Nāfi' is Mālik. This is, according to Juynboll, not enough to proof the historicity of Nāfi's transmission.<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, by examining the *isnāds* of the alleged *mutawātir ḥadīths*, Juynboll argues that the *tawātur*, as defined by Ibn Ḥajar as "transmission by

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<sup>1</sup> See the foregoing discussion on the common link.

<sup>2</sup> Juynboll, "(Re)Appraisal of Some Technical Terms in *ḥadīth* science" in *Islamic Law and Society* 8 (2001), p. 306.

<sup>3</sup> Juynboll, "Nāfi', the *maṭlā* of Ibn 'Umar and his Position in Muslim *Ḥadīth* Literature", in *Der Islam* 70 (1996) pp. 207-244. For a critical appraisal of Juynboll's method, premises and conclusions see, Harald Motzki, "Quo vadis *Ḥadīth* Forschung" in *Der Islam* 73 (1996) pp. 40-80, 193-231.

a group of transmitters on the authority of another group of transmitters from the beginning of the transmission until its end and this in every generation,” in fact never occurs.<sup>4</sup> In what follows, Juynboll’s methods will be applied to the *ḥadīth* under review.

When looking at the bundle of the traditions under scrutiny (see the complete diagram of the *ḥadīth* at the end of chapter VI), it is conspicuous that several Companions of the Prophet are involved in the transmission of the tradition. In other words, the Prophet seems to be the common link. The structure of the bundle seems to be an exception from Juynboll’s rule that the majority of traditions begin to fan out after the generation of Successors. To put it differently, most traditions of the Prophet consist of *isnāds* of one Companion – a Successor – a younger Successor – a common link. Conversely, the *isnāds* of the *ḥadīth* under review begin to fan out already at the level of the Prophet. At the level of the Companions, one of them, Abū Hurayra, reportedly passed the tradition on to many Successors. Accordingly, a cursory look at the bundle suggests that Abū Hurayra or even the Prophet has the position of a common link, who has some partial common links. Who might deserve the position of a real common link according to Juynboll’s method? Put otherwise, to whom can the authorship of the tradition be ascribed? In what follows we are going to analyze the *isnād* bundle to assess how far can we go to ascertain the reliability of the transmission, following the rules of the *isnād* specialist G. H. A. Juynboll.

The first step of his scrutiny is to determine who deserves the position of a common link. In doing so an analysis of the *isnād* bundle is made. The tradition under review is reportedly transmitted by no fewer than 11 Companions or Successors: Abū Hurayra, Abū Sa‘īd, Ibn Mas‘ūd, Jabir b. ‘Abd Allāh, ‘Ā’isha, ‘Uthmān b. Abī l-‘Āṣ, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Ubayd b. ‘Umayr and al-Ḥārith al-‘Ash‘arī, Abū Dharr and Ḥanzala (see diagram 5 of the foregoing chapter).

According to the *isnāds*, Abū Hurayra reportedly passed the tradition to not fewer than 18 Successors: Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab, al-A‘raj, Muḥammad b. Ziyād, Sa‘īd b. Mīnā, Sa‘īd al-Maqburī, Hammām b. Munabbih, Dāwūd b. Farāhīj, Ibn Sīrīn, Mūsā b. Yasār, Ḥanzala, Abū

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<sup>4</sup> Juynboll, “(Re)Appraisal”, p. 329.

Salama, Jabir, ‘Ajlān, Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim, Mujāhid b. Jabr, al-Ḥasan, ‘Abd Raḥmān b. Ya‘qūb and Jābir b. Zayd (see diagram 4 of the foregoing chapter).

### The tradition of Abū Hurayra.

Abū Hurayra is the Companion of the Prophet who allegedly transmitted most traditions from the latter. According to the *isnāds* of the canonical collections he transmitted about 3370 *ḥadīths*. 2371 of them have been further transmitted by nine prolific Successors, his alleged students: Abū Ṣāliḥ (d. 101) transmitted 588 traditions from him, Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab (d. 94 or 100) 287 traditions, Sa‘īd b. Sa‘īd al-Maqburī (d. 117) 143 traditions, Salmān Abū Ḥāzim al-Ashja‘ī 70 traditions, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hurmuz al-A‘raj (d. 117) 350 traditions, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ya‘qūb al-Juhanī 128 traditions, Muḥammad b. Sīrīn al-Anṣārī al-Baṣarī (d. 110) 183 traditions, Hammām b. Munabbih (d. 132) 127 traditions, Abū Salama b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf (d. 94 or 104) 495 traditions.<sup>5</sup>

Variants of the tradition in question which are reported on the authority of Abū Hurayra are found in a number of sources: Hammām’s *Ṣaḥīfa*, Mālik’s *Muwatta’*,<sup>6</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s *Muṣannaf*,<sup>7</sup> Ibn Abī Shayba’s *Muṣannaf*,<sup>8</sup> in a collection of traditions ascribed to al-Shāfi‘ī called *Badā’i’ al-minan*,<sup>9</sup> Abū Ya‘lā’s,<sup>10</sup> and Ibn Ḥanbal’s *Musnads*,<sup>11</sup> al-Bukhārī’s<sup>12</sup> and Muslim’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*,<sup>13</sup> al-Nasā’ī’s,<sup>14</sup> Ibn Māja’s<sup>15</sup> and al-Tirmidhī’s *Sunan*,<sup>16</sup> Ibn Khuzayma’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*,<sup>17</sup> al-Dārimī’s *Sunan*,<sup>18</sup> al-Ḥumaydī’s,<sup>19</sup> al-Ṭayālīsī’s,<sup>20</sup> Ibn

<sup>5</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfat al-ashraf bi-ma‘rifat al-aṭrāf*, vol. 10, Hyderabad 1979, p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Mālik, *Muwatta’*, pp. 226-227.

<sup>7</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 4, pp. 306-7.

<sup>8</sup> Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 3, p. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Al-Shāfi‘ī, *Badā’i’ al-minan fi tartīb musnad al-shāfi‘ī wa al-sunan*, vol. 1, p. 256.

<sup>10</sup> Abū Ya‘lā, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 286; vol. 11, p. 386.

<sup>11</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 1, p. 446; vol. 2, pp. 232, 234, 257, 266, 281, 312-313, 393, 395, 410-11, 414, 443, 457, 458, 465, 466-467, 475, 477, 480, 503, 504, 516; vol. 3, 5 (?), 40; vol. 4, 240, 462.

<sup>12</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, 35, 50: *Kitāb al-libās*, 78: *Kitāb al-ṣiyām*, 9.

<sup>13</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Sawm*, 161, 163, 164, 165.

<sup>14</sup> Al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, vol. 4, pp. 134, 135, 136, 164.

<sup>15</sup> Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, *al-ṣiyām*, 1; *al-adab*, 85.

<sup>16</sup> Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 3, pp. 136-137.

<sup>17</sup> Ibn Khuzayma, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 3, pp. 196, 197, 198.

<sup>18</sup> Al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, p. 356.

<sup>19</sup> Al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 442.

<sup>20</sup> Al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, 325.

al-Ja‘d’s *Musnads*,<sup>21</sup> Ibn Abī Shayba’s *Muṣannaf*,<sup>22</sup> Ibn Rāhawayh’s *Musnad*,<sup>23</sup> Nuskhat Wakī‘,<sup>24</sup> al-Ṭabarānī’s *ʿAwsaṭ*,<sup>25</sup> al-Bayhaqī’s *Sunan*,<sup>26</sup> al-Rabī‘’s *Musnad*, Ibn Ḥibbān’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*<sup>27</sup> and al-Iṣfahānī’s *Fawā‘id*.<sup>28</sup>

Abū Hurayra’s position as one of the purveyors of the tradition seems to be clear. No fewer than eighteen transmission lines (*ṭuruq*) fan out above him to end up in both canonical and non-canonical collections (see the complete diagram of the *ḥadīth* at the end of the foregoing chapter). According to Juynboll’s method the question has to be answered whether Abū Hurayra is a real common link or only a seeming common link. Therefore, in what follows, an analysis of the transmission lines ascribed to every alleged student of Abū Hurayra, who in turn reportedly has more than one student, will be made. These are, Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab, Ibn Ziyād and Muḥammad b. Sīrīn.

#### I. THE ḤADĪTH of Abū Ṣāliḥ

The first strands to be analyzed are that of Abū Ṣāliḥ (see the first page of the complete diagram in the foregoing chapter). ‘Abd al-Razzāq (d. 211) gives three transmission lines of the tradition under scrutiny. One goes back to Abū Ṣāliḥ through al-A‘mash. Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241) gives thirty-nine transmission lines (*ṭuruq*) for the tradition. Eight of them go back to Abū Ṣāliḥ through three different transmitters: al-A‘mash, Ibn Murra and ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ. Al-Bukhārī (d. 256) provides with five transmission lines. Two of which stop at Abū Ṣāliḥ as well, through two different transmitters: al-A‘mash and ‘Aṭā’. Muslim (d. 261) records twelve transmission lines. Eight of them go back to Abū Ṣāliḥ through three different transmitters: al-A‘mash, ‘Aṭā’ and Ibn Murra. Al-Tirmidhī (d. 279) gives two transmission lines. One of them goes back to Abū Ṣāliḥ through Suhayl. Al-Nasā’ī (d. 303) gives thirteen transmission lines. Five of them go back to Abū Ṣāliḥ through four different transmitters: al-A‘mash, ‘Aṭā’, Ibn Murra and al-Mundhir b.

<sup>21</sup> ‘Alī b. al-Ja‘d b. ‘Ubayd, *Musnad*, pp. 325, 410.

<sup>22</sup> Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, III, 5.

<sup>23</sup> Iṣḥāq b. Rāhwayh, *Musnad*, vol. 1, p. 133.

<sup>24</sup> *Nuskha Wakī‘*, 69.

<sup>25</sup> al-Ṭabarānī, *ʿAwsaṭ*, 5: 131, 9:30.

<sup>26</sup> al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 4, pp. 270, 273, 274, 304.

<sup>27</sup> Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 8, pp. 205, 210.

‘Ubayd. Ibn Māja (d. 275) provides only one transmission line, but two different *matns*. It goes back to Abū Ṣāliḥ through al-A‘mash. Ibn Khuzayma (d. 311) gives eight transmission lines. Three of them go back to Abū Ṣāliḥ through three different transmitters: ‘Aṭā’, Ibn Murra and Suhayl.

Obviously, Abū Ṣāliḥ (d. 101) is the key figure of the bundle. Five of his alleged pupils have reportedly transmitted the tradition from him. That is, Sulaymān al-A‘mash, Suhayl b. Abī Ṣāliḥ, Dirār b. Murra, al-Mundhir b. ‘Ubayd and ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ. Three of them are, what G.H.A. Junboll terms “partial common links”. Al-A‘mash is one them. No fewer than seven transmission lines go back to him. At first sight, five of them are partial common links of al-A‘mash: Wakī‘ b. al-Jarrāḥ, Abū Nu‘aym, Jarīr b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, and Sufyān al-Thawrī. Do they really deserve the qualification of partial common links according to Juynboll’s method? Four transmission lines go back to Wakī‘, which are recorded by Ibn Abī Shayba, Ibn Ḥanbal, Muslim, Ibn Māja and Bayhaqī. By virtue of this fact, Wakī‘ deserves to be identified as a real partial common link. Likewise, four transmission lines go to Abū Nu‘aym, another alleged student of al-A‘mash. They are preserved by Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Bukhārī, al-Dārimī and al-Bayhaqī. Accordingly, he is to be regarded as a real partial common link as well. Three transmission lines go back to Jarīr, which are documented by Muslim, al-Nasā’ī and Ibn Ḥibbān. They are, however, single strands. Therefore, according to Juynboll’s method, Jarīr cannot be considered a real partial common link. Similarly, two transmission lines go back to Sufyān which are recorded by both ‘Abd al-Razzāq and Ibn Ḥanbal. Both *isnāds* of Ibn Ḥanbal are single strands as well. Sufyān does not deserve, accordingly, the status of a real partial common link. Two other transmission lines go back to Abū Mu‘āwiya, which are recorded by Muslim and Ibn Māja. Since these two transmission lines are single strands, Abū Mu‘āwiya does not merit the attribute of real partial common link. Finally, the single strand transmission of Ibn Numayr, another transmitter of al-A‘mash’s *ḥadīth*, found in Ibn Ḥanbal’s *Musnad* cannot be trusted and Juynboll would accuse Ibn Ḥanbal of having fabricated it.

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<sup>28</sup> Al-Iṣfahānī, *farwā’d*, p. 68



From Juynboll's *isnād* analytical point of view, the *isnāds* of the tradition under scrutiny, that go back to al-A'mash are historically reliable and the latter is a real common link, for his transmission is corroborated by two strong or real partial common links, i.e., Wakī' and Abū Nu'aym and three weak or seeming partial common links, that are, Shu'ba, Jarīr and Sufyān. Two real partial common links is for Juynboll enough to support a real common link. Differently put, we can safely conclude that the tradition can be historically ascribed to al-A'mash. What is about al-A'mash's claim to have received the tradition from Abū Ṣāliḥ?

According to biographical literature al-A'mash (d. 148) was one of the leading scholars in Kufa during the first half of second century. Al-A'mash was born in 60/679 and died in 148 A. H. at the age of 87-88. He reportedly transmitted about 224 traditions with the "Abū Ṣāliḥ-Abū Hurayra" link.<sup>29</sup> Yet this no reason for accepting his transmissions from the latter. Each must be subjected to critical analysis.

According Juynboll's method, the claim of a transmitter to have received the tradition from a certain informant can be taken as reliable only if it is corroborated by several other transmitters. Put differently, in our case, in order to accept al-A'mash's claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from Abū Ṣāliḥ, a reliable transmission from another transmitter from Abū Ṣāliḥ must be established. Are the claims of Abū Ṣāliḥ's other transmitters historically reliable? To answer this question we need to analyze the *isnāds* of their transmissions to assess whether or not they deserve the position of real partial common links. Let us begin with the *isnāds* of the *ḥadīth* ascribed to Suhayl b. Abī Ṣāliḥ, the son of Abū Ṣāliḥ.

Like al-A'mash, Suhayl is one of the most prolific transmitters of the *ḥadīth* from Abū Ṣāliḥ. In the canonical collections, he reportedly transmitted about 220 *ḥadīths* with the Abū Ṣāliḥ-Abū Hurayra link.<sup>30</sup> According to the *isnāds* of the *ḥadīth* under review, Suhayl seems at first sight to be a partial common link of the common link Abū Ṣāliḥ. Yet does he merit this position in view of Juynboll's recent method of *isnād* analysis? Three transmission lines go back to him, one through 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Darāwardī who reportedly has two alleged students: Qutayba,

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<sup>29</sup> al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 10, p. 9.

<sup>30</sup> See al-Mizzī, vol. 10, p. 9.

the informant of both al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Ḥanbal, and Aḥmad b. ‘Abda found in Ibn Khuzayma’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Another line goes through ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar who allegedly passed the tradition to only one student: Khālīd. A third line goes through ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Mukhtār. Suhayl’s claim to have received from his father, both a short and a long version, is found in Ibn Ḥanbal’s *Musnad*, al-Tirmidhī’s *Sunan*, Ibn Khuzayma’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*, the *Nuskha* of Suhayl and al-Ṭabarānī’s *ʿAwsaṭ*.<sup>31</sup> Applying Juynboll’s recent method, Suhayl cannot be taken to be a real partial common link of al-Amash as his transmissions are not corroborated by partial common links. Differently put, all transmission lines ascribed to him are merely single strands. Again Juynboll would accuse the collectors or their teachers of having fabricated the transmission lines.

Another alleged student of Abū Ṣāliḥ who according to the *isnāds* has received the tradition under scrutiny from him is ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. 114-5). Transmission lines going back to ‘Aṭā’ are recorded by Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Nasā’ī, and Ibn Khuzayma. All the *isnāds* go back to Ibn Jurayj, an alleged student of ‘Aṭā’. Six students of Ibn Jurayj reportedly transmitted the tradition from him according to transmission lines of both canonical and non-canonical collections. These *isnāds* shape what Juynboll calls a “spider”. Ibn Jurayj is the only student of ‘Aṭā’, who reportedly transmitted the tradition from the latter. In other words, although Ibn Jurayj – ‘Aṭā’s transmissions are preserved in some *ḥadīth* collections, no corroborating transmissions from other students of ‘Aṭā’ are available. What does that mean? Does it necessarily mean that Ibn Jurayj’s claim to have received from ‘Aṭā’ is unreliable, and that the transmission lines and the accompanying texts were fabricated by the *ḥadīth* collectors or their informants? On the basis of his methodological rules, Juynboll would argue against the historicity of the transmission ascribed to Ibn Jurayj. He may wonder how it could be that ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ passed the tradition to only one transmitter, Ibn Jurayj, and that his alleged transmission was passed on only through single strands. The “‘Aṭā’ – Ibn Jurayj” *isnāds* would be, in Juynboll’s view, the fabrication of the *ḥadīth* collectors.

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<sup>31</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Sunan*, Vol. 2, p. 419; al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 3, p. 137; al-Ṭabarānī, *ʿAwsaṭ*, 9:30; *Nuskhat Suhayl* 8, edited by M. M. Azmi, *Dirāsāt fī al-ḥadīth al-nabawī wa-ta’rīkh tadwīnih*, Beirut 68, p. 16.

With regard to his accusing the collectors of fabricating the *ḥadīths*, one may wonder why all collectors of *ḥadīths* preferred Ibn Jurayj as the transmitter from ‘Aṭā’, while they could have easily chosen other alleged students of ‘Aṭā’ as well? To this question Juynboll would probably argue that the collectors may have considered Ibn Jurayj to be the most famous or the most reliable student of ‘Aṭā’. Thus, applying Juynboll’s method, the transmission ascribed to Ibn Jurayj and ‘Aṭā’ is not historically reliable.

Another alleged transmitter from Abū Ṣāliḥ is Abū Sinān Dirār b. Murra (d. 132).<sup>32</sup> Traditions with *isnāds* going back to Ibn Murra are recorded in canonical and non-canonical collections: Ibn Ḥanbal, Muslim and Ibn Khuzayma give two transmission lines, al-Nasā’ī has one strand. Like in the case of ‘Aṭā’, most *ṭuruq* going back to Ibn Murra converge in one transmitter: Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl (d. 194), the alleged student of Ibn Murra. That means that Ibn Fuḍayl at the earliest is to be held responsible for this transmission. *Pace* the case of “Ibn Jurayj - ‘Aṭā’”, however, Ibn Fuḍayl’s alleged claim to have received the tradition from Ibn Murra is corroborated by an *isnād* going back to another alleged student of the latter: ‘Abd Azīz b. Muslim.<sup>33</sup> But this line is only a single strand which cannot corroborate the transmission ascribed to Ibn Fuḍayl. The same question as in the case of Ibn Jurayj appears: How far can we lay credence to the transmission ascribed to Ibn Fuḍayl? Again, in such a case, Juynboll would consider the strand between Ibn Fuḍayl and Abū Hurayra as “single strand”, and therefore historically unreliable. The transmission lines between Ibn Fuḍayl and the collections have the shape of a spider. It is, therefore, doubtful that Ibn Fuḍayl is responsible for the traditions circulated under his name. Consequently, the *ḥadīth* cannot at all go back to Ibn Murra.

Another strand ascribed to Abū Ṣāliḥ is the single strand found in al-Nasā’ī’s *Sunan*, which goes back to al-Mundhir b. ‘ubayd, also an alleged student of Abū Ṣāliḥ. It is the single strand “Sulaymān b. Dāwūd - Ibn Wahb - ‘Amr b. al-Ḥārith - al-Mundhir b. ‘Ubayd - Abū Ṣāliḥ”. The historicity of such strand is very doubtful in Juynboll’s eyes. He would argue

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<sup>32</sup> For his biography see, Ibn Sa’d’s *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 6, p. 338; al-Bukhārī, *Ta’rīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 4, p. 339; *al-Jarḥ wa-al-ta’dīl*, vol. 4, p. 465. al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, vol. 2, p. 34. al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmā’ al-rijāl*, vol. 13, pp. 306-309.

<sup>33</sup> Al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 273.

that it is fabricated either by al-Nasā'ī (the collector) or by his informant Sulaymān b. Dāwūd.

To summarize: At first sight, Abū Ṣāliḥ seems to be a convincing common link of the bundle, by virtue of the fact that his transmissions are bolstered not only by single strands but also by three partial common links (al-A'mash, Suhayl and Ibn Murra). Applying Juynboll's recent method of *isnād* analytical research, however, Abū Ṣāliḥ cannot be considered to be a real common link, for the transmission lines from the collections to the partial common links Suhayl and Ibn Murra, are spidery. They are therefore, only seeming partial common links. For Juynboll, the only one who deserves the status of a real common link, who is responsible for both *isnāds* and *matns* of the traditions ascribed to Abū Ṣāliḥ – Abū Hurayra is al-A'mash (for the diagram of the *isnāds* going back to al-al-A'mash and Abū Ṣāliḥ, see the complete diagram of the *ḥadīth* in chapter six).

## 2. The ḤADĪTH of Ibn al-Musayyab

Another student of Abū Hurayra who at first sight might deserve the position of a common link is Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab (see below diagram 1). According to M.M.Azmi, no fewer than five transmitters reportedly transmitted the *ḥadīth* from Ibn al-Musayyab: al-Zuhrī, 'Alī b. Zayd, Bukayr, Ibn 'Ajlān and Sālim b. Ḥayyān.<sup>34</sup> Pace Azmi, however, I argue for the reason that will be clear in the analysis of the *matn* of Sa'īd b. Mīnā's *ḥadīth*, that only the first three can be ascribed to Ibn al-Musayyab. The last two transmitters cannot be ascribed to Ibn al-Musayyab as informant, but to Sa'īd al-Maqburī and Sa'īd b. Mīnā. See for more details the next chapter. Therefore, I refrain from discussing here the transmission ascribed to Ibn 'Ajlān and Sālim b. Ḥayyān.

'Abd al-Razzāq gives one line. It goes back to Ibn al-Musayyab through Ma'mar and al-Zuhrī. Ibn Ḥanbal gives three transmission lines. Two of them go back to Ibn al-Musayyab through Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (via Ma'mar) and the other through 'Alī b. Zayd (via 'Abd al-Wārith b. Sa'īd). Al-Bukhārī provides only one line. It also goes back to Ibn al-Musayyab

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<sup>34</sup> Muhammad Mustafa Azmi, *On Schacht's Origins*, p. 163.

through al-Zuhrī from Ma‘mar. Muslim gives one transmission line. It goes back to Ibn al-Musayyab through Yūnus - al-Zuhrī. Al-Tirmidhī gives one line. It goes back to Ibn al-Musayyab through ‘Abd al-Wārith b. Sa‘īd - ‘Alī b. Zayd. Al-Nasā’ī gives two transmission lines. One of them goes back to Ibn al-Musayyab through Yūnus - Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī and the other one through ‘Amr b. al-Ḥārith - Bukayr. Al-Bayhaqī provides two transmission lines that go both two Ibn al-Musayyab via Yūnus - al-Zuhrī.

At first sight, Ibn al-Musayyab is the common link of the bundle. Three transmission lines go back to him. According to Juynboll’s recent method, however, a real common link must be corroborated by real partial common links. Are the three transmitters from Ibn al-Musayyab real partial common links that are substantiated by transmitters being partial common links as well from the *ḥadīth* collectors onward? Based on this rule, Ibn al-Musayyab cannot be considered a real common link, as none of his three transmitters are real partial common links as will be shown.

According to the *isnād* bundle Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, one of the alleged students of Ibn al-Musayyab, has two transmitters, Ma‘mar and Yūnus. Ma‘mar reportedly transmitted the tradition under scrutiny to three students to end up in three books of *ḥadīths*, both canonical and non-canonical collections: the *Muṣannaḥ* of ‘Abd al-Razzāq, the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī and the *Sunan* of al-Nasā’ī.

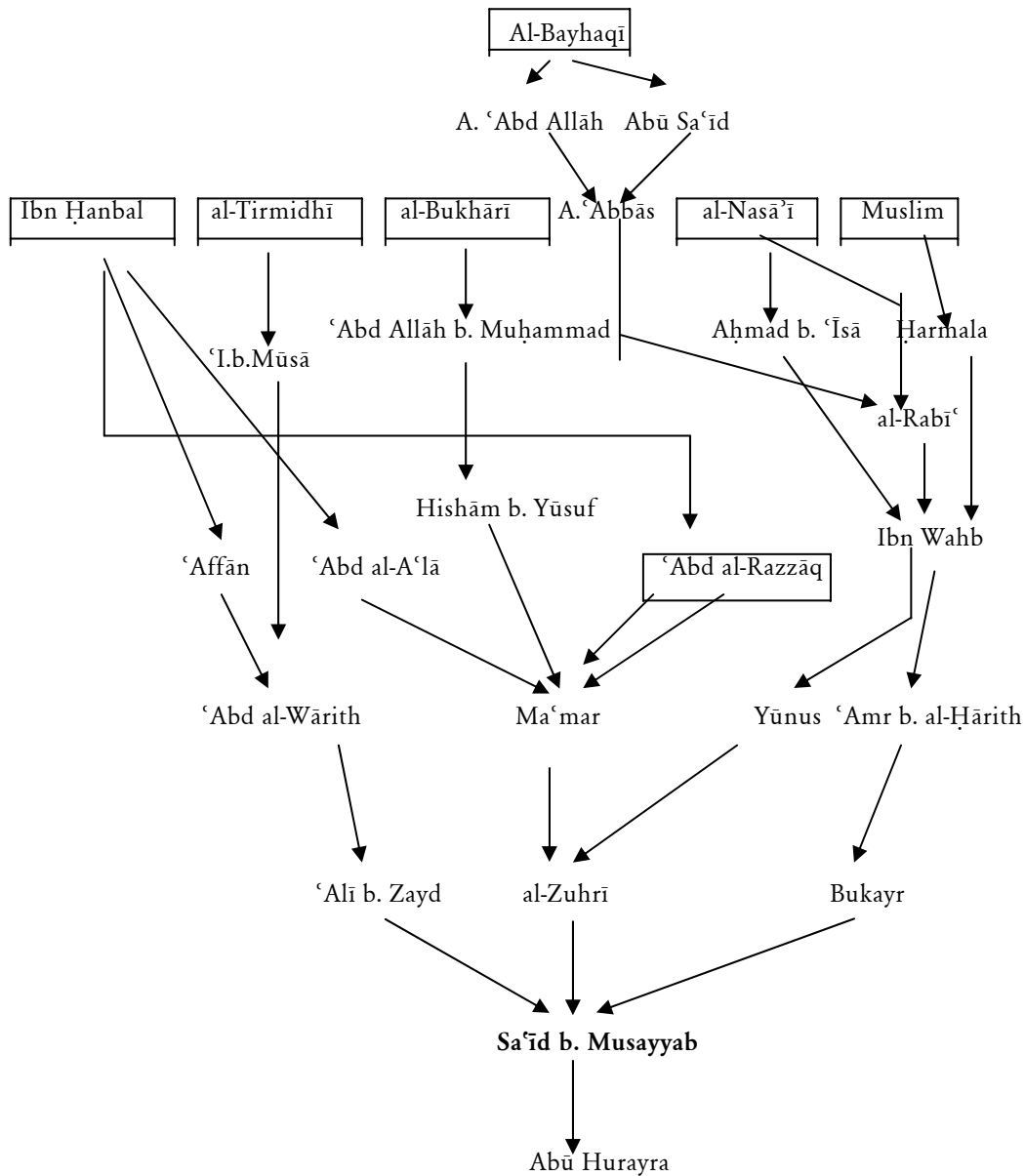
Ma‘mar’s transmission from al-Zuhrī seems to be corroborated by that of Yūnus through Ibn Wahb.<sup>35</sup> Yet Yūnus transmission is only a single strand. Ibn Wahb to whom also another strand is ascribed (‘Amr – Bukayr) is what Juynboll terms an “inverted common link” whose transmission are doubtful. Juynboll who generally considers the single strand transmission to be historically doubtful would consider the transmission ascribed to Yūnus as fabrication and accordingly unable to corroborate the transmission ascribed to Ma‘mar. That means that Zuhri’s position as a partial common link cannot be established. Juynboll would likely ascribe the transmissions

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<sup>35</sup> In al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 304 an *isnād* is given with Abū Muḥammad between Ibn Wahb and al-Zuhrī. It is suspicious, however, that Ibn Wahb transmitted from Abū Muḥammad and an identical text from Yūnus as given in the edition of al-Bayhaqī’s *Sunan*, the reason is that Abū Muḥammad is the *kunya* of Ibn Wahb himself and that al-Mizzī does not mention Abū Muḥammad among the informants of Ibn Wahb. Abū Muḥammad instead of Yūnus is probably an error of transmission or edition. See the discussion of the *ḥadīth* of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī in the next chapter.

going back to Ibn al-Musayyab to ‘Abd al-Razzāq, and accuse Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Bukhārī and other collectors to have invented the transmissions bypassing ‘Abd al-Razzāq.

Diagram 1



### 3. The ḤADĪTH of Muḥammad b. Ziyād

Another alleged student of Abū Hurayra who, according to the *isnāds*, had more than one student transmitting the *ḥadīth* from him is Muḥammad b. Ziyād. Three transmission lines go back to him, one through

Shu‘ba another one through Ḥammād and the third through Ibn Ṭahmān.<sup>36</sup> Shu‘ba (d. 160), one of Ibn Ziyād’s students, seems to be a partial common link. According to the *isnāds*, six of his students transmitted the *ḥadīth* from him: Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī (d. 204), ‘Ādam, (the informant of al-Bukhārī), Muḥammad b. Ja‘far (the informant of both Ibn Rāhawayh and Ibn Ḥanbal), Yazīd (an informant of Ibn Ḥanbal) al-Naḍr (an informant of Ibn Rāhawayh) and Ibn al-Ja‘d. The whole *isnād* structure from the collectors to Shu‘ba resembles a spider, but nevertheless Juynboll would consider Shu‘ba a real common link, as he is supported by Muḥammad b. Ja‘far (the informant of both Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Rāhawayh and because the collectors al-Ṭayālīsī<sup>37</sup> and Ibn al-Ja‘d directly refer to Shu‘ba. How significant is Shu‘ba’s role as one of the key figures in the transmission of the *ḥadīth* under review? Is his transmission corroborated by *isnāds* going back to other students of Ibn Ziyād?

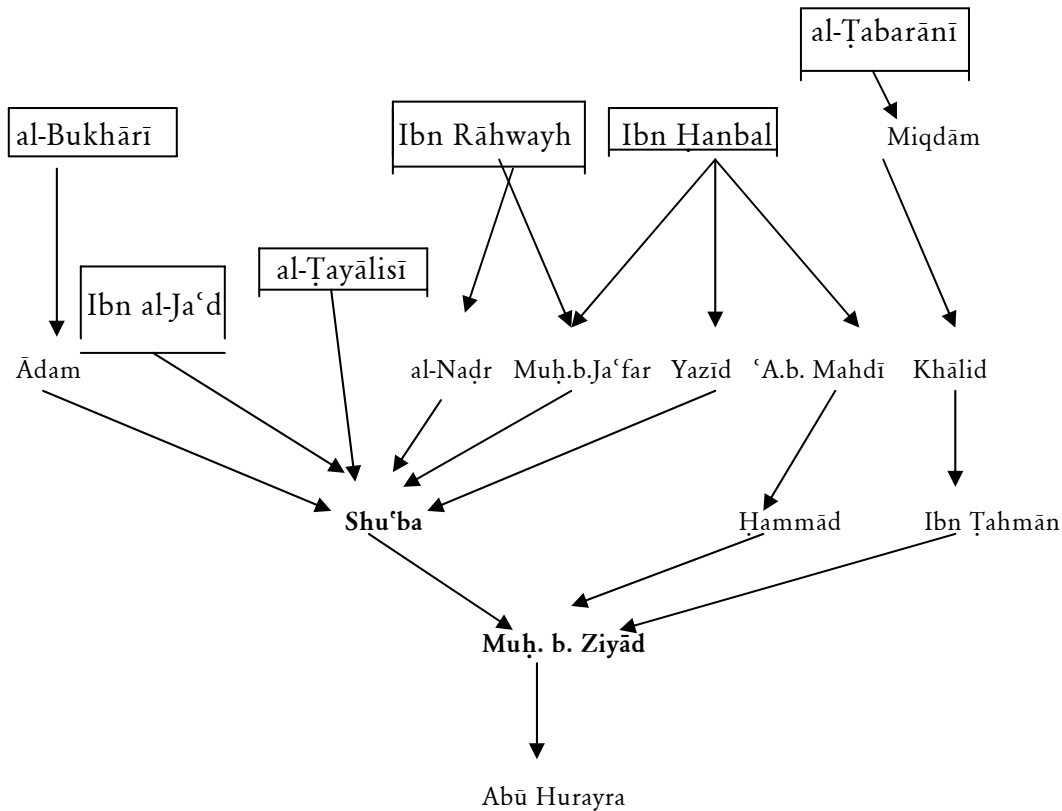
According to the *isnād* bundle, there are two other transmitters from Muḥammad b. Ziyād, namely, Ḥammād b. Salama and Ibn Ṭahmān. The former is reported to have transmitted the tradition to only one student: ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī, the informant of Ibn Ḥanbal. The *isnād* via Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān is single strand as well. Juynboll would argue that Ibn Ziyād does not deserve the position of a real common link, for he has only one real partial common link and two single strands. Put differently, Shu‘ba’s claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from Ibn Ziyād is not substantiated by other historically reliable transmissions from the latter. Shu‘ba’s position as the historically unshakable key figure in this bundle would be interpreted by Juynboll as merely corroborating the position of al-A‘mash in another bundle, in which Shu‘ba’s claim is corroborated by two unshakable partial common links: Abū Nu‘aym and Wakī‘.<sup>38</sup> In other words, Juynboll would likely argue that Shu‘ba received the *ḥadīth* from al-A‘mash, but instead of naming only the latter as his informant, introduced Muḥammad b. Ziyād as a second transmitter.

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<sup>36</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī, *ʿAwsaṭ*, 9: 29-30.

<sup>37</sup> Al-Ṭayālīsī provides two *ḥadīths* of Shu‘ba. See the foregoing discussion on al-A‘mash’s *ḥadīth*.

Diagram 2



#### 4. The ḤADĪTH of Muḥammad b. Sīrīn

Another transmitter from Abū Hurayra who according to the *isnāds* had more than one student is Muḥammad b. Sīrīn. Three transmitters reportedly received the *ḥadīth* from him: Hishām b. Ḥassān, ‘Awf b. Abī Jamīla and Sālim b. Khayyāt. Hishām b. Ḥassān looks like a partial common link. Four transmission lines go back to him through four different transmitters: Rawḥ, Muḥammad b. Ja‘far, Yazīd b. Hārūn and Ibn Ṭahmān. The first three lines are found in Ibn Ḥanbal’s collection. According to Juynboll’s method, Ibn Ḥanbal is an inverted common link that weakens Hishām’s position as partial common link, as Ibn Ḥanbal could have created additional informant for the *ḥadīth*. Ibn Ṭahmān’s *isnād* is single strand that cannot strengthen the position of Hishām as partial common link.

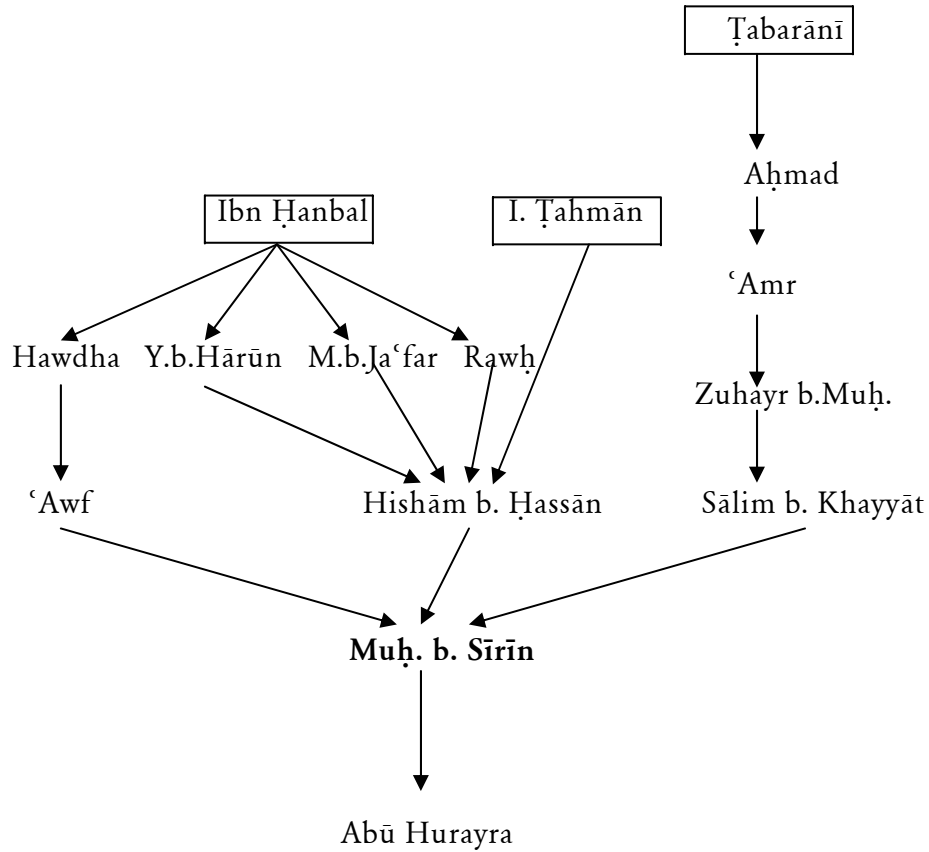
There are two single strands that bypass Hishām. One given by Ibn Ibn Ḥanbal (Hawdha – ‘Awf), the other found in al-Ṭabarānī’s *ʿAwsaṭ* going

<sup>38</sup> See the foregoing discussion on al-A‘mash’s *ḥadīth*.



to Muḥammad b. Sīrīn via Zuhayr - Sālim b. Khayyāt. These single strands, however, cannot support the position of Ibn Sīrīn as common link. Thus, from Juynboll's point of view, Ibn Sīrīn's transmission is very doubtful, since it is bolstered only by a weak partial common link and two single strands.

Diagram 3



Juynboll may assume that the *isnāds* using the authority of Muḥammad b. Sīrīn for the *ḥadīth* in question were invented by the collectors Ibn Ḥanbal, Ibn Ṭahmān or Ṭabarānī to create an additional transmission line via Ibn Sīrīn to Abū Hurayra.

Four bundles have been separately analyzed from the perspective of Juynboll's recent methods of *isnād* analysis. We have identified only two real common links: al-A'mash and Shu'ba who is a generation younger than the former. Shuba's claim to have received the tradition from al-A'mash in the first bundle (in this bundle he is not common link but single strand) is backed up by other student of al-A'mash: Wakī', Jarīr, Abū Nu'aym and others. But his claim to have received the *ḥadīth* also from Muḥammad b.

Ziyād in the third bundle, where he is a real common link, is not corroborated by another strong common link so that Muḥammad b. Ziyād cannot be accepted as a real common link. Likewise, al-A‘mash’s claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from Abū Ṣāliḥ is not corroborated by any other common links. That is to say, Abū Ṣāliḥ in the first bundle, Ibn al-Musayyab in the second bundle, Muḥammad b. Ziyād in the third bundle and Muḥammad b. Sīrīn in the fourth bundle are all seeming common links in view of the fact that Abū Ṣāliḥ is supported by only one real partial common link, that is al-A‘mash, Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab by one seeming partial common link, Muḥammad b. Ziyād by only one real partial common link and Muḥammad b. Sīrīn only by one weak or seeming partial common link. Because al-A‘mash is the oldest real common link in the *isnād* bundle, he is the one who must be responsible for the *isnād* from himself to the Prophet, and probably for the *matn* as well. Taking al-A‘mash who died in 148 A.H. as the real common link and considering him as the creator or forger of the *ḥadīth*, Juynboll would conclude that the *ḥadīth* under review was circulated in the first half of second century A.H in Kufa. In other words, the transmission lines beneath the common link al-A‘mash and other single strands or spiders are historically doubtful.

It is worth mentioning that there are some more alleged students of Abū Hurayra found in the *isnāds* of both canonical and non-canonical collections having transmitted the *ḥadīth* under scrutiny from Abū Hurayra. In addition, several other Companions reportedly transmitted the *ḥadīth* from the Prophet. Following Juynboll’s rule, however, we have to regard these *isnāds* as single strands. According to Juynboll, they cannot claim historicity and we can dispense with studying those *ḥadīths* in detail.

## VIII. Dating ḤADĪTHS with the ISNĀD CUM MATN method.

Applying Juynboll's recent method in our analysis of the *isnād* of the *ḥadīth* under review, we have identified common link and his partial common links. A part of our dating enterprise of the *ḥadīth* under review has already been made. Put differently, *isnād* analysis has shown us a piece of transmission history. *Isnād* analysis is, however, not enough. In several instances it remained unclear whether or not we can speak of a real partial common link or common link. The broken mirror of history has to be reconstructed through the *matn* analysis as well, in order to grasp more information. Both *isnād* and *matn* must be squeezed in order to be able grasp the genuine juice of history. A method to do that has been developed by Jan Hendrik Kramers,<sup>1</sup> Joseph van Ess<sup>2</sup> Gregor Schoeler,<sup>3</sup> and Harald Motzki.<sup>4</sup> In what follows the *ḥadīth* under review will be analysed with the *isnād cum matn* method.

### I. The ḤADĪTH of Abū Hurayra

A. Traditions with primary partial common links in the *isnāds*.

#### a. The ḤADĪTH of Abū Ṣāliḥ

##### A. Al-A'mash

Our *isnād* analysis has led us to conclude that al-A'mash is the real common link of the *ḥadīth* under review. This conclusion is to be checked by *matn* analysis to see whether or not he actually is a real common link. Al-A'mash's traditions are found in the pre-canonical, canonical and post-canonical

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<sup>1</sup> Jan Hendrik Kramers, "Une tradition à tendance manichéenne (La 'mangeuse de verdure')", in *Acta Orientalia* 21 (1950-1953), 10-22. English transl. in: H. Motzki (ed.), *Ḥadīth: Origins and Developments*, Aldershot 2004, 245-257.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīth und Theologie. Studien zum Entstehen prädestinationischer Überlieferung*, Berlin, New York 1975.

<sup>3</sup> Gregor Schoeler, *Character und Authentie der muslimischen Überlieferungen über das Leben Mohammeds*, Berlin/New York 1996; "Mūsā b. 'Uqbā's Maghāzī...", in Harald Motzki (ed.), *The Biography of Muḥammad: the Issue of the Sources*, Leiden 2000.

<sup>4</sup> Harald Motzki, "Quo vadis Ḥadīth Forschung...", in *Der Islam*, (73) 1996, 40-80, 193-231; "The Collection of the Qur'ān...", in *Der Islam*, (78), 2001, 1-34; "The Prophet and the Cat...", in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* (22) 1998, 18-83; "The Murder of Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq...", H. Motzki (ed.): *The Biography of Muḥammad: The Issue of the Sources*, Leiden 2000, 170-239.

collections of Wakī' (d. 197),<sup>5</sup> 'Abd al-Razzāq (d. 211), Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241), Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235), al-Bukhārī (d. 256), Muslim (d. 261), al-Nasā'ī (d. 303), Ibn Māja (d. 275), Ibn Ḥibbān (d. 354) and al-Bayhaqī (d. 458) According to the *isnāds*, al-A'mash (d. 148) has five partial common links: Wakī' (d. 197), Abū Nu'aym (d. 219), Shu'ba (d. 160), Sufyān (d. 161) and Jarīr.<sup>6</sup>

Seven traditions go back to Wakī'.<sup>7</sup> One version is found in *Nuskhat Wakī'*,<sup>8</sup> another one in Ibn Abī Shayba's *Muṣannaf*,<sup>9</sup> two versions are found in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*,<sup>10</sup> one in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*,<sup>11</sup> another one in Ibn Māja's *Sunan*<sup>12</sup> and the other one in al-Bayhaqī's *Sunan al-kubrā*.<sup>13</sup> A comparison of the versions of the *ḥadīth* reveals that they are to a great extent identical and vary from one another only in minor details. They share common features. A possibly early source available to us is *Nuskhat Wakī'*. Let us take it as a point of departure. It reads as follows:

“‘an al-A'mash ‘an Abī Ṣāliḥ ‘an Abī Hurayra qāla: qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama: kullu ‘amal Ibn Ādam yuḍā‘afu. al-ḥasanatu ‘ashru amthālihā ilā sab‘ mi’a ḍi‘fīn. qāla Allāh ta‘āla: illā al-ṣawm fa-innahu lī wa-anā ajzī bih. yada‘u ta‘āmahu wa-shahwatuhu min ajli. li l-ṣā‘imi farḥatān: farḥatun ‘inda fiṭrih wa-farḥatun ‘inda liqā‘i rabbih. wa-la-khulūfu fihī atyabu ‘inda Allāh min al-rā‘iḥat al-miski al-adḥfar. al-ṣawmu junnatun”<sup>14</sup> (From al-A'mash from Abī Ṣāliḥ from Abū Hurayra reported that the prophet (pbuh) said every act of the son of Ādam is multiplied. Every good deed is [worth] ten to seven hundred, God the sublime said: Except fasting. It is [meant] for me, and I will reward it [generously]. He abandons his food and his [sexual] desire for my sake. The one who fasts has two [occasions] of joy: one (joy) when he breaks the fast and another (joy) on the day when he will meet his lord. And

<sup>5</sup> *Nuskhat Wakī'* is, however, not an autograph, but the transmission of Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh, which was transmitted in 278. The respective years of death between Wakī' and Ibrāhīm lie far apart. According to al-Dhahabī's *Tadhkira*, Ibrāhīm died in 279 A.H. See, al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, p. 635. The *riwāya* of *Nuskhat Wakī'* started in 595 A.H. Whether or not the content of the *Nuskha* is reliable, can not be decided until the contents of the transmissions are compared with parallel texts of Wakī'.

<sup>6</sup> See diagram 1 on p. 199.

<sup>7</sup> For Wakī', see al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, vol. 13, pp. 466-481; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā'*, vol. 2, pp. 144-5; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, vol. 1, p. 306; *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, vol. 4, pp. 335-6; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 11, pp. 123-131; Ibn al-Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vol. 1, pp. 349-50; al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz*, p. 127.

<sup>8</sup> Wakī', *Nuskha*, p. 69.

<sup>9</sup> Ibn Abī Shayba, vol. 3, p. 5.

<sup>10</sup> These versions are very similar but not identical. The first version (443) has the *isnād* Wakī' – al-A'mash and the second version has not only the *isnād* Wakī' – al-A'mash, but also another line: 'Abd al-Raḥmān – Sufyān – al-A'mash. A third line is given for a version with a similar content (*ma'nāhu*): Ibn Numayr – al-A'mash. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, II, 443, 477.

<sup>11</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *ṣiyām*, 164.

<sup>12</sup> Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, vol. 1, p. 525

<sup>13</sup> al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 273.

<sup>14</sup> *Nuskhat Wakī'*, p. 69.

verily the smell in it [the fast] is more delectable to God than the scent of the most intensive musk. The fasting is protection.

If we compare this version with those of other collectors we find out that they have to a great extent a similar text despite some distinctive wordings. For example, Ibn Abī Shayba's version reads "*yada'u ṭa'āmahu wa-sharābahu wa-shahwatahu min ajli*". The word "*wa-sharābahu*" is missing in *Nuskhat Wakī'*. Likewise, Ibn Abī Shayba says "*min riḥ al-misk*" instead of "*min rā'iḥat al-misk al-adḥfar*" and "*la-khulūfu fam al-ṣā'imī*" instead of "*la-khulūfu fihī*". Moreover, in *Nuskhat Wakī'* the word "*al-ṣawmu junnatun*" is mentioned once, while in Ibn Abī Shayba it is mentioned twice, that is "*al-ṣawmu junnatun al-ṣawmu junnatun*".

The existence of a common textual pattern to all variants ascribed to Wakī' is corroborated by one of Ibn Ḥanbal's versions. The first version<sup>15</sup> is nearly identical with the text of *Nuskhat Wakī'*. Minor differences are: 1) Ibn Ḥanbal's version mentions the expression "*ilā mā shā'a Allāh*" after the word "*sab' mi'a ḍi'fin*", 2) instead of "*fihī*" Ibn Ḥanbal says "*fami l-ṣā'im*", 3) instead of "*rā'iḥat al-misk al-adḥfar*", he says "*riḥ al-misk*". Ibn Hanbal's second version<sup>16</sup> varies somewhat in wording: 1) in the first version we read "*qāla Allāh 'azza wa-jalla*", whereas in the second one "*yaqūlu Allāh 'azza wa-jalla*", 2) "*'asbru*" instead of "*'asbratu*", 3) "*li-l-ṣā'imī*" instead of "*wa-li-l-ṣā'imī*", 4) "*ṭa'āmahu wa-shahwatahu*" instead of "*ṭa'āmahu wa-sharābahu*", 5) "*farḥatun 'inda fiṭrihi*" instead of "*farḥatun hīna yuṣṭiru*", 6) the word "*'azza wa-jalla*" after *atyabu 'inda Allāh* is missing in the first version. These minor differences in wording of Ibn Ḥanbal's second *matn* could be the result of a bad handwriting and negligence in copying. As we shall see later the differences do not indicate that the *matn* of Ibn Ḥanbal's second version goes back to the second *isnād* mentioned by Ibn Ḥanbal: 'Abd Raḥmān – Sufyān – al-A'mash – Abū Ṣāliḥ.

The pattern of Wakī's text is also found in Muslim's collection. Its feature is considerably identical to the former versions. They differ only insignificantly in wordings. Like in *Nuskhat Wakī'* and Ibn Abī Shayba's *Muṣannaḥ*, Muslim's version lacks "*ilā mā shā'a Allāh*" after *sab'u mi'a ḍi'fin*,

<sup>15</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 443

<sup>16</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 477.

as found in both versions of Ibn Ḥanbal. The words “*al-ṣawmu junnatun*” which are mentioned in almost all versions of Wakī‘,<sup>17</sup> is missing in Muslim’s version. Like *Nuskhat Wakī‘*, Muslim says “*wa-la-khulūfu fīhi*” instead of Ibn Ḥanbal’s and Ibn Abī Shayba’s *wa-la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā’imi*. Muslim provides his *matn* with three *isnād* strands: 1) Ibn Abī Shayba – Abū Mu‘āwiya and Wakī‘, 2) Zuhayr b. Ḥarb – Jarīr, and 3) Abū Sa‘īd al-Ashajj – Wakī‘. He expressly says that the wording is that of al-Ashajj. The *matn* has therefore to be classified as Wakī‘’s *matn*. The comparison with other Wakī‘ variants corroborates Muslim’s statement. The version of Wakī‘ found in Ibn Māja, which the latter claims to have received from Ibn Abī Shayba from Abū Mu‘āwiya and Wakī‘ resembles Ibn Ḥanbal’s first version with some omissions (e.g. *al-ṣawmu junnatun* is missing as in Muslim’s version).

Wakī‘’s *ḥadīth* is also found in a post-canonical collection: al-Bayhaqī’s *al-Sunan al-kubrā*. According to the *isnād* it is transmitted by Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd Allāh from Wakī‘. The text fits into the pattern of Wakī‘’s *matn*. It resembles considerably *Nuskhat Wakī‘*<sup>18</sup> but has also some features of Ibn Abī Shayba’s transmission (*min riḥ al-misk* and twice *al-ṣawm junnatun*).

A comparison of all Wakī‘’s variant versions reveals that they share a remarkable degree of similarity with respect to content and wording. They vary, however, in several details. This variance suggests that they are not dependent on each other. Hence we may conclude that the texts ascribed to Wakī‘ really go back to him, at least that what several versions have in common. Here is the reconstruction of Wakī‘’s text:

“*kullu ‘amal ibn Ādam yuḍā‘af, al-ḥasanatu ‘ashru amthāliha ilā sab‘ mi’a ḍiḥḥin, qāla Allāh ta‘ālā (‘azza wa-jalla), illā l-ṣawm, fa-innahu lī wa-anā ajzī bihi, yada‘u ṭa‘āmahu wa-shahwatahu wa-sharābahu min ajlī, wa-li-l-ṣā’imi farḥatani, farḥatun ‘inda fiṭriḥ wa-farḥatun ‘inda liqā’i rabbih, wa-la-khulūfu fīhi (fami l-ṣā’imi) atyabu ‘inda llāh min riḥ al-misk, al-ṣawmu junnatun (al-ṣawmu junnatun)*”

According to *isnād* analysis Abū Nu‘aym<sup>19</sup> is another partial common link of al-A‘mash. The *ḥadīth* going back to him has three versions. One is

<sup>17</sup> Only Muslim and Ibn Māja lack this word.

<sup>18</sup> This is not surprising because *Nuskhat Wakī‘* goes back likewise to Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd Allāh

<sup>19</sup> Al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta’dīl*, vol. 7, pp. 61-2; Al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, vol. 2, pp. 371-2; al-Khazrajī, *Tahdhīb tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 2, p. 335.

found in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*, one in al-Dārimī's *Sunan*<sup>20</sup>, another in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*<sup>21</sup> and the other in al-Bayhaqī's *al-Sunan al-kubrā*.<sup>22</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal's version reads as follows:

*“ḥaddathanā Abū Nu‘aym qāla: thanā al-A‘mash ‘an Abī Ṣāliḥ ‘an Abī Hurayra qāla: qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallam: yaqūl Allāh ‘azza wa-jalla: al-ṣawmu lī wa-anā ajzī biḥ yada‘u ṭa‘āmahu wa-sharābahu wa-shahwatahu min ajlī fa-l-ṣawmu junnatun wa-li-l-ṣā’imi farḥatāni farḥatun ḥīna yuṣṭir wa-farḥatun ḥīna yalqā Allāh ‘azza wa-jalla wa-la-khulūfu fīhi atyabu ‘inda Allāh min rīḥ al-misk”*<sup>23</sup> (Abū Nu‘aym transmitted to us, he said al-A‘mash transmitted to us from Abū Ṣāliḥ from Abū Hurayra he said, the messenger of God (pbuh) said: God, the Powerful and the Sublime says “the fasting is [meant] for me and I will reward it [generously]. He abandons his food, his drinking and his desire for my sake. The fasting is protection. The one who fasts has two [chances] of joy: one (joy) when he breaks the fast and another (joy) the day when he meets God, the Powerful and the Sublime. And verily the smell in it [the fast] is more delectable to God than the scent of musk.

A comparison of this version with that of al-Bukhārī reveals that their structure and substance are identical. The wording, however, differs slightly. In al-Bukhārī the word linking Abū Hurayra with the prophet is different. In al-Bukhārī it says “‘an al-nabī ṣallā Allāh ‘alaihi wa-sallam” while in Ibn Ḥanbal “qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallam”, in al-Bukhārī “yada‘u shahwatahu wa-aklahu wa-shurbahu” while in Ibn Ḥanbal “yada‘u ṭa‘āmahu wa-sharābahu wa-shahwatahu”, in al-Bukhārī “wa-l-ṣawmu junnatun” instead of “fa-l-ṣawmu junnatun”, “ḥīna yalqā rabbahu” instead of “ḥīna yalqā Allāh ‘azza wa-jalla”, “famu l-ṣā’imi” instead of “fīhi”. Al-Bayhaqī's version differs insignificantly from both versions in that the word “‘azza wa-jalla” is missing in al-Bayhaqī. Like Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Bayhaqī says “qāla rasūl Allāh” in which he differs from al-Bukhārī who says “‘an al-nabī”. Unlike Ibn Ḥanbal and like al-Bukhārī, al-Bayhaqī says “yada‘u shahwatahu wa-aklahu wa-shurbahu”. Unlike al-Bukhārī who says “yalqā rabbahu”, al-Bayhaqī, similar but not identical to Ibn Ḥanbal says “yalqā Allāh”. Likewise, al-Bayhaqī says “fīhi” where he differs from al-Bukhārī. What is to be inferred from this feature?

<sup>20</sup> Al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, vol. 1, 1778. This version is, however, very short, which includes only one element: “al-ṣiyāmu junna”.

<sup>21</sup> al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *tawḥīd*, 35

<sup>22</sup> al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 273 (it goes back to ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz as transmitter from Abū Nu‘aym).

<sup>23</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 393.

A comparison of these versions reveals that although they have slightly distinctive wordings, they share a common structure and substance. The variants in wording imply that the different versions are not dependent of one another. The similarity of the structure and the substance of the versions points to the fact that they originate from the same source. According to the *isnād*, this source is Abū Nu‘aym. In other words, the three versions of the *ḥadīth*, are variants of the *ḥadīth* of Abū Nu‘aym.

On the basis of *isnād* analysis Jarīr<sup>24</sup> is another partial common link of al-A‘mash. Three versions go back to him. Two versions are found in canonical collections, that of Muslim and al-Nasā’ī, and one in the post-canonical collection of Ibn Ḥibbān. Jarīr’s version found in Muslim’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* is only an *isnād*, since the *matn* is that of Wakī‘, as Muslim explicitly says. Muslim provides this *matn* with three *isnāds* because Muslim claims to have received the *ḥadīth* of al-A‘mash besides from Wakī‘ also from Jarīr as well as from Abū Mu‘āwiya. Let us see the text of al-Nasā’ī. It reads as follows:

“*Akhbaranā Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm qāla anba’anā Jarīr ‘an al-‘Amash ‘an Abī Ṣāliḥ ‘an Abī Hurayra ‘an rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallam qāla: mā min ḥasanatin ‘amilahā Ibn Adam illā kutiba labu ‘ashru ḥasanātin ilā sab‘ mi’a ḍi’fīn. qāla Allāh ‘azza wa-jalla: illā al-ṣiyāma fa-innahu lī wa-anā ajzī bihi. pyada’u shahwatahu wa-ṭa’āmahu min ajlī. al-ṣiyāmu junnatun. li-l-ṣā’imi farḥatāni farḥatun ‘inda fīṭriḥ wa-farḥatun ‘inda liqā’i rabbih. wa-la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda Allāh min riḥ al-misk*”<sup>25</sup> (Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm transmitted to us, he said: Jarīr transmitted to us from al-A‘mash from Abū Ṣāliḥ from the messenger of God (pbuh) he said: No good deed done by the son of Adam except it is written in favour of him ten good deeds to seven hundred times as much. God, the Powerful and the Sublime said: Except fasting. It is [meant] for me and I will reward it [generously]. He abandons his desire and his food for my sake. The fasting is protection. The one who fasts has two [chances of] joy: one (joy) by the time of breaking the fasting and another (joy) by the time of meeting his Lord. And verily the smell of a fasting person’s mouth is more delectable to God than the scent of musk).

If we compare this version with the other version of Jarīr’s transmission found in Ibn Ḥibbān<sup>26</sup> we find out some tremendous differences: “*Qāla Allāh ‘azza wa-jalla*”, which is mentioned by al-Nasā’ī, is lacking in Ibn Ḥibbān’s text. The latter is not a *qudsī ḥadīth*. “*Al-ṣiyāmu*

<sup>24</sup> For Jarīr, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 2, pp. 75-77; al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, vol. 1, p. 127; *Mizān al-i’tidāl*, vol. 1, pp. 394-396; *Tahdkirat al-ḥuffāz*, p. 271.

<sup>25</sup> al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, vol. 4, 135.

<sup>26</sup> Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 8, p. 210.



*junnatun*”, “*li-l-ṣā’imi farḥatāni, farḥatun ‘inda fiṭriḥ wa-farḥatun ‘inda liqā’i rabbih*” and “*yada’u shahwatahu wa-ṭa’āmahu min ajli*”, are also missing in this version. In addition, a difference between the two versions can be found at the beginning of both *matns*. Al-Nasā’ī’s “*mā min ḥasanatin ‘amilahā Ibn Ādam illā kutiba labu*” has not been found in any versions of al-A‘mash, discussed so far, while Ibn Ḥibbān’s “*kullu ‘amal Ibn Ādam labu*” corresponds to Wakī’s transmission. Definitely, Ibn Ḥibbān’s text is a very shortened version of Jarīr’s original transmission. However, because only two texts are available, which so greatly deviate from one another, it is not possible to make any statement about the original text of Jarīr, that is, a typical Jarīr *matn* cannot be established. Accordingly, by means of *matn* analysis, it is not possible to confirm that Jarīr is a really a partial common link.

According to the *isnād* bundle Sufyān al-Thawrī is another partial common link of al-A‘mash, but only by virtue of two transmitters. Three versions of the *ḥadīth* go back to him. All of them are found in pre-canonical collections, that of ‘Abd al-Razzāq and Ibn Ḥanbal. ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s version reads as follows:

“*‘Abd al-Razzāq ‘an al-Thawrī ‘an al-A‘mash ‘an Dhakwān ‘an Abī Hurayra qāla: qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallam: kullu ḥasanatin ya‘maluhā ibn Ādam tuḍā‘afu ‘ashran ilā sab‘ mi’a ḍi‘fin, ghayra al-ṣiyām, huwa lī wa-anā ajzī bihi, yada’u shahwatahu min ajli, wa-yada’u ṭa’āmahu min ajli. farḥatāni li-l-ṣā’imi, farḥatun ‘inda fiṭriḥ, wa-farḥatun hīna yalqā rabbah, wa-khulūfu famihi atyabu ‘inda Allāh min riḥ al-misk, wa-l-ṣiyāmu lī wa-anā ajzī bih*”<sup>27</sup> (‘Abd al-Razzāq from al-Thawrī from al-A‘mash from Dhakwān from Abū Hurayra, he said: The messenger of God (eulogy) said: “Every good deed done by the son of Adam is multiplied to ten [up] to seven hundred times as much except fasting. It is [meant] for me and I alone will reward it [generously]. He abandons his desire for my sake, he abandons his food for my sake. There are two [occasions of] joy for a fasting person: one (joy) at the time of breaking the fast and another (joy) when he meets his Lord. And the smell of his mouth is more delectable to God than the scent of musk. The fast is meant for me and I will reward it).

Ibn Ḥanbal provides two versions. One is through ‘Abd al-Razzāq<sup>28</sup> and the other through ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.<sup>29</sup> The structure and substance of the

<sup>27</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, vol. 4, p. 306. This part of the *Muṣannaf* is based on Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Dabārī’s (d. 286) transmission from ‘Abd al-Razzāq. See Motzki, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence*, p. 56.

<sup>28</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 266.

first version resembles considerably ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s version in the *Muṣannaḥ*. Their wording varies only in a few points: Ibn Ḥanbal says “*illā l-ṣiyām*” instead of “*ghayr al-ṣiyām*”, “*fa-buwa lī*” instead of “*buwa lī*”, “*‘inda liqā’i rabbih ‘azza wa-jalla*” instead of “*hīna yalqā rabbah*”, “*wa-la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā’imi*” instead of “*wa-khulūfu famihī*”, “*wa-l-ṣiyāmu lī wa-anā ajzī bih*” which is repeated at the end of ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s version is missing in Ibn Ḥanbal’s. The considerably similar structure of the two versions strongly suggests that they must originate from the same source, that is, ‘Abd al-Razzāq. Why does Ibn Ḥanbal’s version, which he transmitted from ‘Abd al-Razzāq, differ from that of ‘Abd Razzāq’s transmitter Ishāq al-Dabarī? It can probably be explained by assuming that either ‘Abd al-Razzāq has passed the *ḥadīth* sometimes slightly differently or that Ibn Ḥanbal or Ishāq did not preserve the *ḥadīth* accurately.

Ibn Ḥanbal’s second version, which he claims to have received from Sufyān through ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, is a text for which Ibn Ḥanbal provides two *isnāds*. That could mean that the text, which Ibn Ḥanbal received via the different *isnāds* is identical, but also that it is only similar. The *matn* analysis shows that Ibn Ḥanbal’s text is that of Wakī‘ as one of the two *isnāds* says. The fact that the transmissions of al-A‘mash’s pupils, that we have studied so far, differed from each other, suggests that it would be improbable that Sufyān and Wakī‘ transmitted an identical text. ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s version corroborates this conclusion. Since we have only his *matn* transmission preserved we cannot know for sure what Sufyān’s *matn* really looked like. Sufyān’s status as a partial common link in the *isnād* bundle can, therefore, not be corroborated by the *matn* analysis. It is, however, clear that ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s text from Sufyān is not identical to any of al-A‘mash’s transmitters discussed so far (Wakī‘, Abū Nu‘aym, Jarīr). It means accordingly that his text is independent of them.

Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj appears to be another partial common link of al-A‘mash but only by virtue of two transmitters. Three versions are going back to him: two through Muḥammad b. Ja‘far, which are found in Ibn Ḥanbal’s

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<sup>29</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 477.

*Musnad*<sup>30</sup> and Ibn Ḥibbān's *Ṣaḥīḥ*,<sup>31</sup> one through al-Ṭayālīsī.<sup>32</sup> Ibn Hanbal's version reads as follows:

"*ḥaddathanā Muḥammad. b. Ja'far ḥaddathanā Shu'ba 'an Sulaymān 'an Dhakwān 'an Abī Hurayra 'an al-nabī ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallam qāla: kullu ḥasanatin ya'maluhā ibn Ādam 'ashru ḥasanātin ilā sab'i mi'at ḥasanātin. yaqūlu Allāh 'azza wa-jalla: illā l-ṣawm huwa lī wa-anā ajzī bihi. yadd'u l-ṭa'āma min ajlī wa-l-sharāba min ajlī wa-shahwatahu min ajlī. fa-huwa lī wa-anā ajzī bihi. wa-l-ṣawmu junnatun wa-l-l-ṣā'imi farḥatāni farḥatun ḥina yuṣṭiru wa-farḥatun ḥina yalqā rabbahu. wa-la-kbulūfu fami l-ṣā'imi ḥina yakbulu min al-ṭa'āmi atyabu 'inda Allāh min rīḥ al-misk*" (Muḥammad b. Ja'far transmitted to us [he said] Shu'ba transmitted us from Sulaymān [al-A'mash] from Dhakwān [Abū Ṣāliḥ] from Abū Hurayra from the prophet (pbuh), he said: "Every good deed done by the son of Adam [is rewarded] ten [up] to seven hundred times good as much, God, the Powerful and the Sublime says: Except fasting. It is [meant] for me and I will reward it [generously]. He abandons[his] food for my sake, [his] drinking for my sake and his [sexual] desire for my sake. It is [meant] for me and I will reward it [generously]. And the fasting is protection. And the one who fasts has two [occasions of] joy: one (joy) when he breaks his fast and another (joy) when he meets his Lord. And verily the smell of a fasting person's mouth when he breathes from [his] food is more delectable to God than the scent of musk.)

A comparison of this version with that of Ibn Ḥibbān reveals that they share a common feature. The structure and substance are almost identical. The wording differs in some minor points. Bishr b. Khālid, Ibn Ḥibbān's transmitter from Muḥammad b. Ja'far, says "*bi-'ashri ḥasanāt*" instead of "*ashru ḥasanāt*", "*sab' mi'a di'fin*" instead of "*sab' mi'a ḥasanatin*", "*'azza wa-jalla*" is missing in Ibn Ḥibbān, it merely says "*yaqūl Allāh*". Ibn Ḥibbān has "*fa-huwa lī*" instead of "*huwa lī*". After "*wa-shahwatahu min ajlī*" Ibn Hanbal's version repeats the formula "*(fa-)huwa lī wa-anā ajzī bihi*", Ibn Ḥibbān's version by contrast, lacks "*fa-huwa lī*" in the repetition. "*Wa-l-ṣawmu junnatun*" before "*wa-li-l-ṣā'imi farḥatāni*" is also lacking in Ibn Ḥibbān. The variances of the wording imply that both texts are not copied from another. Their nearly identical structure and content indicate that they originate from the same informant, that is, Muḥammad b. Ja'far. Another version of Shu'ba is found in al-Ṭayālīsī's *Musnad*. It is a very short version, which only consists of the statement found at the end of the *ḥadīth*: "*kbulūfu fami l-ṣā'imi atyabu 'inda Allāh min rīḥ al-misk*".

<sup>30</sup> Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 480.

<sup>31</sup> Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, p. 211.

<sup>32</sup> Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, p. 317.

Al-Ṭayālīsī's wording differs from that of Muḥammad b. Ja'far. The text of the latter is peculiar because it contains the addition "*hīna yakblufu mina l-ṭa'ām*" that has no other version ascribed to al-A'mash. The fact that al-Ṭayālīsī does not mention this addition could mean that Muḥammad b. Ja'far is responsible for it. But since al-Ṭayālīsī's variant is a shortened one and there aren't any other variants to reconstruct Shu'ba's *matn*, we cannot be sure about it. In this case too, the *matn*-analysis cannot state that Shu'ba is a real partial common link.

Al-A'mash has two more students allegedly transmitting from him. Both *isnāds* leading to them are single strands. One is found in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* with the transmitter Ibn Numayr<sup>33</sup> and the other is found in Muslim's and Ibn Māja's works coming from the transmitter Abū Mu'āwiya.<sup>34</sup> As our analysis has shown, these transmissions consist only of *isnāds*. They are not accompanied by a *matn*, or the respective *matn* belongs to another *isnād* mentioned in the same context. One can only assume that the traditions of Ibn Numayr and Abū Mu'āwiya were roughly similar in content to that of Wakī'. Therefore, the transmission lines of Ibn Numayr and Abū Mu'āwiya do not help for the *matn* analysis.

Do the *ḥadīths* of al-A'mash's students (Wakī', Abū Nu'aym, Sufyān, Jarīr, Shu'ba, Ibn Numayr and Abū Mu'āwiya) reflect a real transmission process or are they the result of systematic fabrication? This is a debated issue among scholars who are involved in the study of early *ḥadīth*. The answer depends, in addition to fundamental premises, on the method used for the analysis of traditions. Juynboll would argue that Wakī's, Abū Nu'aym's, and Jarīr's transmissions are historical because they are partial common links by virtue of three or more transmitters. Al-A'mash is, therefore, a real common link. Shu'ba and Sufyān al-Thawrī are weak partial common links because there are only two transmitters above them in the *isnād* bundle. Juynboll would consider the strands leading to the weak partial common links as well as the single strands via Abū Mu'āwiya and Ibn Numayr as the fabrication of the collectors.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 477.

<sup>34</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *ṣaum*, 164; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, I, 525.

<sup>35</sup> For Juynboll's concept of single strand see the foregoing discussion.

Those who deny that *isnād* analysis is a reliable method would not accept the conclusion that the *ḥadīth* was spread by al-A‘mash. Michael Cook, for example, would imagine that someone of the second generation following al-A‘mash (e.g. ‘Abd al-Razzāq or Ibn Abī Shayba) could have brought the tradition into circulation with his *isnād*. His contemporaries took it over from him but they all omitted him, perhaps because they would not be seen transmitting from a mere peer or because they considered a shorter *isnād* as more elegant. Some of them skipped him in their *isnāds* by ascribing the tradition directly to his alleged informant (e.g. Waki‘ or Sufyān), others even replaced his informant by another name (e.g. Abū Nu‘aym or Abū Mu‘āwiya).<sup>36</sup> The collectors of later generations such as al-Nasā‘ī, Ibn Ḥibbān and al-Bayhaqī could have gone further by inventing new *isnāds* which took the existing ones as example and which intersected also in the name of al-A‘mash.<sup>37</sup>

The debate between Juynboll and Cook resembles a stalemate. A solution seems impossible on the basis of the *isnāds* alone. Why not having recourse to the texts? An analysis and comparison of the textual transmissions of the respective students of al-A‘mash strongly suggest the following: 1) two pcl’s, which have come to light in the analysis of *isnād*, could be proven, through the comparison of texts, as real informants of the transmission ascribed to them. Waki‘ and Abū Nu‘aym respectively have a characteristic *matn*. 2) All transmissions have their own features characterizing them and distinguishing them from one another. This is most obvious in the transmissions of Waki‘ and Abū Nu‘aym, for which several textual variants are available. One of the typical features of Waki‘’s seven variant transmissions is that they invariably begin with “*kullu ‘amal ibn ‘Ādam yuḍā‘af*”, while Abū Nu‘aym’s three variants of transmission always begin with “*al-ṣawmu lī wa-anā ajzī bih*”. Put differently, in Abū Nu‘aym’s *matn* Waki‘’s introduction of the *ḥadīth* is lacking. Another typical difference

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<sup>36</sup> See for example Cook’s argument against the utility of the common link for dating purposes in Michael Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, Cambridge 1981, 109-111.

<sup>37</sup> These assumptions are used by Juynboll to explain the phenomenon of single strand. In our case, however, as stated above, Juynboll would consider al-A‘mash as the real common link by virtue of the pcls Waki‘, Abū Nu‘aym and Jarīr. For more about Juynboll’s view on the single strand see G.H.A. Juynboll, “Nāfi‘ the *maṭalā* of Ibn ‘Umar, and his Position in Muslim *Ḥadīth* Literature”, in *Der Islam* 70 (1993), 207-244. For a counter argument of Juynboll’s view, see Motzki, “Quo vadis *ḥadīth* - Forschung”.

between Wakī's and Abū Nu'aym's version is that Wakī knows only two items of abstention at the time of fasting (*ta'ām wa-shahwa*), whereas Abū Nu'aym mentions three (*ta'ām, sharāb wa-shahwa*). The structure and content of both transmissions is so distinctive that it seems not reasonable to assume that they are interdependent.

It is not possible to reconstruct Jarīr's original transmission. But the two variants preserved from him are not identical with one of the versions ascribed to other pupils of al-A'mash. One of the peculiarities separating one of Jarīr's texts from all other versions reads: "*mā min ḥasanatin 'amalahā ibn Ādam illā kutiba lahu 'ashru ḥasanātin*". Likewise, Shu'ba's text transmitted by Muḥammad b. Ja'far has its own characteristic separating it from the former three. For example, his text which reads, "*kullu ḥasanatin ya'maluhā ibn Ādam (bi)'ashri ḥasanātin*", differs from any text available, the beginning resembles somewhat to al-Nasā'ī's variant of Jarīr's tradition but differs in the details and in the rest of the text. Moreover "*ḥīna yakhlufu min al-ta'āmi*" is missing in the other texts. Thus, it is unlikely that Shu'ba's version is dependent on any of the former three versions.

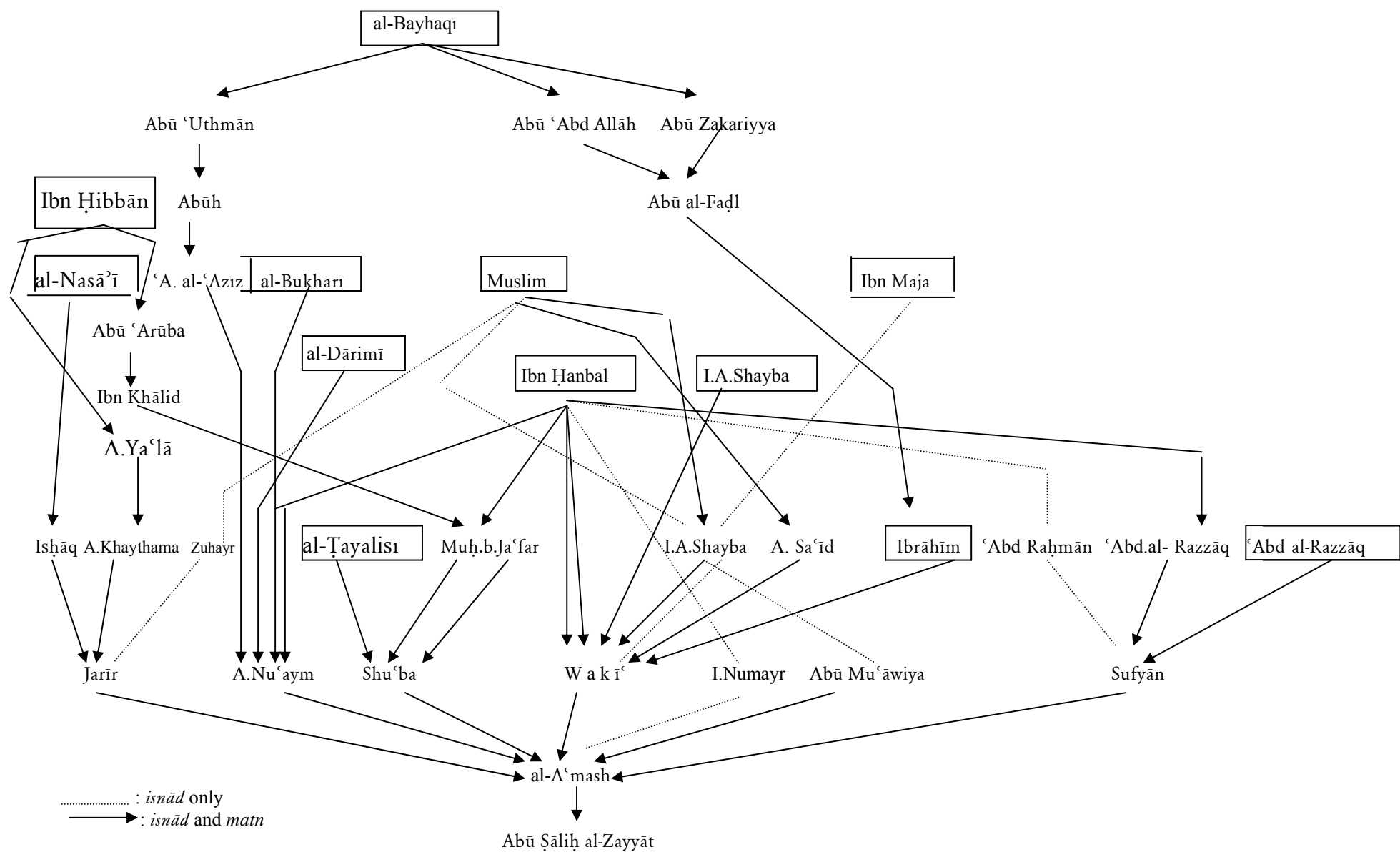
The same is true for Sufyān's tradition transmitted by 'Abd al-Razzāq. Its structure resembles the structure of Shu'ba's text, but the wording varies significantly in several instances. E.g., instead of saying "*'ashru ḥasanāt*", Sufyān says "*tuḍā'af 'ashran*", "*ḍi'fīn*" instead of "*ḥasanatin*", "*ghayr*" instead of "*illā*". In addition, Sufyān's version is characterized by the lack of the important words "*qāla (yaqūlu) Allāh ('azza wa-jalla)*", which makes it a normal *ḥadīth* instead of *ḥadīth qudsī*. Hence, we can justifiably conclude that this version is also independent from the other versions ascribed to al-A'mash. It is true that one of Jarīr's versions is also lacking the expression "*qāla Allāh*", but this version cannot be the model of Sufyān's version or vice versa, for they differ considerably in both structure and some substantial points. Having established the independence of the texts ascribed to al-A'mash's students, we can conclude that Cook's theory does not fit in this case. The comparison of the *matns* does not corroborate the assumption that the transmissions are dependent from one model and that only the *isnāds* have been falsified. This independence of the several transmissions together with their considerable similarities in structure and content point to the

conclusion that these transmissions originate from al-A‘mash. What the transmissions have in common goes back to him. The variances are due to the transmission process. In other words, our *matn* analysis corroborates the conclusion of our *isnād* analysis in this case. The difference in wording together with a common *matn* structure and content of the transmissions also suggest that the weak partial common links (Shu‘ba and Sufyān) are real transmitters, i.e., their transmissions are not fabricated by the collectors, even if they do not show enough transmission lines according to Juynboll’s rules. Al-A‘mash’s original texts can be reconstructed, following the rule that if two or more students of al-A‘mash transmitted a detail or element of the *ḥadīth*, it goes back to him. Here is the reconstruction:

- o. *Qāla Allāh*
1. *Kullu ‘amal ibn Ādam* (transmitted by Wakī‘ (W), Sufyān (S), Shu‘ba (Sh) and Jarīr (J)).
2. *tuḍā‘afu ‘ashran/al-ḥasanatu ‘ashru amthālibā ilā sab‘i mi’a ḍi‘fīn* (W, S, Sh, J)
3. *(qāla llāh)<sup>38</sup> illā/ghayr al-ṣawm/ṣiyām* (W, S, Sh, J)
4. *fa-innahu/al-ṣawmu lī* (W, Abū Nu‘aym (AN) S, Sh, J)
5. *wa-anā ajzī bihi* (W, AN, S, Sh, J)
6. *yada‘u ṭa‘āmahu/wa-ākilahu wa-sharābahu wa-shahwatahu min ajlī* (W, AN, S, Sh, J)<sup>39</sup>
7. *al-ṣawmu junna* (W, AN, Sh, J)
8. *wa-li-l-ṣāimi farḥatani* (W, AN, S, Sh, J)
9. *farḥatun ‘inda fiṭrih/ḥīna yuṣṭir wa-farḥatun ‘inda liqā’i rabbih/ḥīna yalqā rabbahu* (W, AN, S, Sh, J)
10. *wa-la-kbulūfu fami l-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda llāh min riḥ al-misk* (W, AN, S, Sh, J).

<sup>38</sup> The original text is “*qāla llāh ta‘ālā/‘azza wa-jalla*”

<sup>39</sup> Not all transmitters have all three items.





## B. Suhayl b. Abī Ṣāliḥ.

In our analysis of the *isnāds* attached to the *ḥadīth* under review we concluded that according to Juynboll's recent method of *isnād* analysis only al-A'mash's strand can be considered to be historically reliable. The other strands are to be regarded as forgeries constructed on the model of al-A'mash's *ḥadīth*. But since the *isnād cum matn* analysis does not reject *a priori* the historicity of single strands nor take for granted the historicity of a common link, the other strands leading via Abū Ṣāliḥ to Abū Hurayra will be dealt with in the following pages to check whether these strands are really unreliable. We begin with the strand of Suhayl b. Abī Ṣāliḥ.

Suhayl's *ḥadīth* can be found in both canonical and non-canonical collections: *Nuskhat* Suhayl<sup>40</sup> transmitted by 'Abd al-Azīz b. al-Mukhtār [d. ?]<sup>41</sup>, Ibn Ḥanbal's, Ibn Khuzayma's, al-Ṭabarānī's and al-Tirmidhī's.<sup>42</sup> A possibly early collection in which Suhayl's *ḥadīth* is found is the *Nuskha* of Suhayl. Let us take it as the point of departure. It reads:

"*Ḥaddathanā 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Mukhtār, [ḥaddatha] nā Suhayl b. Abī Ṣāliḥ 'an abīhi 'an Abī Hurayra 'an al-nabī ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallam qāla: 'Amal ibn Ādam kulluhu lahu, wa-l-ḥasanatu bi-'ashri amthālibā illā l-ṣīyām fa-innahu lī wa-anā ajzī bihi. Yada'u l-ṭa'āma min ajli wa-yada'u l-sharāba min ajli wa-yadharu l-ladhdhata min ajli. Fa-idhā aṣbaḥa aḥadukum ṣā'iman fa-lā yarḥuth wa-lā yafsuq, fa-in subba fal-yaqul innī ṣā'imun. Wa-li-l-ṣā'imi farḥatāni: farḥatun 'inda ifṭārihi wa-farḥatun yawma yalqā rabbahu. Wa-la-khulūfuhu atyabu 'inda Allāh min rīḥ al-misk*" (Every act of the son of Adam is for him; the good deed is worth ten times as much except the fast. It is [meant] for me, and I will reward it [generously]. He abandons the food for my sake and abandons the drink for my sake and refrains from the sexual pleasure for my sake. When any one of you is fasting he should neither use obscene speech nor behave [otherwise] sinfully. If he is reviled he should say: "I am fasting." The one who fasts has two [occasions] of joy: one (joy) when he breaks the fast and another (joy) on the day when he will meet his Lord. And verily his smell [that of a fasting person] is more delectable to God than the scent of musk).

A comparison of this *ḥadīth* with that of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar in al-Ṭabarānī's *al-Mu'jam al-awsaṭ*<sup>43</sup> reveals that they share some substantial

<sup>40</sup> *Nuskhat* Suhayl has been edited by M.M. Azami, in *Studies in Early Ḥadīth Literature* (Arabic section), pp. 13-24. The *ḥadīth* in question is found on p. 16.

<sup>41</sup> Ibn Hajar, *Tabdhīb al-tabdhīb*, vol. 6, pp. 355-356; Al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, vol. 2, p. 178.

<sup>42</sup> See diagram 2 on p. 204.

<sup>43</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-awsaṭ*, vol. 9, p. 30.

features, but differ considerably in both order and wording. Here is the text of Ibn Umar:

*“ḥaddathanā al-Miqdām [ḥaddatha] nā Khālīd ‘an ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar ‘an Suhayl b. Abī Ṣāliḥ ‘an abīhi ‘an Abī Hurayra anna rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallam qāla: Kullu ‘amal ibn Ādam lahu wa-l-ṣawmu lī wa-anā ajzī bihi. wa-la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda Allāh min riḥ al-miski. yada’u imra’atahu wa-shahwatahu wa-ṭa’āmahu wa-sharābahu min ajli fa-huwa lī wa-anā ajzī bihi. Li-l-ṣā’imi farḥatāni farḥatun ‘inda fiṭrihi wa-farḥatun hīna yalqānī. al-ṣiyāmu junnatun. fa-in qātalahu aḥadun aw shatamahu aḥadun fa-lā yukallimhu wa-l-yaqul innī ṣā’imun”.* (Every act of the son of Adam is for him and the fast is for me and I will reward it. Verily the smell of fasting person’s mouth is more delectable to God than the scent of musk. He abandons his wife and his sexual desire and his food and his drinking for my sake. It is for me and I will reward it. The one who fasts has two [occasions] of joy: one (joy) at the time of his breaking his fast and another (joy) when he meets me. The fast is protection. If someone fights against him or abuses him he is not supposed to talk to him and he should say to [himself] : “I am fasting.”).

Like Ibn al-Mukhtār’s, Ibn ‘Umar’s version is not expressly presented as a *qudsī ḥadīth*. Furthermore, both versions share a characteristic, which is differently worded: Ibn ‘Umar has “*fa-in qātalahu aḥadun aw shatamahu aḥadun fa-lā yukallimhu wa-l-yaqul innī ṣā’imun*” (if someone fights against him or abuses him, he must not talk to him but he should say [to himself]: I am fasting) instead of “*fa-idhā aṣbaḥa aḥadukum ṣā’iman fa-lā yarfuth wa lā yafsuq, fa-in subba fa-l-yaqul innī ṣā’imun*” (when any one of you is fasting he should neither use obscene language nor act [otherwise] sinfully. If he is reviled he should say: I am fasting). This element is missing in al-A‘mash’s *matn*. The other most significant differences between Ibn ‘Umar’s and Ibn Mukhtār’s versions are: In Ibn ‘Umar’s version “*imra’atahu*” is added among the things which the fasting person avoids; “*shahwa*” is used instead of “*ladhdha*”; and the second “*yada’u*” as well as “*yadharu*” is missing. Moreover, Ibn al-Mukhtār’s “*wa-l-ḥasanatu bi-‘ashri amthālihā*” is missing, and instead of his “*illā l-ṣiyām fa-innahu lī*” Ibn ‘Umar has “*wa-l-ṣawmu lī*”. In addition, instead of “*farḥatun ‘inda ifṭārihi wa-farḥatun yawma yalqā rabbahu*” Ibn ‘Umar says “*farḥatun ‘inda fiṭrihi wa-farḥatun hīna yalqānī*”; and instead of “*wa-la-khulūfuhu*” Ibn ‘Umar says “*wa-la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā’im*”. Differences in structure are, for instance, that “*wa-la-khulūf*” etc. is not put at the end of the text as in *Nuskhat Suhayl* (Ibn al-Mukhtār) but after the introductory sentence and that the equivalent of *fa-in subba fa-l-yaqul innī ṣā’im* is put at

the end in Ibn ‘Umar’s *matn* whereas in Ibn al-Mukhtār’s it is mentioned earlier. The comparison shows that both versions have their own characteristic. Hence the significantly distinctive wording of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Mukhtār found in *Nuskhat* Suhayl from that of ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar found in al-Ṭabarānī’s *ʿAwsaṭ* indicates that they are independent versions. On the other side, their sharing two common characteristics not found in al-A‘mash’s text strongly suggest that they originate from the same source, that is, Suhayl.

From Suhayl a third version is transmitted, which differs in a few aspects from the former ones, that is, the *ḥadīth* of al-Darāwardī. Three variants of it are preserved. One of them is found in Ibn Ḥanbal’s *Musnad*<sup>44</sup> and the other two are found respectively in the collections of Ibn Khuzayma<sup>45</sup> and al-Tirmidhī.<sup>46</sup> Both Ibn Ḥanbal and al-Tirmidhī claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from al-Darāwardī through Qutayba [b. Sa‘īd] (d. 240). Both texts are short versions, and almost identical. Ibn Ḥanbal’s version reads “*Li-l-ṣā’imi farḥatāni farḥatun ḥīna yuṣṭiru wa-farḥatun ḥīna yalqā rabbahu ‘azza wa-jalla*”. In al-Tirmidhī’s version the words “*‘azza wa-jalla*” are lacking. Qutayba’s version is not termed a *qudsī ḥadīth*.

Al-Darāwardī’s version in Ibn Khuzayma’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* is a long one, which resembles in structure and wording more to Ibn al-Mukhtār’s text than to that of Ibn ‘Umar’s. Common elements are, for example: “*al-ḥasanatu bi-‘ashri amthālibā*”; “*illā l-ṣiyām*”; “*yada‘u l-ṭa‘ām*”; “*wa-yada‘u l-sharāb*”; “*ladhdha*” etc. Al-Darāwardī’s text has also a few parallels with Ibn ‘Umar’s text, for example, “*la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā’imi*” and the addition of “*yada‘u zawjatahu*”, which is equivalent to Ibn ‘Umar’s “*yada‘u imra’atahu*”. On the other hand al-Darāwardī’s *matn* shows some peculiarities in which it differs from the two other versions ascribed to Suhayl: He has the addition “*ilā sab‘i mi’a ḍiḥ. qāla Allāh*”, which is an element we know from al-A‘mash’s text, and he lacks the characteristic element by which the two other Suhayl versions differ from al-A‘mash’s *matn*, the passage *fa-in subba (shatamahu*

<sup>44</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, vol. 2, p. 419.

<sup>45</sup> Ibn Khuzayma, vol. 3, p. 197.

<sup>46</sup> Al-Tirmidhī, vol. 3, p. 137.

*aḥadun*) *fa-l-yaqul innī ṣā'imun*. This suggests that al-Darāwardī's *matn* is partly influenced by that of al-A'mash.<sup>47</sup>

The differences between the three versions show that it is unlikely that al-Darāwardī's version in Ibn Khuzayma's collection is dependent on either Ibn al-Mukhtār's or Ibn 'Umar's. The similar characteristics of the texts of Suhayl's alleged students strongly suggest on the other hand that they come from the same source, namely, Suhayl. Here is the reconstruction of Suhayl's *matn* containing the elements which at least two of the three long versions have in common: „*kullu 'amal ibn Ādam labu, al-ḥasanatu bi-'ashri amthāliha illā l-ṣiyām, fa-huwa lī wa-anā ajzī bihi, yada'u l-ṭa'āma min ajlī, wa yada'u al-sharāba min ajlī, wa-yada'u (yadharu) l-ladhbata min ajlī, yada'u zawjatabu (imra'atabu) min ajlī, wa-la-kbulūfu fami l-ṣā'imi atyabu 'inda llāh min riḥ al-misk, li-l-ṣā'imi farḥatāni, farḥatun ḥīna yuṣṭiru wa-farḥatun ḥīna yalqā rabbahu, fa-in shatamahu aḥad/subba (wa-) fa-l-yaqul innī ṣā'imun*”.

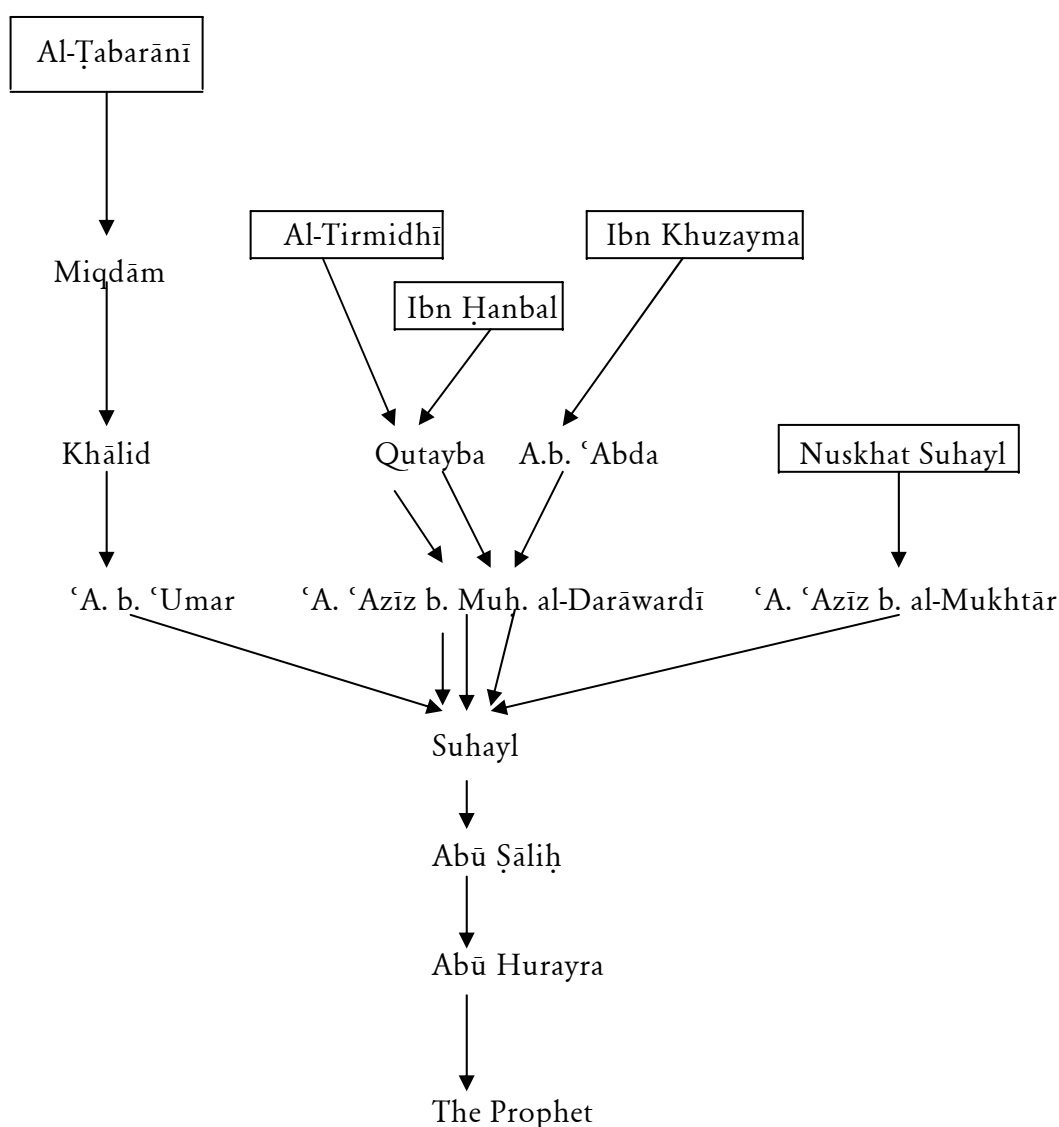
Even if it is difficult to reconstruct an original *matn* of Suhayl because of the variances in wording, it is obvious that the content of Suhayl's *matn* characteristically differs in a few points from that of al-A'mash. This conclusion shows the assumption made on the basis of a pure *isnād*-analysis must be corrected. According to Juynboll's method, Suhayl is not a real partial common link. Put differently, Juynboll would assume that *isnād* strands within the Suhayl-bundle are fabricated by either the collectors or their teachers.<sup>48</sup> In such a case we cannot expect to find a Suhayl-*matn* which differs significantly from that of al-A'mash, because the fabricators would have taken al-A'mash's *matn* and would have provided it with *isnād* strands in which al-A'mash is replaced by Suhayl.

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<sup>47</sup> Ibn 'Umar's version contains also an element, which is found in al-A'mash's *matn*, but not in the other two versions of Suhayl: *al-ṣiyām junna*.

<sup>48</sup> This is inferred from Juynboll's recent method of *isnād* analysis, which holds that only the common link backed up by several partial common links can be considered historical. See above, note 37.

Diagram 2



### C. 'Aṭā' b. abī Rabāḥ.

As already mentioned in the *isnād* analysis, Juynboll would argue against the historicity of 'Aṭā's strand. Because of the bundle of single strands that establishes a "spider" around Ibn Jurayj,<sup>49</sup> Juynboll would argue that it was the collectors who have fabricated the *isnāds* of 'Aṭā's *ḥadīth*. Alternatively, Cook would argue that Ibn Jurayj (d. 150) had received the *ḥadīth* from al-A'mash (d. 148) but skipped the latter, for he did not want to be seen transmitting the *ḥadīth* from a mere contemporary. Ibn Jurayj quoted

<sup>49</sup> See diagram 3

his teacher ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ instead (spread of *isnāds*). Whether or not these assumptions are justifiable, *isnād* analysis alone does not give us a convincing clue. We need to have recourse to the *matn* analysis as well to see whether these presumptions are mirrored in the texts. Therefore, in what follows, we will analyze the variants of ‘Aṭā’s *matn* to find out whether or not it has an individual feature distinguishing it from the other versions.

An early source available to us is the *ḥadīth* of Rawḥ, which is found in Ibn Ḥanbal’s *Musnad*. Let us take it as the point of departure. It reads as follows:

“*ḥaddathanā Rawḥ (ḥadda)thanā Ibn Jurayj akhbaranī ‘Aṭā’ ‘an Abī Šāliḥ al-Zayyāt annahu sami‘a Abā Hurayra yaqūlu qāla rasūl Allāh šallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallam: kullu ‘amali ibn Ādam labu illā l-ṣiyām fa-huwa lī wa-anā ajzī bihi wa-lladhī nafsī bi-yadihi la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda Allāh yawma l-qiyāmati min riḥi l-miski wa-l-ṣiyāmu junnatun wa-li-l-ṣā’imi farḥatāni yafrāḥuhumā idhā aṭara fariḥa wa-idhā laqiya rabbahu ‘azza wa-jalla fariḥa bi-ṣawmihi.*”<sup>50</sup> (Rawḥ transmitted to us: Ibn Jurayj transmitted to us: ‘Aṭā’ informed me from Abū Šāliḥ al-Zayyāt that he heard Abū Hurayra saying: The prophet (pbuh) said: “Every act of the son of Adam is for him except fasting. It is [meant] for me and I will reward it [generously]. By the one [God] who keeps my soul in his hand, verily, the smell of the fasting person’s mouth is more delectable to Allāh at the day of resurrection than the scent of musk. The fast is a protection. The fasting person has two [occasions of] joy at which he is delighted: when he breaks the fast he is delighted and when he meets his Lord, the Powerful and the Sublime, he is delighted over his fast).

Another version of Ibn Jurayj’s *ḥadīth* is transmitted by Hishām b. Yūsuf and found in al-Bukhārī’s *Šaḥīḥ*.<sup>51</sup> This version resembles considerably Rawḥ’s version in Ibn Ḥanbal’s *Musnad*. Although somewhat differently worded, they share several common characteristics. The similarities are, for example: Both versions mention “*yafrāḥuhumā*” and “*idhā aṭara fariḥa wa-idhā laqiya rabbahu* (‘*azza wa-jalla*) *fariḥa bi-ṣawmihi*”, but the word “‘*azza wa-jalla*” is missing in Hishām’s text. The differences are: al-Bukhārī’s *matn* begins with “*qāla Allāh*” and by that explicitly indicates that it is a *ḥadīth qudsī*. “*Wa-l-ṣiyām junna*” is mentioned earlier than in Ibn Ḥanbal’s version. Instead of “*wa-lladhī nafsī bi-yadihi*” Hishām’s version in al-Bukhārī reads: “*wa-lladhī nafsu Muḥammad bi-yadihi*” and this expression has another place in al-Bukhārī’s *matn* because of a sentence added that is not found in Ibn

<sup>50</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 516.

<sup>51</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Šaḥīḥ*, *kitāb al-ṣawm*, 9.

Ḥanbal's text: "*wa-idhā kāna yawmu ṣawmi aḥadikum fa-lā yarfuth wa-lā yaṣkhab fa-in sābbahu aḥadun aw qātalahu fal-yaqul innī ṣā'imun*". This sentence resembles that of Suhayl, which reads in the two different versions: "*fa-idhā aṣbaḥa aḥadikum ṣā'iman fa-lā yarfuth wa-lā yaṣuq fa-in subba fal-yaqul innī ṣā'imun*" and "*fa-in qātalahu aḥadun aw shatamahu aḥadun fa-lā yukallimhu wa-l-yaqul innī imru'un ṣā'imun*". It cannot be concluded, however, from this partial similarity that Ibn Jurayj's 'Aṭā' ḥadīth is constructed after the model of Suhayl's or vice versa since they differ characteristically in other points.

The two variants of the Ibn Jurayj's transmission show that 'Aṭā's *matn* differs characteristically from those of both al-A'mash and Suhayl. It has individual features, which are missing in their versions: "*wa-lladhī nafsi bi-yadihi*", "*yafrāḥuhumā*" after *li-l-ṣā'imi farḥatāni*, "*idhā aṭara fariḥa*", and "*wa-idhā laqiya rabbahu fariḥa bi-ṣawmihi*". Likewise, the peculiarities characterizing al-A'mash's (e.g. *yada'u ta'āmahu wa-sharābahu wa-shahwatahu min ajli*) and Suhayl's *matn* (e.g. *yada'u zawjatahu, yada'u imra'atahu, yadharu l-ladhdhata*) are missing. Accordingly, it seems highly improbable that 'Aṭā's *matn* is constructed after the model of either al-A'mash or Suhayl or vice versa.

The transmission of 'Abd al-Razzāq found in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*<sup>52</sup> substantiates the existence of a characteristic Ibn Jurayj - 'Aṭā' ḥadīth. It resembles considerably Rawḥ's and Hishām's *matn*. Put otherwise, they share the characteristics: "*wa-lladhī nafsu Muḥammad bi-yadihi*", "*yafrāḥuhumā*", "*idhā aṭara fariḥa*", "*wa-idhā laqiya rabbahu fariḥa bi-ṣawmihi*". However, they differ in wording. 'Abd al-Razzāq's ḥadīth mentions three words, which are lacking in both Rawḥ's and Hishām's: "*bi-ḥiṭrihi*" after "*idhā aṭara fariḥa*", "*yawma'idhin*" after "*fa-lā yarfuth*". Instead of saying "*yaṣkhab*" in Hishām's version 'Abd al-Razzāq says "*yaskhab*".<sup>53</sup> Like Ibn Ḥanbal's text from Rawḥ, Muslim's transmission from 'Abd al-Razzāq has also the addition *yawm al-qiya'ma* after *atyabu 'inda Allāh*. This is also a typical characteristic of Ibn Jurayj's 'Aṭā' *matn*. Common features of the three versions can also be found

<sup>52</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, ṣiḥāḥ*, 163. 'Abd al-Razzāq's transmission of this ḥadīth is lacking in the edition of his *Muṣannaf*.

<sup>53</sup> Both words have the same meaning.

in the *isnāds*. Abū Ṣāliḥ is always provided with the epithet al-Zayyāt. And in the three versions of Ibn Jurayj's 'Aṭā' *ḥadīth* Abū Ṣāliḥ is invariably reported "*annahu sami'a Abā Hurayra yaqūl*". This is different from the *isnāds* of al-A'mash and Suhayl.

Al-Nasā'ī provides us with two additional *matns* of the Ibn Jurayj – 'Aṭā' *ḥadīth*: one through Ḥajjāj<sup>54</sup> and the other through 'Abd Allāh.<sup>55</sup> The two *matns*, though the last one is a bit shorter, are to a large extent identical. "*Wa-lladhī nafsu Muḥammad bi-yadihi*" is mentioned in both texts. While Ḥajjāj's text mentions "*innī ṣā'imun*", 'Abd Allāh's *matn* says, as in Muslim's and al-Bukhārī's versions, "*innī imru'un ṣā'imun*". Ḥajjāj's text reads "*ya'wmu ṣiyāmi aḥadikum*" and the 'Abd Allāh variant reads "*ya'wmu ṣawmi aḥadikum*". As in Ibn Ḥanbal's and Muslim's texts "*ya'w al-qiyāma*" after *atyabu 'inda Allāh* is mentioned in Ḥajjāj's version, but is missing in 'Abd Allāh's. The last sentence "*li l-ṣā'imi farḥatāni yafrāḥubumā idhā aṭara fariḥa bi-fiṭrihi wa-idhā laqiya rabbahu 'azza wa-jalla fariḥa bi-ṣawmihi*" is missing in 'Abd Allāh's version. In Ḥajjāj's version *qāla Allāh* is missing as in Rawḥ's version (Ibn Ḥanbal), while 'Abd Allāh explicitly introduces the *ḥadīth* as a *qudsī* one as does 'Abd al-Razzāq (Muslim) and Hishām (al-Bukhārī).<sup>56</sup> Both versions of al-Nasā'ī's contain the sentence *idhā kāna ya'w ṣiyām/ṣawm aḥadikum* etc. which is also found in al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's versions, but not in that of Ibn Ḥanbal. The different wording of the two *matns* suggests that they are independent and not copied from each other. A comparison of al-Nasā'ī's variants of the Ibn Jurayj – 'Aṭā' *ḥadīth* with those of Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Bukhārī and Muslim reveals that they share the peculiarities, which are typical for Ibn Jurayj's transmission and distinguish it from those of al-A'mash's and Suhayl's.

The individual feature of the Ibn Jurayj – 'Aṭā' *ḥadīth* is also found in the version of Muḥammad b. Bakr found in Ibn Khuzayma's<sup>57</sup> and Ibn Ḥibbān's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.<sup>58</sup> Both versions are almost identical. This is not surprising

<sup>54</sup> Al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, vol. 4, 135

<sup>55</sup> Al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, vol. 4, 136.

<sup>56</sup> Both versions of al-Nasā'ī deviate also in their *isnāds* from each other. Ḥajjāj's *isnād* rightly gives Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Zayyāt as 'Aṭā's informant. Conversely, 'Abd Allāh gives 'Aṭā' al-Zayyāt. It is a transmission mistake. It cannot be pointed out, who is responsible for that.

<sup>57</sup> Ibn Khuzayma, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 3, p. 196-7.

<sup>58</sup> Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 8, p. 210.



because Ibn Ḥibbān transmits his version from Ibn Khuzayma. Yet they differ in three points: 1) In Ibn Khuzayma's version we read "ya'ni" before "qāla Allāh". That means that in contrast to Ibn Ḥibbān's text, this version is only a *ḥadīth qudsī* by virtue of a gloss. 2) Before "*wa-lladhī nafsu Muḥammad*", we read "*al-ṣiyāmu 'anhu junnatun*", which is lacking in Ibn Ḥibbān's version. Finally, instead of saying "*laqiya rabbahu*", Ibn Ḥibbān's version says "*laqiya Allāh*". The differences between the two versions of Ibn Khuzayma are due to the two transmitters from him (Ibn Ḥibbān and the collector/transmitter of Ibn Khuzayma's *Ṣaḥīḥ*). Muḥammad b. Bakr's version varies insignificantly in substance from Ibn Jurayj's *matn* that we know from the other transmitters. It mentions "*wa-lladhī nafsu Muḥammad bi-yadihi*" and "*idhā aṭara fariḥa bi-ḥiṭrihi*", but it misses "*yafrāḥuhumā*" and "*idhā kāna yawmu ṣawmi aḥadikum.....innī ṣā'imun*". These words belong to the individual feature of Ibn Jurayj – 'Aṭā' *ḥadīth*. This strongly suggests that on one hand Muḥammad b. Bakr's *ḥadīth* is firmly correlated with Ibn Jurayj's other versions, but on the other hand it is independent from them.

In a later source, al-Bayhaqī's *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, we find another version of the Ibn Jurayj – 'Aṭā' *ḥadīth*, which goes back to the same Rawḥ (b. 'Ubāda) from whom Ibn Ḥanbal transmitted his variant.<sup>59</sup> Al-Bayhaqī's version differs to a great extent from that in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*. Rawḥ's *ḥadīth* in al-Bayhaqī is very similar to Hishām b. Yūsuf's version transmitted by al-Bukhārī and nearly identical to the one of 'Abd al-Razzāq in Muslim. They differ in wording only insignificantly. Al-Bayhaqī's version says "*al-ṣawmu junnatun*" instead of "*wa-l-ṣiyāmu junnatun*" and "*yafrāḥu bi-himā*" instead of "*yafrāḥuhumā*". Unlike 'Abd al-Razzāq's version, al-Bayhaqī's version from Rawḥ is not expressly introduced as a *ḥadīth qudsī*.

Now a couple of questions appear 1) why do the texts of al-Bayhaqī and Ibn Ḥanbal deviate so strongly from one another, though they go back to the same transmitter from Ibn Jurayj (Rawḥ)? 2) Why does the version of al-Bayhaqī correspond so greatly to that of Muslim, even though both versions go back to different transmitters, Rawḥ and 'Abd al-Razzāq? It is an intricate question to answer. For the first question we may assume either that Rawḥ has passed his *ḥadīth* in different ways or that his students (Ibn Ḥanbal

<sup>59</sup> Al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 270.

and al-Bayhaqī's informant, Ibrāhīm) or their pupils did not preserve it accurately. When one compares the variant versions of Ibn Jurayj with each other, it is conspicuous that the texts are quite similar to each other, but some of them show more or less strong gaps. Ibn Ḥanbal's version from Rawḥ is a very short one. It is less probable that Rawḥ's original version was shorter than the other and was extended later by its transmitter Ibrāhīm or a transmitter after him according to the model of other versions. It is more likely to assume that in Ibn Ḥanbal's version text was lost. Reductions of originally longer texts occur more frequently. Had we not Ibrāhīm's complete version from Rawḥ in al-Bayhaqī's *Sunan*, we had to ascribe the reduction and distortion of the text to Rawḥ alone. But because a more complete version from him exists, which is transmitted by someone other than Ibn Ḥanbal, the latter or a transmitter from him may also be responsible for the shortening of the text and the necessary adaptations.

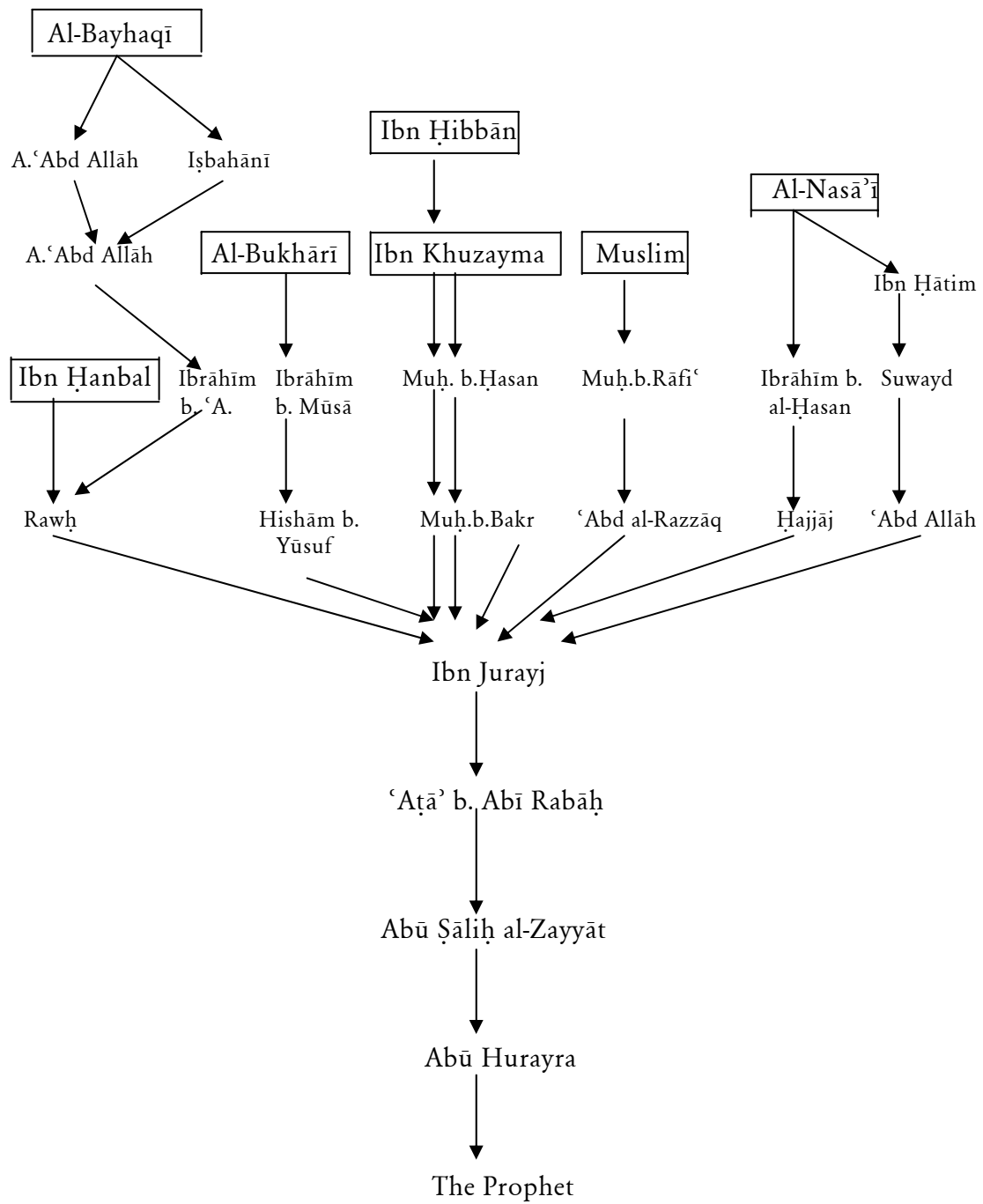
For the second question we may also assume two possibilities. Firstly, the similarity between the versions of Rawḥ, Hishām b. Yūsuf and 'Abd al-Razzāq might be due to the fact that all three transmitted their *ḥadīth* from the same source, namely, Ibn Jurayj. Secondly, since Muslim's and al-Bayhaqī's versions are almost identical although going back to different transmitters from Ibn Jurayj, one of the two *isnāds* must be wrong. This would then be a case of spread of *isnāds*, be it on purpose or due to an error. Yet in view of the observation that several variants of Ibn Jurayj's *ḥadīth* are very similar, the first explication seems to be more plausible.

Eight variant texts of the Ibn Jurayj's *ḥadīth* have been analyzed, from which we can infer at least two points. Firstly, we find in most variants of Ibn Jurayj's texts some typical elements, which are lacking in the texts of both al-A'mash and Suhayl, that is, "*wa-lladhī nafsu Muḥammad (nafsi) bi-yadīhi*", "*yafrāḥuhumā*", "*idhā aṭṭara fariḥa*" and "*fariḥa bi-ṣawmihi*". There are also elements in the *isnād* that are typical for Ibn Jurayj's transmission. Furthermore, most of Ibn Jurayj's variants have the sentence *wa-idhā kāna yawmu ṣawmi aḥadikum ... fal-yaqul innī (imru'un) ṣā'imun* in an almost identical wording, which resembles in content to an element in Suhayl's text but differs from it considerably in wording. By virtue of these facts we may justifiably conclude that, firstly, Ibn Jurayj's *ḥadīth* is not constructed after

the model of either al-A‘mash or Suhayl. Secondly, the differences between the texts, which the several transmitters and collectors ascribe to Ibn Jurayj, suggest that all versions are independent, i.e. not copied from each other. Thirdly, their characteristical similarities strongly suggest that they originate from a common source. According to the *isnāds*, the common source is Ibn Jurayj. The different wordings of Ibn Jurayj’s *ḥadīth* and the fact that some of his variants are explicitly *qudsī* and others not, can be explained by assuming that either Ibn Jurayj had passed the *ḥadīths* sometimes differently or his alleged students did not transmit them accurately. This fact also means that Ibn Jurayj is a real partial common link, although it is, according to Juynboll’s *isnād* analysis, only a seeming partial common link (knot of a spider). After analyzing Ibn Jurayj’s variants, we may reconstruct his original text as follows: *Qāla Allāh: “kullu ‘amal ibn Ādam lahu, illā l-ṣiyām, fa-innahu ((fa)-huwa) lī wa-anā ajzī bibi, wa-l-ṣiyāmu junnatun, idhā kāna yawmu ṣawmi aḥadikum fa-lā yarfuth wa-lā yaṣkhab, fa-in sābbahu (shātamahu) aḥadun aw qātalahu fal-yaqul innī mru’un ṣā’imun, wa-lladhī nafsu Muḥammad bi-yadibi, la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda Allāh, yawm al-qiyāma, min riḥ al-misk, li-l-ṣā’imi farḥatāni, yafrāḥuhumā, idhā aftarā fariḥa bi-fiṭrihi wa-idhā laqiya rabbahu ‘azza wa-jalla fariḥa bi-ṣawmihi”*.

Yet we still have to answer the question whether Ibn Jurayj actually received the *ḥadīth* from his informant ‘Aṭā’ as he claimed, or whether he heard the *ḥadīth* from al-A‘mash or Suhayl but skipped them from the *isnād* and quoted his teacher ‘Aṭā’ instead. Taking the second assumption to be the case would mean that Ibn Jurayj not only forged the *isnād* but also changed the text, so that it on the one hand follows al-A‘mash’s or Suhayl’s text but on the other hand deviates characteristically from them. This is hard to imagine.

Diagram 3.



#### D. Abū Sinān Ḍirār b. Murra.

Like in the case of ‘Aṭā’, the tradition ascribed to Ibn Murra is transmitted by strands, which look like a spider. The transmission lines converge in the name of Ibn Fuḍayl, the alleged transmitter from Ibn Murra

(see diagram 4).<sup>60</sup> In the following pages we are going to analyse its variant versions to find out whether or not it has individual features distinguishing it from others. It is found in pre-canonical, canonical and post-canonical collections. Let us begin with the oldest source available, the *Muṣannaf* of Ibn Abī Shayba. It reads as follows:

“*Ḥaddathanā Ibn Fuḍayl ‘an Abī Sinān ‘an Abī Ṣāliḥ ‘an Abī Hurayra wa-Abī Sa‘īd qālā qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama inna Allāha yaqūlu inna l-ṣawmu lī wa-anā ajzī bihi wa-inna li-l-ṣā’imi farḥatayni idhā aftarā fariḥa wa-idhā laqiya Allāh fariḥa wa-lladhī naṣṣu Muḥammad bi-yadihi la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda Allāh min riḥ al-miskī*”<sup>61</sup> (Ibn Fuḍayl transmitted to us from Abū Sinān from Abū Hurayra and Abū Sa‘īd, both said: The Messenger of God (pbuh) said: God says: “Verily, the fast is [meant] for me, and I will reward it. And the one who fasts has two (occasions) of joy: He is delighted when he breaks the fast and he is delighted when he meets God. By the one [God] who keeps the soul of Muḥammad in his hand. Verily the smell of the fasting person’s mouth is more delectable to God than the scent of musk).

Ibn Abī Shayba’s tradition is also found in Muslim’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*, the *Muntakhab musnad ‘Abd b. Ḥamīd* and the *Musnad* of Abū Ya‘lā.<sup>62</sup> The four versions are substantially identical. They differ only insignificantly in wording. Muslim’s version mentions *raḍiya Allāh ‘anhumā* after “*wa-Abī Sa‘īd*”, he and ‘Abd b. Ḥamīd have “*‘azza wa-jalla*” after *inna Allāh*“ and ‘Abd b. Ḥamīd repeats it after *laqiya Allāh*. These eulogies are missing in Ibn Shayba’s *Muṣannaf* and Abū Ya‘lā’s *Musnad*. These eulogies were possibly added by Muslim and ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamīd or later transmitters.

Ibn Ḥanbal provides two texts of Ibn Murra’s *ḥadīth*.<sup>63</sup> The *isnāds* of both texts are identical and their texts are almost identical. They differ only in one word: one has “*inna Allāh*” and the other has “*inna Allāh ‘azza wa-jalla*”. The substance and the composition of Ibn Ḥanbal’s *matn* resembles to a great extent that of Ibn Abī Shayba’s. They are, however, not identical. Instead of “*wa-idhā laqiya Allāh fariḥa*”, Ibn Ḥanbal says “*idhā laqiya Allāh fa-jazāhu fariḥa*”. The word “*fa-jazāhu*” distinguishes Ibn Hanbal’s version from Ibn Abī Shayba’s text.

<sup>60</sup> On p. 215.

<sup>61</sup> Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 3, p. 5.

<sup>62</sup> ‘Abd b. Ḥamīd b. Naṣr al-Kaṣī, *Muntakhab musnad ‘Abd b. Ḥamīd*, p. 288. Abū Ya‘lā, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 286.

<sup>63</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 232; vol. 3, p. 5.

Ibn Murra's *ḥadīth* is also found in al-Nasā'ī's *Sunan*, transmitted from 'Alī b. Ḥarb.<sup>64</sup> The structure and quantity of text is identical to the former. They differ only in wording. Instead of saying “*inna Allāh yaqūlu*” al-Nasā'ī's *matn* reads “*inna Allāh tabāraka wa-ta'āla yaqūlu*”. Unlike Ibn Abī Shayba and similar to Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Nasā'ī says “*fa-jazāhu fariḥa*”. This version omits the particle “*inna*” before *al-ṣawm* and *li-l-ṣā'imi*. Unlike the other versions, which mention Abū Hurayra and Abū Sa'īd as the informants of Abū Ṣāliḥ, al-Nasā'ī's text mentions only Abū Sa'īd. That seems to be an error made by al-Nasā'ī or his informant 'Alī b. Ḥarb.

Ibn Khuzayma provides a *matn* of Ibn Murra's *ḥadīth* from two different transmitters of Ibn Fuḍayl.<sup>65</sup> This text is to a large extent identical to the other versions of Ibn Murra. It differs only slightly in wording. The particle “*inna*” before *al-ṣawm* is missing, but it is mentioned before *li-l-ṣā'im*. The word “*fa-jazāhu*” is mentioned in this version but Ibn Khuzayma adds at the end of the text the remark that Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Dawraqī, one of his informants, does not say it. That means that Ibn Khuzayma's *matn* is that of 'Alī b. al-Mundhir.

The slightly distinctive wording of all versions of Ibn Murra's *matn* indicates their non-interdependence. However, they show a common feature, which strongly suggest that they originate from a common transmitter. According to the *isnād*, the common transmitter is Ibn Fuḍayl. Hence, like in the case of Ibn Jurayj, the ascription of the *ḥadīth* to Ibn Fuḍayl is justifiable.

Unlike 'Aṭā's case, which has only Ibn Jurayj as transmitter of the *ḥadīth* in question, Ibn Murra has besides Ibn Fuḍayl a second transmitter, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muslim, whose version is recorded in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* and in al-Bayhaqī's *al-Sunan al-kubrā*. In Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, however, the *matn* is so short that it cannot be compared with other *matns*. It only reads “*idhā laqiya llāh fa-jazāhu fariḥa*”. In al-Bayhaqī's *Sunan al-kubrā*, we find a text, which is similar to that of Ibn Fuḍayl.<sup>66</sup> Ishāq b. 'Umar, instead of ascribing the text to Ibn Fuḍayl like the other transmitters do, ascribes it to 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muslim, another student of Ibn Murra. In the *isnād* bundle this looks like a

<sup>64</sup> Al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, vol. 4, p. 134.

<sup>65</sup> Ibn Khuzayma, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 3, p. 198.

<sup>66</sup> Al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 273.

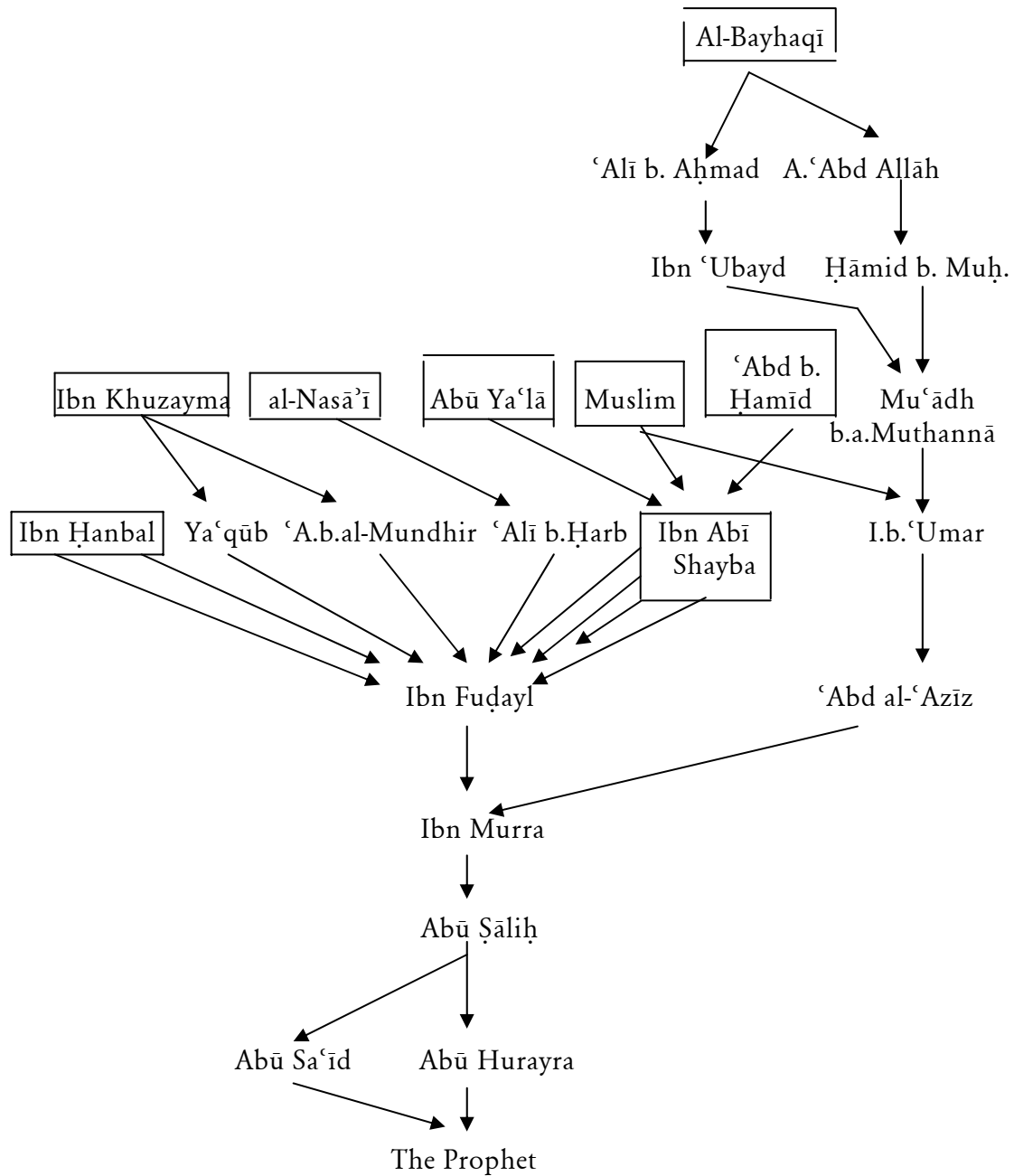
phenomenon that Juynboll termed “diving”. Juynboll rules out the historicity of such a transmission line and would accuse the collector or someone before him of having fabricated the *isnād*. In such a case it can be expected that the *matn* is that of Ibn Fuḍayl.

A comparison of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muslim’s text with the variants of Ibn Fuḍayl reveals indeed that the *matns* resemble each other to a great extent. Ibn Muslim’s text is closest to the Ibn Fuḍayl’s variant found in al-Nasā’ī’s *Sunan* than to the other, because the particle “inna” is missing, and the word “*fa-jazāhu*” is mentioned. But it is not completely identical with al-Nasā’ī’s *matn*. The differences are: Like Ibn Fuḍayl’s other versions and different from that of al-Nasā’ī, Ibn Muslim’s text found in al-Bayhaqī’s collection mentions Abū Hurayra besides Abū Sa‘īd. Ibn Muslim says “*yaqūlu Allāh ‘azza wa-jalla*”, whereas al-Nasā’ī has “*inna llāha tabāraka wa-ta‘āla yaqūl*”. Furthermore, in Ibn Muslim’s text the expression “*wa-lladhī nafsu Muḥammad bi-yadihi*” is lacking. The differences between Ibn Fuḍayl’s *matn* collected by al-Nasā’ī and ‘Abd al-Azīz b. Muslim’s text show that the latter is not a copy of the former. We may justifiably conclude, accordingly, that on the one hand they are independent and on the other hand they originate from the same source, that is, Ibn Murra. Put otherwise, ‘Abd al-Azīz b. Muslim’s transmission seems to be, even if looking as a dive in the *isnād* bundle, a real one, not a fiction by a later transmitter or al-Bayhaqī. That means that not only Ibn Fuḍayl is a real partial common link (even if looking as a spider) but also his teacher Ibn Murra (even if his version is preserved by only two transmitters). After analysing Ibn Murra’s variants, we may reconstruct his original text as follows: “*Qāla/yaqūl Allāh inna l-ṣawma li wa-anā ajzī bihi, wa-inna li-l-ṣā’imi farḥatayni, idhā aṭṭara fariḥa wa-idhā laqiya llāh fa-jazāhu fariḥa, wa-lladhī nafsu Muḥammad bi-yadihi la-kbulūfu fami l-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda llāh min riḥ al-misk*”.

The composition of the *ḥadīth* differs considerably from the other versions. Compared with them, this version is a short one. It lacks some points: “*kullu ‘amal ibn Ādam labu (yudā‘af ilā...ḍi’fin)*”, “*yada‘u ṭa‘āmahu wa-sharābahū...min ajli*”, “*idhā kāna yawmu ṣawmi aḥadikum...fa-in subba...innī ṣā’imun*”. Likewise, this text is characterized by the use of particle “inna”: “*inna l-ṣawma li*” and “*wa inna li l-ṣā’imi farḥatayni*”, which is missing in any

former versions. This is sufficient proof to conclude that this text is independent from al-A'mash's version and from the other's. Furthermore, Ibn Murra's *ḥadīth* is not only independent from other transmissions from Abū Ṣāliḥ as far as the *matn* is concerned, but also in its *isnād* which contains Abū Sa'īd besides Abū Hurayra.

Diagram 4





## E. Al-Mundhir b. ‘Ubayd.

The last *ḥadīth* ascribed to one of Abū Ṣāliḥ’s student to be discussed is that of Ibn ‘Ubayd. We have only one version preserved in al-Nasā’ī.

„*Akhbaranā Sulaymān b. Dāwūd ‘an Ibn Wahb qāla akhbaranī ‘Amr anna al-Mundhir b. ‘Ubayd ḥaddathahu ‘an Abī Ṣāliḥ al-Sammān ‘an Abī Hurayra ‘an rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama qāla al-ṣiyāmu lī wa-anā ajzī bihi wa-l-ṣā’imu yafraḥu marratayni ‘inda fiṭrihi wa-yawma yalqā Allāh wa-khulūfu fami ṣ-ṣā’imi aṭyabu ‘inda Allāh min riḥ al-misk*“<sup>67</sup> (Sulaymān b. Dāwūd transmitted to us from Ibn Wahb, he said ‘Amr transmitted to me that al-Mundhir b. ‘Ubayd transmitted to him from Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Sammān from Abū Hurayra from the messenger of God (pbuh). He said: “The fast is [meant] for me and I will reward it, and the one who fasts is delighted twice: when he breaks the fast and on the day he meets God and verily the smell of a fasting person’s mouth is more delectable to God than the scent of musk).

The text is unique in the sense that it is not identical to any other versions of Abū Ṣāliḥ. It is a much shorter text and close to Ibn Fuḍayl’s version of Ibn Murra’s text. The most important difference from Ibn Murra’s text is that Ibn ‘Ubayd’s *ḥadīth* is not expressly introduced as *qudsī*. Besides, in Ibn ‘Ubayd’s text the double *fariḥa* is missing. It has *‘inda fiṭrihi* instead of *idhā afṭara* and *yawma yalqā llāh* instead of *idhā laqiya llāh/rabbahu*. Ibn ‘Ubayd’s text has a typical feature which differs from any version: “*wa-l-ṣā’imu yafraḥu marratayni*”. This phrase reminds of ‘Aṭā’s “*yafraḥuhumā*”. The other versions have usually *(wa-) li-l-ṣā’imi farḥatayni*. Besides, the *laqab* of Abū Ṣāliḥ, al-Sammān, in Ibn ‘Ubayd’s *isnād* is unique. Accordingly, we may conclude that this *ḥadīth* is independent from the other versions.

## F. Conclusion

Following the *isnād* bundle, we have arranged the textual transmissions ascribed to Abū Ṣāliḥ’s students into five groups: The variants of al-A’mash, Suhayl b. Abī Ṣāliḥ, ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ, Ibn Murra and Ibn ‘Ubayd. All *matn* variants going back to al-A’mash are similar to each other and share characteristic features if compared with the variants of others. The same applies to the *ḥadīth* variants of Suhayl, ‘Aṭā’ and Ibn Murra. Each

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<sup>67</sup> Al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, iv, 134.

group has a typical feature distinguishing it from the others. This fact strongly suggests that these groups are independent from one another. In other words, it is highly unlikely that all variant versions were modelled on al-A‘mash’s *ḥadīth*, as Juynboll may assume on the basis of his *isnād*-analytical methods or Cook on the basis of his speculations about spread of *isnāds*. Put differently, the *ḥadīths* ascribed to Suhayl, Ibn Murra and ‘Aṭā’ or even Ibn ‘Ubayd are most probably really theirs.

Apart from the significant variance, which the texts of all groups show, they share a considerable degree of resemblance with respect to structure and content. Since we have established the non-interdependence of the texts and since it is highly improbable that they were constructed after the model of al-A‘mash texts, it is very likely that the identical elements of the several text traditions must originate from a common source. According to the *isnāds* it must be Abū Ṣāliḥ, who is, therefore, to be considered a real common link.

Having analyzed the variants of Abū Ṣāliḥ’s students, we may reconstruct Abū Ṣāliḥ’s *ḥadīth*, following the rule that if two or more transmitters agree on a detail or element, this detail goes back to Abū Ṣāliḥ. Accordingly, there are thirteen elements of the *ḥadīth* going back to Abū Ṣāliḥ:

- o. *Qāla Allāh* (al-A‘mash, ‘Aṭā’ b. abī Rabāḥ, Ibn Murra)
1. *Kullu ‘amal ibn Ādam lahu*. This element is transmitted by al-A‘mash (A), Suhayl b. Abī Ṣāliḥ (S) and ‘Aṭā’ b. abī Rabāḥ (At).
2. *Al-ḥasanatu ‘ashru amthālibā* (A, S).
3. *illā l-ṣawm/ṣiyām* (A, S, At)
4. *Fa-innahu lī* (A, S, At, al-Mundhir b. Ubayd (MU).
5. *Wa-anā ajzī bihi* (A, S, At, MU and Ibn Murra (IM).
6. *Al-ṣawmu junnatun* (A, At).
7. *Yada‘u ṭa‘āmahu wa-sharābahu min ajlī* (A, S).
8. *Li-l-ṣā’imi farḥatāni* (A, S, At, IM).
9. *Farḥatun ḥīna yuṣṭir* (A, S, At, IM).
10. *Wa-farḥatun idhā laqiya rabbahu* (A, S, At, IM, MU)
11. *Wa-lladhī nafsu Muḥammad bi-yadihi* (At, IM)

12. *Wa-la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā'imi atyabu 'inda llāh min rīḥ al-misk* (A, S, At, IM, MU).

13. *Idhā aṣbaḥa aḥadikum ṣā'iman (idhā kāna yawmu ṣawmi aḥadikum) fa-lā yarfuth wa-la yaḥsuq (yaṣḥab) fa-in subba (sābbahu) fal-yaqul innī ṣā'imun* (S, At).

## b. The ḤADĪTH of Saʿīd Ibn al-Musayyab.

Applying the method of *isnad cum matn* analysis to Abū Ṣāliḥ's *ḥadīth*, we have established that the *ḥadīth* under review can be ascribed to Abū Ṣāliḥ. This is fundamentally different from our *isnād* analysis, applying Juynboll's recent method, which considers al-Aʿmash as the real common link and accordingly regards him as the fabricator of the *ḥadīth*. Is Abū Ṣāliḥ the oldest transmitter, to which we must ascribe the *ḥadīth* or can we go further? In what follows we are going to deal with *ḥadīths* ascribed to Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, a contemporary of Abū Ṣāliḥ. According to the traditions preserved in the canonical collections, Ibn al-Musayyab, who died between 94 and 100 A. H., was one of Abū Hurayra's prolific students. He reportedly transmitted 287 *ḥadīths* from the latter.<sup>68</sup> *Ḥadīth* critics labeled him as reliable.<sup>69</sup> Three of his students transmitted the *ḥadīth* under review from him: Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri, ʿAlī b. Zayd and Bukayr.

### A. Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri.

Al-Zuhri (d. 124) was one of Ibn al-Musayyab's prolific transmitters. In the canonical collections, he reportedly transmitted 276 *ḥadīths* from the latter.<sup>70</sup> The *ḥadīth* under scrutiny is one of them. There are six variants of the *ḥadīth* under review going back to Ibn al-Musayyab through al-Zuhri. They are found in pre-canonical and canonical as well as post-canonical collections. Al-Zuhri's *ḥadīth* was transmitted by two transmitters, namely, Maʿmar b. Rāshid (d. 153) and Yūnus b. Yazīd (d. 159). Let us begin with the *ḥadīth* of Maʿmar found in the oldest source available to us, namely, the *Muṣannaḥ* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq.

“ʿAbd al-Razzāq ʿan Maʿmar ʿan al-Zuhri ʿan Ibn al-Musayyab ʿan Abī Hurayra qāla qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallam kullu ʿamal ibn Ādam lahu illā l-ṣiyām fa-inna l-ṣiyāma lī wa-anā ajzī bihi, wa-la-khulūfu fami l-ṣāʿimi atyabu ʿinda Allāh min riḥ al-misk”<sup>71</sup> (ʿAbd al-Razzāq from Maʿmar from al-Zuhri from Ibn al-Musayyab from Abī Hurayra, he said: The messenger of

<sup>68</sup> al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf bi-maʿrifat aṭrāf*, vol. 10, p. 8.

<sup>69</sup> See the foregoing discussion on pp. 156-160.

<sup>70</sup> For the *ḥadīths* see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfat*, vol. 10, pp. 5-74.

<sup>71</sup> ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaḥ*, vol. 4, p. 306.

God said: Every action of the son of Adam is his except the fasting. The fasting is [meant] for me and I will reward it, and verily the smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God than the scent of musk).

Besides in ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s *Muṣannaf* Ma‘mar’s *ḥadīth*<sup>72</sup> is found in Ibn Ḥanbal’s *Musnad*.<sup>73</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal provides one *matn* with two *isnāds*: ‘Abd al-Razzāq – Ma‘mar and ‘Abd al-A‘lā – Ma‘mar. The text of Ibn Ḥanbal’s version resembles greatly that of ‘Abd Razzāq’s. They differ only in two points: Ibn Ḥanbal has “*al-ṣiyāmu lī*” instead of “*fa-inna l-ṣiyāma lī*” and Ibn Ḥanbal’s version is labelled as a *qudsī ḥadīth*, since it begins with *qāla Allāh ‘azza wa-jalla*, while ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s text is not expressly given as *qudsī*. The *ḥadīth* of Ma‘mar is also found in al-Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*, transmitted from Hishām b. Yūsuf.<sup>74</sup> This version is almost identical to both ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s and Ibn Ḥanbal’s version. It differs from them only slightly. Al-Bukhārī’s text says “*illā l-ṣawm*” instead of “*illā l-ṣiyām*”, as in both ‘Abd Razzāq’s and Ibn Ḥanbal’s text, and “*fa-innahu lī*” instead of “*fa-inna l-ṣiyāma lī*”, as ‘Abd al-Razzāq or “*al-ṣiyāmu lī*”, as Ibn Ḥanbal. Thus, three students of Ma‘mar have transmitted the *ḥadīth* in question from him: ‘Abd Al-Razzāq, found in his *Muṣannaf* and in Ibn Ḥanbal’s *Musnad*, ‘Abd al-A‘lā, also mentioned by the latter,<sup>75</sup> and Hishām, found in al-Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*. The fact that these transmissions are almost identical in nature, with slight variances that show their independence, strongly suggest that they were derived from the same informant, namely, Ma‘mar.

The *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhri was also transmitted by Yūnus b. Yazīd.<sup>76</sup> Three versions go back to him: two through Ibn Wahb, found in Muslim’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*<sup>77</sup> and in al-Nasā’ī’s *Sunan*,<sup>78</sup> and the other through Abū Muḥammad, found in al-Bayhaqī’s *Sunan*.<sup>79</sup> Muslim’s text reads as follows:

<sup>72</sup> In the canonical collections Ma‘mar reportedly transmitted 46 *ḥadīths* with the chain “al-Zuhri – Ibn Musayyab – Abū Hurayra – the Prophet”. For the *ḥadīths* see al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 10, pp. 48-59.

<sup>73</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 281.

<sup>74</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *kitāb al-libās*, 78.

<sup>75</sup> This is only an *isnād* without text.

<sup>76</sup> Yūnus transmitted 55 *ḥadīths* with the chain „al-Zuhri – Ibn al-Musayyab – Abū Hurayra – the Prophet”, See al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 10, pp. 60-74.

<sup>77</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *al-ṣiyām*, 161.

<sup>78</sup> Al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan al-Nasā’ī bi-sharḥ al-Suyūṭī*, vol. 4, p. 164.

<sup>79</sup> al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, vol. 4, p. 304.

“*Haddathanī Ḥarmala ibn Yaḥyā al-Tujībī. Akhbaranā Ibn Wahb. Akhbaranī Yūnus ‘an Ibn Shihāb. Akhbaranī Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab, annahu sami‘a Abā Hurayra raḍiya Allāh ‘anhu qāla: sami‘tu rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama yaqūlu qāla Allāh ‘azza wa-jalla: kullu ‘amal ibn Ādam lahu illā l-ṣiyām. Huwa lī wa-anā ajzī bihi. Fa-wa-lladhī nafsu Muḥammad bi-yadihi la-khulfatu fami l-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda Allāh min al-rīḥ al-misk*”. (Ḥarmala Ibn Yaḥyā al-Tujībī transmitted to me: Ibn Wahb transmitted to us: Yūnus transmitted to me from Ibn Shihāb: Sa‘īd Ibn al-Musayyab transmitted to me that he heard Abū Hurayra (may God be pleased with him) saying: I heard the messenger of God (pbuh) saying: God (the Powerful and the Sublime) said: “Every action of the son of Adam is his except the fasting. It is [meant] for me and I will reward it. By Him in whose hand is the soul of Muḥammad, verily the smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God than the scent of musk).

Ibn Wahb’s transmission is also found in al-Nasā’ī transmitted by Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā instead of Ḥarmala. The two versions are almost identical. They differ only insignificantly in wording: al-Nasā’ī’s version says “*wa-lladhī*” instead of “*fa-wa-lladhī*”, and the formula “*raḍiya Allāh ‘anhu*”, praising Abū Hurayra, is lacking in al-Nasā’ī’s version. This slight difference suggests that we may ascribe the *ḥadīth* to Ibn Wahb. Otherwise we must assume that al-Nasā’ī copied the text from Muslim’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* and changed the *matn* and his *isnād* or that his informant Rabī‘ b. Sulaymān received the text from Ḥarmala (or vice versa), slightly changed the *matn* and suppressed his real source. What about Ibn Wahb’s claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from Yūnus? This claim seems to be corroborated by a version found in al-Bayhaqī’s *Sunan*, that is, the transmission of Abū Muḥammad from Yūnus. However, it seems suspicious that Ibn Wahb claims to have received the *ḥadīth* directly from Yūnus and at the same time via Abū Muḥammad as given in the edition of al-Bayhaqī’s *Sunan*. Al-Mizzī’s *Tahdhīb al-kamāl* does not mention Abū Muḥammad among the informants of Ibn Wahb, and, conspicuously enough, Abū Muḥammad is the *kunya* of Ibn Wahb himself. These three facts suggest that the *isnād* in the edition of al-Bayhaqī’s *Sunan al-kubrā* is false. This means that al-Bayhaqī’s version is also a direct transmission of Ibn Wahb from Yūnus. This explains the only slight differences between al-Bayhaqī’s version and the other two. The differences are not significant and all can be explained through transmission mistakes (copying mistakes). This assumption is corroborated by the fact that al-Bayhaqī’s *isnād*, like that of al-

Nasā'ī, passes through Rabī' b. Sulaymān. Thus, for the time being, Ibn Wahb's claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from Yūnus cannot be further examined. The comparison between the versions of different students of al-Zuhri on the one hand, and with Ibn Wahb's version from 'Amr – Bukayr on the other hand, can perhaps explain Ibn Wahb's claim.<sup>80</sup>

A comparison of Ibn Wahb's Yūnus text with the one of Ma'mar reveals that they share common characteristics. However, they vary significantly in wording from each other. The expression characterizing Yūnus' text "*fa-wa-lladhī nafsu Muḥammad bi-yadihi*" is missing in any of Ma'mar's versions. Likewise, all variants of Ibn Wahb's Yūnus text mention invariably the word "*huwa lī*" instead of "*al-ṣiyāmu lī*" or "*fa-inna l-ṣiyāma lī*" or "*fa-innahu lī*" as Ma'mar's versions. Finally, Ma'mar's *matn* has "*la-khulūfu famī*", Ibn Wahb's Yūnus text, on the contrary, "*la-khulfatu famī*". This significantly distinctive wording suggests that they are independent transmissions, that is, Ibn Wahb did not copy Ma'mar's text and ascribed it to Yūnus. Consequently, we can assume that Ibn Wahb really received his version from Yūnus. Apart from the differences, they share a common structure. Both versions begin with "every action of the son of Adam is his except fasting". Although differently worded, both versions mention "it (the fasting) is meant for me and I will reward it". Both versions also mention "verily, the smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God than the scent of musk". A plausible explanation for this similarity is to infer that they originate from a common informant. According to the *isnād*, this common informant is Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri.

After analyzing the *matns* ascribed to al-Zuhri, we may reconstruct his original text as follows: 1) *kullu 'amal ibn Ādam lahu illā l-ṣawm (al-ṣiyām)* 2) *huwa lī (fa-innahu lī) wa-anā ajzī bihi* 3) *la-khulūfu (khulfatu) famī l-ṣā'imi atyabu 'inda Allāh min riḥ al-misk*. Whether or not al-Zuhri's transmission was characterized as *qudsī ḥadīth* cannot be determined. Two, out of three, versions of Ma'mar miss the word "*qāla Allāh*", and, on the contrary, two, out of three, versions of Yūnus have it.

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<sup>80</sup> See the following pages.

## B. The ḤADĪTH of ‘Alī b. Zayd.

Ibn Zayd’s *ḥadīth* is single strand from Ibn al-Musayyab. It is found in Ibn Ḥanbal’s<sup>81</sup> and al-Tirmidhī’s collection.<sup>82</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal’s version reads as follows:

“[ḥadda]thanā ‘Affān thanā ‘Abd al-Wārith [ḥaddath]anā ‘Alī b. Zayd ‘an Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab ‘an Abī Hurayra ‘an al-nabī ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama qāla inna rabbakum ‘azza wa-jalla yaqūlu yā ibn Ādam bi-kulli ḥasanatin ‘ashru ḥasanātin ilā sab‘i mi’a ḍi’fīn ilā aḍ’āfin kathīratin wa-l-ṣawmu lī wa-anā ajzi bihi wa-l-ṣawmu junnatun min al-nār wa-la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda Allāh ‘azza wa-jalla min rīḥ al-misk fa-in jahila ‘alā aḥadikum jāhilun wa-huwa ṣā’imun fa-l-yaqul innī ṣā’imun”. (‘Affān transmitted to us: [he said] ‘Abd al-Wārith transmitted to us: [he said] ‘Alī b. Zayd transmitted to us from Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab from Abū Hurayra from the Prophet (pbuh), he said: “Your Lord, the Powerful and the Sublime, is saying “O, son of Adam, every good deed [will receive] ten to seven hundred times as much, to many [more] times as much. And the fasting is [meant] for me and I will reward it. And the fasting is a protection from the [Hell]fire. And verily, the smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God, the Powerful and the Sublime, than the scent of musk. If a foolish man behaves foolishly toward somebody of you, while he is fasting, let him say: “I am fasting”).

Ibn Zayd’s version found in Ibn Ḥanbal’s *Musnad* is very similar to that found in al-Tirmidhī’s *Sunan*. Although both texts go back to the same transmitter from Ibn Zayd, namely ‘Abd al-Wārith, they vary somewhat in wording. In al-Tirmidhī’s version some words are missing: “yā ibn Ādam”, “‘azza wa-jalla” after “rabbakum” and “ilā aḍ’āfin kathīratin” and in the place of ḥasanātin the word *amthālibā* is used. Compared with al-Zuhri’s *matn* of Ibn al-Musayyab’s *ḥadīth*, Ibn Zayd’s *matn* is much longer. It contains the following textual elements that are missing in al-Zuhri’s *matn*: *inna rabbakum* (‘azza wa-jalla) yaqūl (yā ibn Ādam) bi-kulli ḥasanatin ‘ashru ḥasanātin/amthālibā ilā sab‘i mi’a ḍi’fīn (ilā aḍ’āfin kathīratin)...wa-l-ṣawmu junnatun min al-nār...fa-in jahila ‘alā aḥadikum jāhilun wa-huwa ṣā’imun fa-l-yaqul innī ṣā’imun.<sup>83</sup> Ibn Zayd’s version, by contrast, misses al-Zuhri’s “*labu illā l-ṣiyām*”. The comparison between al-Zuhri’s and Ibn Zayd’s *matn* shows that the latter contains al-Zuhri’s text almost completely but has several additional elements. How can this difference be explained? There are two

<sup>81</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 414.

<sup>82</sup> Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 3, p. 136.

<sup>83</sup> The elements in brackets are missing in al-Tirmidhī’s version.



possibilities: Ibn Zayd can have added elements to an original shorter text or al-Zuhri can have shortened an original longer *matn*. That the latter is the more probable solution shows Bukayr's version that will be discussed in the following.

### C. The ḤADĪTH of Bukayr

The last strand of Ibn Musayyab's *ḥadīth* bundle is that of Bukayr. It is a single strand as well found in al-Nasā'ī's *Sunan*. Its *matn* reads as follows:

*“Akḥbaranā Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā qāla ḥaddathanā Ibn Wabb ‘an ‘Amr ‘an Bukayr ‘an Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab ‘an Abī Hurayra ‘an al-nabī ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama qāla kullu ḥasanatin ya‘maluha ibn Ādam fa-lahu ‘ashru amthālibā illā l-ṣiyām lī wa-anā ajzī bihi”* (Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā transmitted to us, he said: Ibn Wabb transmitted to us from ‘Amr from Bukayr from Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab from Abū Hurayra from the Prophet (pbuh), he said: “Every good deed done by the son of Adam is for him ten equivalents [worth] except the fast, [it is] for me and I will reward it).<sup>84</sup>

Compared with the two other *matns* ascribed to Ibn al-Musayyab, this *matn* is the shortest one. It differs from al-Zuhri's *matn* both in the substance and wording: instead of “*kullu ‘amal ibn Ādam*”, it says “*kullu ḥasanatin ya‘maluhā ibn Ādam*”, instead of “*huwa lī*” it says “*lī*”. Furthermore, while Bukayr's *matn* misses al-Zuhri's phrase “*la-khulufu fam al-ṣā‘mi...al-misk*”, the latter's *matn* misses the former's phrase “*‘ashru amthālibā*”. Bukayr's *matn* differs also from Ibn Zayd's. The former misses some elements of the latter: “*ilā sab‘i mi’a dīfin (ilā aḍ‘āfin kathīratin)*”, “*al-ṣawm junnatun min al-nār*”, “*wa-la-khulufu fam al-ṣā‘imi atyabu ‘inda llāh min riḥ al-misk*” and “*fa-in jabila ‘alā aḥadikum jāhilun ... ṣā‘imun*”. Conversely, Ibn Zayd's *matn* misses Bukayr's phrase “*ya‘maluha ibn Ādam*” and “*illā l-ṣiyām*”, and instead of “*fa-lahu ‘ashru amthālibā*”, Ibn Zayd's *matn* reads “*bi-‘ashri amthālibā*”. Furthermore, while the latter is a *qudsī ḥadīth*, Bukayr's one is not.

It is obvious that Bukayr's *matn* is neither dependent on al-Zuhri's text nor on that of Ibn Zayd. The differences are too large. On the one hand, he has elements of al-Zuhri's text that are lacking in Ibn Zayd's *matn* (*labu*,

<sup>84</sup> Al-Nasā'ī's *Sunan*, vol. 4, p. 164.

*illā l-ṣiyām*) and elements of Ibn Zayd's *matn*, which are missing in that of al-Zuhri (*kullu ḥasana, 'ashru amthālibā*). This suggests that the original text must have been longer than both al-Zuhri's and Ibn Zayd's text. Since the *matn* of Ibn Zayd is the most complete, he probably comes nearer to the original *ḥadīth* of Ibn Musayyab than al-Zuhri's and al-Bukayr's version, which are to be considered shortened ones.

Three strands of Ibn al-Musayyab's *ḥadīth* have been analysed. Since we have established that these strands are not interdependent, we may conclude that the elements they have in common derive from a common source, namely, Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab.

A reconstruction of Ibn al-Musayyab's *ḥadīth* can now be made, following the rule that if two or more students of Ibn al-Musayyab transmitted a detail or element of the *ḥadīth*, it goes back to him. Here is the reconstruction:

o) *Qāla/yaqūlu Allāh* (al-Zuhri, Ibn Zayd)

1) *Kullu 'amal (ḥasanatin ya'mal)*. This is transmitted by Bukayr and 'Alī b. Zayd

2) *ibn Ādam* (al-Zuhri, Ibn Zayd, Bukayr)

3) *'ashru amthālibā* (Bukayr, Ibn Zayd)

4) *lahu illā l-ṣawm/l-ṣiyām* (al-Zuhri, Bukayr)

5) *huwa lī (al-ṣawmu lī), wa-anā ajzī bihi* transmitted by al-Zuhri, Ibn Zayd and Bukayr.

6) *la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā'imi atyabu 'inda Allāh min rīḥ al-misk*, transmitted by al-Zuhri and Ibn Zayd.

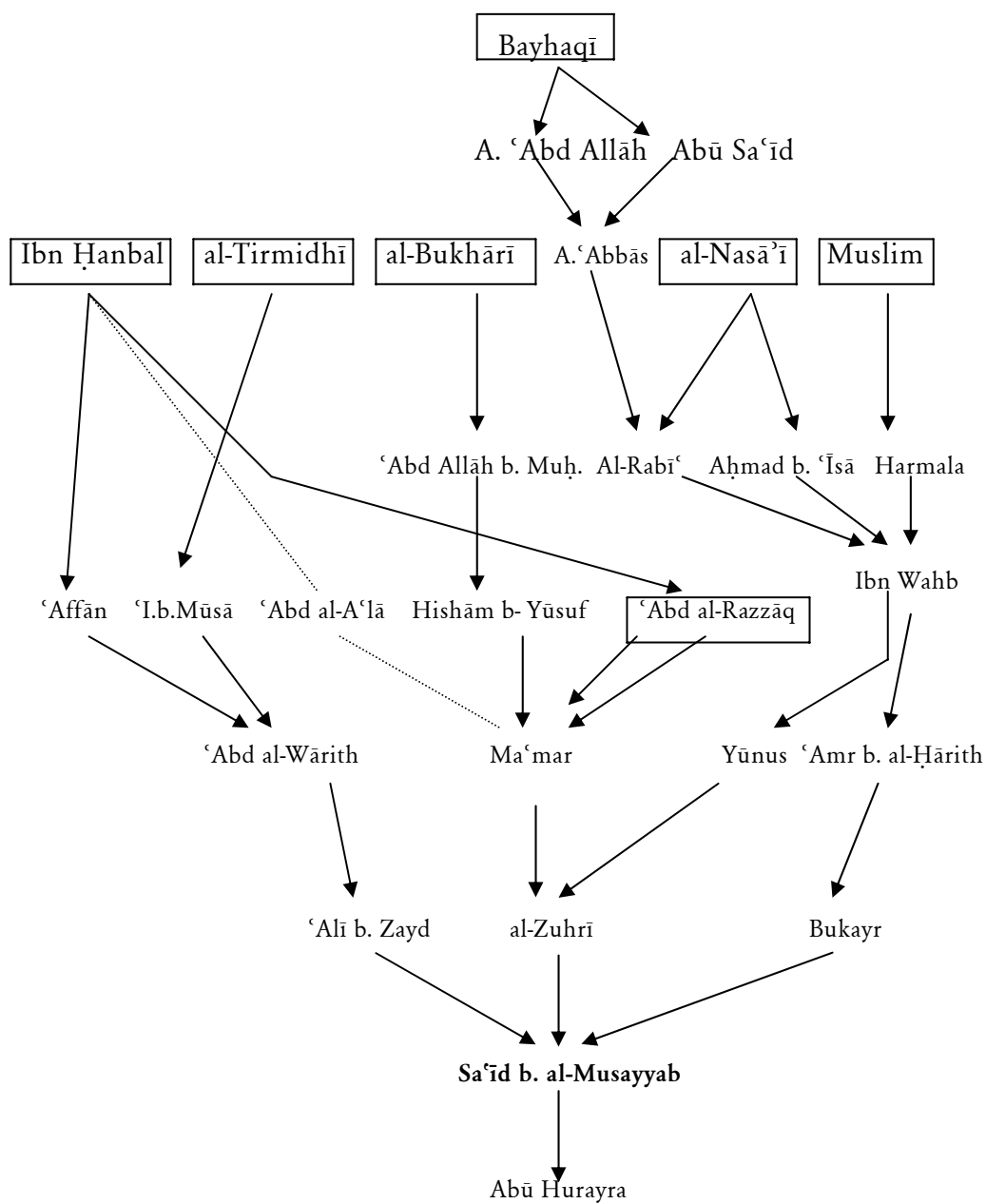
Ibn Zayd's "*wa-l-ṣawmu junna*" and perhaps even his last phrase "*fa-in jahila...fal-yaqul innī ṣā'imun*" might belong to the original text of Ibn al-Musayyab, because other transmissions from Abū Hurayra have these or similar elements too,<sup>85</sup> but we cannot be sure about it, as the other two texts are short versions.

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<sup>85</sup> "*Wal-ṣawm junna*" occurs in the tradition of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar – Suhayl – Abū Ṣāliḥ and Salīm b. Ḥayyān – Sa'īd b. Mīnā, and a similar element of "*fa-in jahila* etc..." is found in the tradition Ibn 'Ajlan – Sa'īd al-Maqburī.

Our analysis of Ibn al-Musayyab's *ḥadīth* applying *isnād cum matn* analysis has shown a result, which conspicuously differs from the result achieved by using Juynboll's method of *isnād* analysis. According to Juynboll's method, Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab is a merely seeming common link, which is corroborated by strands forming a spider. Al-Zuhrī cannot either be regarded as a real partial common link, as only two transmission lines go back to him. Juynboll would regard Ma' mar as the real common link and the author of Ibn al-Musayyab's *ḥadīth* (although he is, strictly speaking, only the common link of a spider as well). *Isnād cum matn* analysis, however, shows that Ibn al-Musayyab is the real common link in the bundle or a real partial common link in Abū Hurayra's entire *isnād* bundle.

Diagram 5



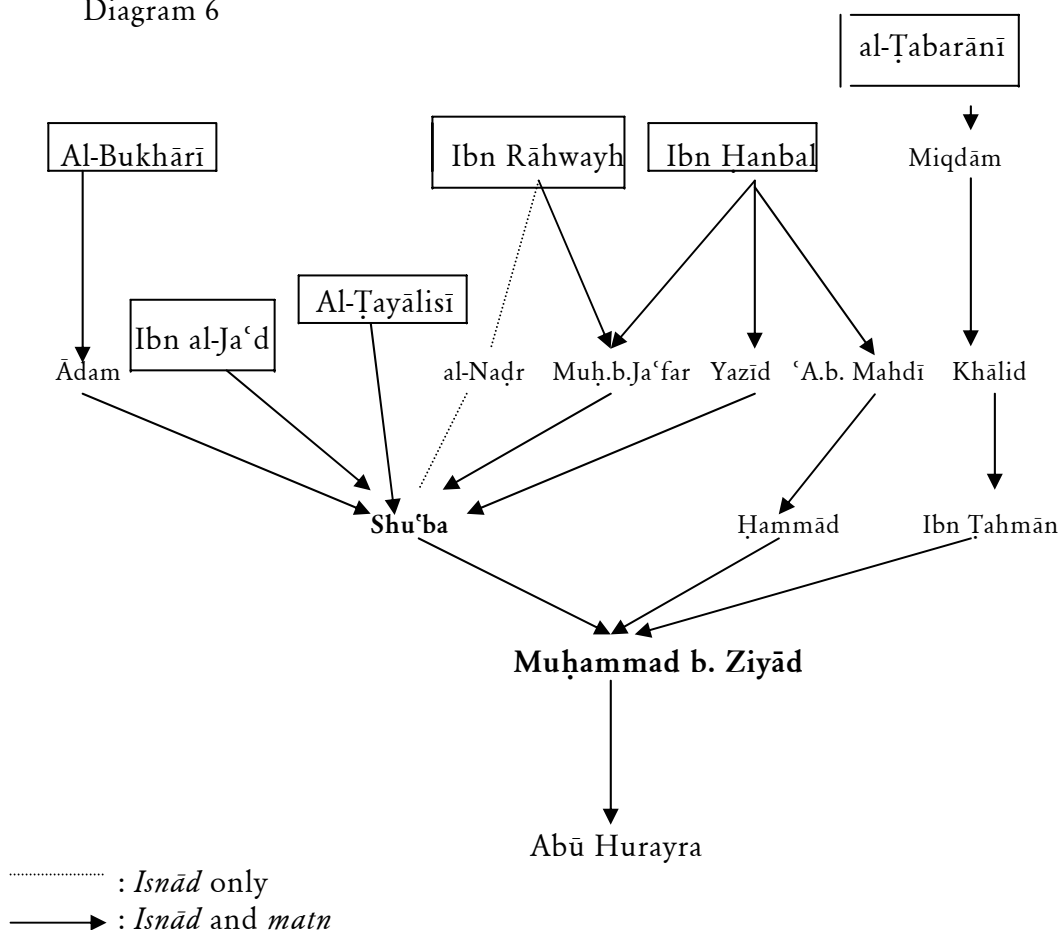
..... : *Isnād* only

—————> : *Isnād* and *matn*

### c. The ḤADĪTH of Muḥammad b. Ziyād.

The method of *isnad cum matn* analysis has been applied to the *ḥadīth* of Abū Hurayra's two students, Abū Ṣāliḥ and Ibn al-Musayyab. The analysis has led us to conclude that the *ḥadīths*, ascribed to both Abū Ṣāliḥ and Ibn al-Musayyab, go really back to them, and we could at least partly reconstruct the texts that must have been spread by them. In the following, a parallel *ḥadīth* of another student of Abū Hurayra, Ibn Ziyād, will be analysed as well.<sup>86</sup> Three students of Ibn Ziyād reportedly transmitted the *ḥadīth* under review from him: Shu'ba (d. 160),<sup>87</sup> Ḥammād (d. 167)<sup>88</sup> and Ibn Ṭahmān (d. 168).<sup>89</sup>

Diagram 6



<sup>86</sup> In the canonical collections Muḥammad b. Ziyād transmitted 48 *ḥadīths* from Abū Hurayra. See al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 10, pp. 320-328.

<sup>87</sup> Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 7, p. 280; al-Bukhārī, *al-Ta'rikh al-kabīr*, vol. 4, p. 244; al-Mizzī, *Tabdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 12, p. 479-494.

<sup>88</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, vol. 1, p. 189.

<sup>89</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, vol. 1, p. 38; al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz*, p. 90.

## A. Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj

Shu‘ba’s *ḥadīth* is found in both canonical and pre-canonical collections. According to the *isnād* analysis there are six channels of transmission that intertwine in his name. Is there any correlation between the *isnāds* and the *matns*? Let us analyse the *matns* beginning with al-Ṭayālīsī’s version. It reads as follows:

“*ḥaddathanā Abū Dāwūd qāla ḥaddathanā Shu‘ba ‘an Muḥammad b. Ziyād qāla sami‘tu Abā Hurayra yaqūlu qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama qāla rabbukum tabāraka wa-ta‘ālā kullu l-‘amali kaffāratun illā l-ṣawm fa-huwa lī wa-anā ajzī bihi wa-la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda Allāh ‘azza wa-jalla min riḥ al-misk*”<sup>90</sup> (Abū Dāwūd transmitted to us: [he said] Shu‘ba transmitted to us from Muḥammad b. Ziyād: he said: I heard Abū Hurayra saying: the messenger of God (pbuh) said: Your Lord (the Glorious and the Supreme) said: The whole action is an expiation except the fast. It is [meant]for me and I will reward it. And verily, the smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God (the Powerful and the Sublime) than the scent of musk).

A similar version ascribed to Shu‘ba is found in the *Musnad* of Ibn al-Ja‘d (d. 220).<sup>91</sup> The latter’s feature resembles considerably the former one. It differs only slightly in wording. Ibn al-Ja‘d’s version lacks “*qāla rabbukum*” and says “*li-kulli ‘amalin*” (for every action) instead of “*kullu l-‘amali*” (the whole act) and instead of saying “*illā l-ṣawm fa-huwa lī*” it says “*wa-l-ṣawmu lī*”. In other words, though both versions share a characteristic similarity, they are not identical. In Ibn Ḥanbal’s *Musnad* we find two more *matns* of Shu‘ba’s *ḥadīth*,<sup>92</sup> one transmitted from Muḥammad b. Ja‘far, the other from Yazīd. Both are very similar without being identical. Differences are “*rabbīhi – rabbikum*” and “*li-kull ‘amalin – kullu l-‘amali*”. Ibn Ḥanbal’s versions resemble greatly both al-Ṭayālīsī’s and Ibn al-Ja‘d’s, but they are not identical with one of them. They are both congruent with Ibn Ja‘d’s version in “*wa-l-ṣawmu lī*” and resemble al-Ṭayālīsī’s in “*‘an rabbīhi/rabbikum*”. In Ibn Rāhwayh’s *Musnad* we find two *isnāds* of Shu‘ba’s *ḥadīth*, one with a *matn* transmitted again from Muḥammad b. Ja‘far and another without.<sup>93</sup> Ibn Rāhwayh’s version deviates more strongly not only from the previously

<sup>90</sup> Sulaymān b. Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, p. 325.

<sup>91</sup> ‘Alī b. al-Ja‘d b. ‘Ubayd, *Musnad*, p. 174.

<sup>92</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 457, 504.

<sup>93</sup> Ishāq b. Rāhwayh, *Musnad*, vol. 1, p. 133.

discussed versions, but also from the second version of Ibn Ḥanbal, though both texts go back to the same transmitter, Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar. The differences are: “*qāla rasūlu llāh*” instead of “*al-nabi*” (Ibn Rāhwayh mentions that the text of his another informant al-Naḍr has “*al-nabi*”), “*yaqūlu llāh*” instead of “*‘an rabbikum*”, “*illā l-ṣawm huwa lī*” instead of “*wa-l-ṣawm lī*”. In Ibn Rāhways’s version of Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar “*yā ibn Ādam*” is added before *kullu l-‘amal*. This is probably due to a mix-up with other transmissions, as no other versions of Shuʿba has this introduction. Because Ibn Rāhwayh still has the wording of al-Naḍr and compares it with that of Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar’s,<sup>94</sup> it is to assume that Ibn Rāhwayh did not change the text of the *ḥadīth*, but received it from Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar in the form he presents it. That means that Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar must have passed the *ḥadīth* in two different forms.

Finally, the *ḥadīth* is also found in al-Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*.<sup>95</sup> His *matn*, transmitted from Ādam, is identical with Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar’s version as transmitted by Ibn Ḥanbal with one exception: “*‘azza wa-jalla*” is missing after “*rabbikum*”. Thus, the six *matns* of Shuʿba share a common feature but they are not completely identical to each other. This strongly suggests that they derive from a common source, namely, Shuʿba. In other words, Shuʿba is the common link to which the *ḥadīth* can be ascribed.

Here is the reconstruction of Shuʿba’s original text: 1) *qāla (yaqūlu, ‘an) llāh (rabbu(i)kum)* 2) *Kullu l-‘amali kaffāratun (li-kulli ‘amalin kaffāratun)* 3) *illā l-ṣawm huwa lī (wa-l-ṣawmu lī)* 4) *wa-anā ajzī bihi* 5) *wa-la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda Allāh min riḥ al-misk*.

It is worthy to mention here that Shuʿba claims to have received the *ḥadīth* under scrutiny not only from Muḥammad b. Ziyād but also from al-Aʿmash.<sup>96</sup> The fact that the *matns* of both *ḥadīths* of Shuʿba, that is, the *ḥadīth* of al-Aʿmash from Abū Ṣāliḥ and the *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad. b. Ziyād, differ characteristically, strongly suggests that they are not interdependent. What is more, both *ḥadīths* of Shuʿba are corroborated by other transmitters. In other words, the claim of Shuʿba to have received the *ḥadīth* in different forms

<sup>94</sup> Ibn Rāhways does not mention, however, whether al-Naḍr has “*yā ibn Ādam*” as well.

<sup>95</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *tawḥīd*, 50.

<sup>96</sup> See the foregoing discussion on the *ḥadīth* of al-Aʿmash, p. 194-6.

from al-A‘mash and Muḥammad b. Ziyād is confirmed by other students of both scholars. Let us compare Shu‘ba’s *ḥadīth* with that of other students of Ibn Ziyād, namely, Ḥammād and Ibn Ṭahmān.

## B. The ḤADĪTH of Ḥammād b. Salama.

The *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād is found only in Ibn Ḥanbal’s *Musnad*. It reads as follows:

“[Ḥadda]thanā ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī qāla [ḥadda]thanā Ḥammād b. Salama ‘an Muḥammad b. Ziyād qāla sami‘tu Abū Hurayra yaqūlu sami‘tu Abū l-Qāsim ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama yaqūlu qāla Allāh ‘azza wa-jalla kullu l-‘amali kaffāratun illā l-ṣawm wa-l-ṣawmu lī wa-anā ajzī bihi wa-bi-isnādihi ḥādha qāla sami‘tu Abū l-Qāsim yaqūlu la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda Allāh min rīḥ al-misk”.<sup>97</sup> (‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī transmitted to us, he said: Ḥammād b. Salama transmitted to us from Muḥammad b. Ziyād, he said: I heard Abū Hurayra saying: I heard Abū l-Qāsim (pbuh) saying: God, the Powerful and the Sublime) said: The whole action is an expiation except the fasting. The fasting is [meant] for me and I will reward it. With the same *isnād* as this [‘Abd al-Raḥmān said]: He [Abū Hurayra] said I heard Abū l-Qāsim saying: “Verily, the smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God than the scent of musk”.

This version varies from Shu‘ba’s in a few significant points. It consists of two separate *ḥadīths* with the same *isnād*. The two *matns* combined are equal to that of Shu‘ba’s *ḥadīth* with a significant difference: instead of saying “‘an al-nabī” or *qāla rasūl Allāh*” Ḥammād’s version says “*sami‘tu Abū l-Qāsim*”. Likewise, Ḥammād’s wording “*illā l-ṣawm wa-l-ṣawmu lī*” is different from Shu‘ba’s version, which has either “*illā l-ṣawm huwa lī*” or “*wa-l-ṣawmu lī*”. We do not know, however, to whom the differences go back, as we do not have parallel versions from Ḥammād. It could have been ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī, who divided the *ḥadīth* into two parts and he may be responsible for the “*illā l-ṣawm wa-l-ṣawm*” as well. Therefore, we cannot reconstruct Ḥammād’s *matn*. We can only conclude that Muḥammad b. Ziyād’s *ḥadīth*, transmitted by Ibn Ḥanbal via ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī from Ḥammād, does not seem to have been modelled on Shu‘ba’s text, for it is not identical to any of its variants.

<sup>97</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 467.



### C. The ḤADĪTH of Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān.

Another single strand version of Muḥammad b. Ziyād's ḥadīth is that of Ibn Ṭahmān. It is found in al-Ṭabarānī's *al-Mu'jam al-awsaṭ*. It reads as follows:

“Ḥaddathanā al-Miqdām [ḥaddatha]nā Khālid b. Nazzār [ḥadda]thanā Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān ‘an Muḥammad b. Ziyād ‘an Abī Hurayra qāla qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama qāla rabbukum tabāraka wa-ta‘ālā kullu ‘amal ibn Ādam labū illā l-ṣiyām lī wa-anā ajzī bihi wa-la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā’imi ‘inda Allāh atyabu min riḥ al-misk”.<sup>98</sup> (al-Miqdām transmitted to us [he said] Khālid b. Nazzār transmitted to us [he said] Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān transmitted to us from Muḥammad b. Ziyād from Abū Hurayra, he said: The messenger of God (pbuh) said: your Lord (the Glorious and the Supreme) said: Every action of the son of Adam is his except the fasting [it is meant] for me and I will reward it. Verily, the smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is to God more delectable than the scent of musk).

In Ibn Ṭahmān's version, Shu‘ba's and Ḥammād's characteristic “*kull (al-) ‘amali kaffāratun*” is missing. Instead, Ibn Ṭahmān says “*kullu ‘amal ibn Ādam labū*”. Moreover, Ibn Ṭahmān's version says “*‘inda Allāh atyabu*” instead of “*atyabu ‘inda Allāh*”. These differences show that his version cannot be modelled on the former. Strangely enough, Ibn Ṭahmān's text resembles more Ma‘mar's transmission of al-Zuhri's version, who received the ḥadīth from Ibn al-Musayyab, than to the texts of Shu‘ba and Ḥammād, who both, like Ibn Ṭahmān, claim to have transmitted the text from Muḥammad b. Ziyād. What is to be inferred to from this fact?

We do not know for sure whether or not the ḥadīth presented by al-Ṭabarānī really goes back to Ibn Ṭahmān, for it is a single strand, which passes two links between al-Ṭabarānī and Ibn Ṭahmān. The *matn* might have received this form first through the transmitters Khālid or Miqdām, who possibly knew Ma‘mar's version and mixed them with Ibn Ṭahmān's transmission. There are some more imaginable possibilities to explain hypothetically the differences of Ibn Ṭahmān's version from Shu‘ba's and its similarities to Ma‘mar's. The following can be said: *Qua* content, length and structure, it is quite possible that the version ascribed to Ibn Ṭahmān goes back to Ibn Ziyād. It contains also a characteristic that exists in several variants of Shu‘ba's version of Ibn Ziyād's transmission (“*rabbukum*”). On

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<sup>98</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-awsaṭ*, vol. 9, pp. 29-30.

the other hand, it is missing an important characteristic of Ibn Ziyād's transmission ("kull (al-) 'amal kaffāra"). Instead it contains an element, which does not go back to the transmission of Ibn Ziyād – Abū Hurayra (*kullu 'amal ibn Ādam lahu*). How it came to the differences remains unclear. Therefore, Ibn Ṭahmān's version can only be used in a limited way for the reconstruction of Ibn Ziyād's transmission.

Shu'ba can be safely determined as the transmitter of Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīth* ascribed to Muḥammad b. Ziyād. Shu'ba's version is corroborated by two single strands, which are likewise ascribed to Ibn Ziyād. They are not identical to any of Shu'ba's variants and could, therefore, be independent of them. This would corroborate our conclusion made at the end of the discussion of Shu'ba's version that Shu'ba did not invent Muḥammad b. Ziyād as his informant. It seems also not very probable that he forged the transmission ascribed to him. That means that its substance may go back to Ibn Ziyād. This is, however, not absolutely sure, because the differences between the texts of the single strand versions from Shu'ba's *matn* are trivial (they are not bigger than that between the Shu'ba-variants themselves, therefore a dependence on Shu'ba's versions cannot be fully excluded), and because the texts of single strand transmissions cannot be safely dated.

In the case of Ibn Ziyād's *ḥadīth*, the *isnād cum matn* method does not produce definite results concerning the common link. It could be Shu'ba but also Ibn Ziyād. However, one piece of evidence speaks in favor of Ibn Ziyād: the fact that there are two very different *matn* versions of the *ḥadīth* transmitted from Shu'ba which he ascribes to different informants, on the hand to al-A'mash – Abū Ṣāliḥ and on the other hand to Ibn Ziyād.<sup>99</sup> This positively affects the credibility of the other two versions ascribed to Ibn Ziyād. For this reason we assume that all three versions transmitted from Ibn Ziyād originated in him. If so, a comparison of the *matn* allows us to reconstruct the core of his tradition. This core looks like:

- 1) *Kullu l-'amali kaffāratun*, transmitted by Shu'ba and Ḥammād
- 2) *illā l-ṣawm*, transmitted by Shu'ba, Ḥammād and Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān
- 3) *wa-l-ṣawmu lī*, transmitted by Shu'ba, Ḥammād and partially Ibn Ṭahmān
- 4) *wa-anā ajzī bihi*, transmitted by Shu'ba, Ḥammād and Ibn Ṭahmān

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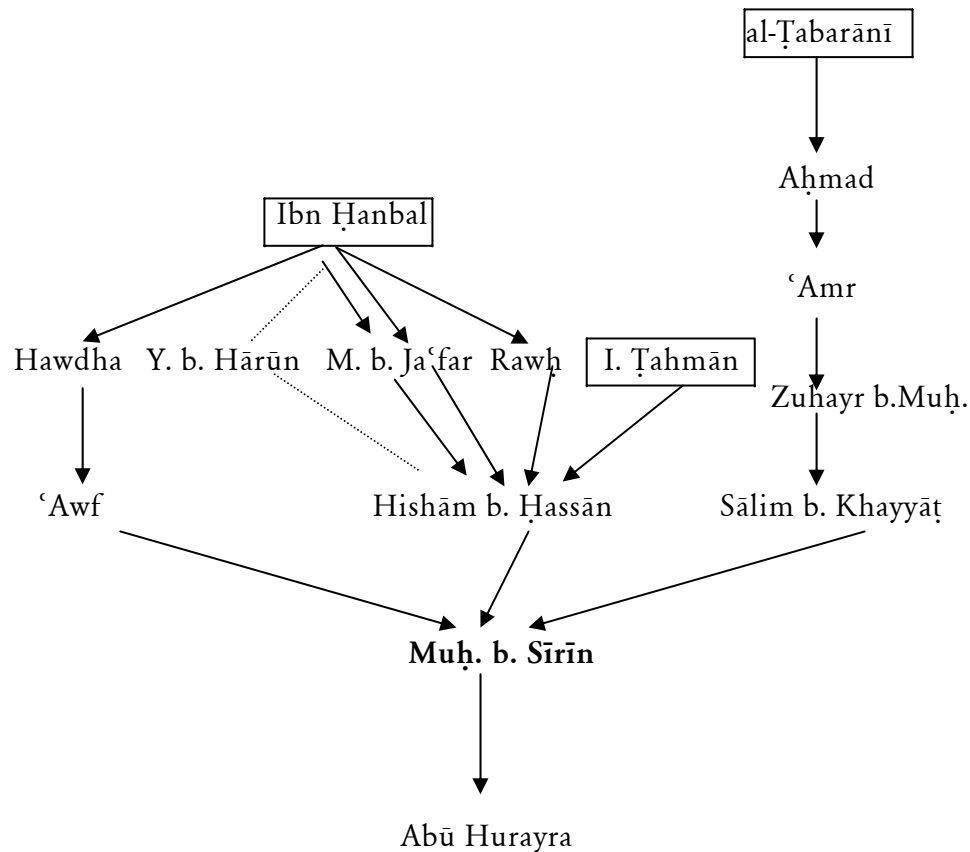
<sup>99</sup> See p. 230.

5) *la-kbulūfu fami l-ṣā'imi atyabu 'inda llāb min rīḥ al-misk*, transmitted by Shu‘ba, Ḥammād and Ibn Ṭahmān.<sup>100</sup>

#### d. The ḤADĪTH of Muḥammad Ibn Sīrīn

Another student of Abū Hurayra who allegedly transmitted the *ḥadīth* under review to more than one student was Muḥammad b. Sīrīn (d. 110).<sup>101</sup> Three transmitters reportedly transmitted from him; Hishām b. Ḥassān, ‘Awf and Sālīm b. Khayyāt. Let us begin with analyzing the *ḥadīth* of Hishām b. Ḥassān.

Diagram 7



..... *Isnād only*  
 → *Isnād and matn*

<sup>100</sup> With a change of place between “*atyab*” and “*‘inda llāb*” in the case of Ibn Ṭahmān.

<sup>101</sup> He is one of the most prolific transmitters of traditions ascribed to Abū Hurayra. In the canonical collections, he transmitted 183 *ḥadīths* from the latter. See al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 10, pp. 327-361.

## A. Hishām b. Ḥassān.

According to the *isnād* bundle, four scholars named Hishām (d. 147/148)<sup>102</sup> as their informant: Muḥammad b. Ja‘far, Yazīd b. Hārūn, Rawḥ and Ibn Ṭahmān. The first three are found in Ibn Ḥanbal’s *Musnad*. Let us analyze the *matn* of the respective *isnāds*. We begin with Muḥammad b. Ja‘far. It reads as follows:

“Ḥaddathanā Muḥammad b. Ja‘far [ḥadda]thanā Hishām ibn Ḥassān al-Qurdūsī ‘an Muḥammad b. Sīrīn ‘an Abī Hurayra ‘an al-nabī ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama qāla al-ḥasanatu bi-‘ashri amthālihā wa-l-ṣawmu lī wa-anā ajzī bihi yada‘u ṭa‘āmahu wa-sharābahu min jarrāya al-ṣawmu lī wa-anā ajzī bihi wa-lakḥulūfu fami l-ṣā‘imi ‘inda Allāh ‘azza wa-jalla atyabu min riḥ al-miski”<sup>103</sup> (Muḥammad b. Ja‘far transmitted to us [he said] Hishām b. Ḥassān al-Qurdūsī transmitted to us from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn from Abū Hurayra from the Prophet (pbuh) he said: The good deed [has] ten equivalents. And the fasting is [meant] for me and I will reward it. He [the fasting person] abandons his food and his drink for my sake. The fasting [is meant] for me and I will reward it. And the smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is to God, the Powerful and the Sublime, more delectable than the scent of musk).

Ibn Ḥanbal’s *Musnad* contains a second version of the Muḥammad b. Ja‘far – Hishām *ḥadīth* that shows a slight difference.<sup>104</sup> Instead of “yada‘u ṭa‘āmahu wa-sharābahu min jarrāya” the second *matn* has “yadharu ṭa‘āmahu wa-sharābahu bi-jarrāya” and it lacks the word “‘azza wa-jalla” after “‘inda Allāh”. Ibn Hanbal combined this second version of Muḥammad b. Ja‘far with a similar one by Yazīd b. Hārūn. He mentions the latter together with Ibn Ja‘far in the *isnād* and indicates a major variance of Yazīd’s text: “min ajlī” instead of *bi-jarrāya*”. We can conclude from this that the rest of Yazīd’s *matn* was very similar to that of Ibn Ja‘far.

It is worthy of mention, that Muḥammad b. Ja‘far is the transmitter of three variants of the *ḥadīth* under scrutiny: one version from Shu‘ba – al-A‘mash – Abū Ṣāliḥ found with Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Ḥibbān,<sup>105</sup> another version from

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<sup>102</sup> He is the most prolific transmitter of Ibn Sīrīn’s traditions. Of 183 *ḥadīths* transmitted by Ibn Sīrīn from Abū Hurayra, 72 of them were further transmitted by Hishām. Al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 10, pp. 11-2.

<sup>103</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, pp. 410-411.

<sup>104</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 234.

<sup>105</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 480; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 8, p. 211.

Shu‘ba – Muḥammad b. Ziyād found with Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Rāhwayh<sup>106</sup> and the third version from Hishām b. Ḥassān – Ibn Sīrīn found with Ibn Ḥanbal.<sup>107</sup> It is conspicuous that Ibn Ja‘far’s three *matns* have each their own individual feature. Besides, each is corroborated by independent transmissions of other scholars. Accordingly, it is hard to imagine that Ibn Ja‘far forged his *ḥadīths*. Put differently, Ibn Ja‘far’s claim to have transmitted the *ḥadīth* in question from his informants can be accepted.

A parallel of Ibn Ja‘far’s *ḥadīth* from Hishām b. Ḥassān is known from Rawḥ, another alleged student of Hishām.<sup>108</sup> Rawḥ’s text is shorter than Muḥammad b. Ja‘far’s. It lacks the element “*yada‘u ta‘āmahu wa-sharābahu min jarrāya*”, mentions the phrase “*al-ṣawmu lī wa-anā ajzī bihi*” only once, and has “*atyabu ‘inda llāh*” instead of “*‘inda llāh atyab*”. This suggests that Rawḥ’s text is independent from Muḥammad b. Ja‘far’s. Since Rawḥ’s *matn* shares with the traditions of Muḥammad b. Ja‘far and Yazīd b. Hārūn the elements 1, 2, 3, and 5 of Hishām’s *matn* reconstructed below we may justifiably conclude that all three were derived from a common source, namely Hishām b. Ḥassān.

Rawḥ, too, provides three different versions of Abū Hurayra’s *ḥadīth*. Beside that of Hishām from Ibn Sīrīn, the transmission of Ibn Jurayj – ‘Aṭā’ – Abū Ṣāliḥ<sup>109</sup>, and another one from Mālik – Abū al-Zinād – al-A‘raj<sup>110</sup> The respective *matns* are different and have each an individual feature which is related to the respective informant and corroborated by other transmitters.

After having analyzed the *matns* of Hishām’s students we can justifiably conclude that the *ḥadīth* ascribed to Hishām really goes back to him. The original text of Hishām can be reconstructed as follows: 1) *al-ḥasanatu bi-‘ashri amthālihā* 2) *wa-l-ṣawmu lī* 3) *wa-anā ajzī bihi* 4) *yada‘u (yadharu) ta‘āmahu wa-sharābahu min (bi) jarrāya* 5) *wa-la-kbulūfu fami l-ṣā‘imi ‘inda Allāh atyabu min riḥ al-misk*.

<sup>106</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 457; Ibn Rāhwayh, *Musnad*, p. 133.

<sup>107</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, pp. 234, 411.

<sup>108</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 516.

<sup>109</sup> For the *matn* of this *isnād* see the foregoing discussion on the *ḥadīth* of ‘Aṭā’ on p. 205.

<sup>110</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 516. See the following discussion on the *ḥadīth* of al-A‘raj on p. 242.

What about Hishām's claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from his informant, Ibn Sīrīn? Let us see whether the parallel *ḥadīths* ascribed to the latter can help us to find an answer.

#### B. The ḤADĪTHS of 'Awf b. Abī Jamīla and Sālim b. Khayyāṭ.

"*Haddathanā Hawdhā [ḥadda]thanā 'Awf b. Abī Jamīla 'an Muḥammad 'an Abī Hurayra 'an al-nabī ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallama qāla la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā'imi atyabu 'inda Allāh min riḥ al-misk qāla qāla rabbukum 'azza wa-jalla 'abdī taraka shahwatabu wa-ṭa'āmahu wa-sharābahu ibtighā'a marḍātī wa-l-ṣawmu lī wa-anā ajzī bihi*"<sup>111</sup> (Hawdhā transmitted to us [he said:] 'Awf ibn Abī Jamīla transmitted to us from Muḥammad [b. Sīrīn] from Abū Hurayra from the Prophet (pbuh) he said: "Verily, the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God than the smell of the scent of musk. He [the Prophet] said: your Lord, the Powerful and the Sublime, said: My servant abandons his desire, his food and his drink for the purpose of my pleasure, and the fast is [meant] for me and I will reward it).

This version has its own individual feature. Unlike Hishām's variants, which invariably begin with "*al-ḥasanatu bi-'ashri amthalihā*", this version begins with "*la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā'imi*" etc. which is the last element of Hishām's *matn*. Besides, a part of 'Awf's text is expressly given as *qudsī ḥadīth*. Moreover, the expressions "*ibtighā'a marḍātī*" and "*'abdī taraka*" are typical for 'Awf, and not found in any version transmitted from Hishām or other transmissions of Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīth* studied so far. The order of the elements in this text varies so considerably from Hishām's that it cannot be dependent on the latter. 'Awf's version contains however most elements of Hishām's *matn* although not always in the same wording.<sup>112</sup>

Another alleged transmitter of Ibn Sīrīn's *ḥadīth* is Sālim al-Khayyāṭ.<sup>113</sup> Like that of 'Awf it is transmitted only as single strand. Sālim's text is identical to Rawḥ's variant of Hishām's version. In view of this fact, the transmission going back to Sālim cannot be used as a strong proof for the transmission from Ibn Sīrīn. It is true that the identity of Sālim's *matn* with Rawḥ's could be a coincidence (mainly because Rawḥ's text is shorter than the other variants of Hishām), but it is also possible that the transmission

<sup>111</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 395.

<sup>112</sup> It misses only element 1 (See below).

<sup>113</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-awsaṭ*, vol. 1, p. 290.

ascribed to Sālim is a copy of Rawḥ's. Zuhayr b. Muḥammad or one of the scholars after him may be responsible for it (spread of *isnāds*).

It is true that 'Awf's version is also only a single text, to which we cannot be absolutely sure whether his version really goes back him, but even if Hawdha, the transmitter from 'Awf, should be responsible for some peculiarities of the text, his version is suitable for a reconstruction of Muḥammad b. Sīrīn's *ḥadīth*, as Hawdha's *matn* ascribed to 'Awf differs considerably from the other versions ascribed to Ibn Sīrīn. Therefore it seems not to be dependent of these versions. At the same time, however, 'Awf's version shows the same structure as Hishām b. Ḥassān's transmission.

The most plausible explanation for this fact is that both versions derive from a common informant. According to the *isnād*, this common informant is Muḥammad b. Sīrīn. The original text of Ibn Sīrīn can then be reconstructed as follows:

1. *Al-ḥasanatu bi-'ashri amthālihā*, transmitted by Hishām and (Sālim).<sup>114</sup>
2. *wa l-ṣawmu lī*, transmitted by Hishām, 'Awf (and (Sālim)).
3. *wa-anā ajzī bihi*, transmitted by Hishām, 'Awf (and Sālim).
4. *yada'u (yadharu or taraka) ṭa'āmahu wa-sharābahu*, transmitted by Hishām and 'Awf.
5. *la-kbulūfu fami l-ṣā'imi 'inda Allāh atyabu (atyabu 'inda llāh) min riḥ al-misk*, transmitted by Hishām, 'Awf (and Sālim).

#### **Conclusion of part 1.A. Traditions with primary common links in the ISNĀDS**

We have classified four groups of text transmissions according to the *isnāds*, those of Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab, Muḥammad b. Ziyād and Ibn Sīrīn. All are direct transmitters from Abū Hurayra. We have found out that all these four transmitters are real common links and we have reconstructed the core of their traditions. Now, for a sort interim result, we shall look back and compare these traditions with another. Abū Ṣāliḥ's version is the most detailed. His *ḥadīth* consists of 13 elements. These elements are transmitted partially also by other students of Abū Hurayra. The elements that are not

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<sup>114</sup> It remains doubtful whether this element can be ascribed to Ibn Sīrīn, for Sālim's version has no conclusive evidence. All other elements are found with Hishām and 'Awf.

transmitted by any of the other three transmitters studied so far are: “*Li-l-ṣā’imi farḥatāni farḥatun ḥīna yuṣṭiru wa-farḥatun idhā laqiya rabbahu*” (these are the elements 8-10 of Abū Ṣāliḥ’s reconstructed *matn*).<sup>115</sup> This distinguishes his *ḥadīth* from any variants of Abū Hurayra’s main students.

Ibn al-Musayyab’s *ḥadīth* differs from Abū Ṣāliḥ’s. It consists only of seven elements (the elements 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 12 of Abū Ṣāliḥ’s *ḥadīth*). in different wording. It misses some substantive elements of Abū Ṣāliḥ’s *ḥadīth* (the elements 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13). It is unlikely that either of the two *ḥadīths* is modelled on the other. Put otherwise, their considerable differences indicate that they are independent.

Ibn Ziyād’s *ḥadīth* is characteristically different from both Abū Ṣāliḥ’s and Ibn al-Musayyab’s. It consists of six elements<sup>116</sup> that are similar to Ibn al-Musayyab’s but it reads in element 1 “*kullu l-‘amal kaffāratun*”, which is typical for Ibn Ziyād’s version and it lacks the element “*‘ashru amthālibā*”. This suggests that Ibn Ziyād’s *ḥadīth* is not dependent on either Abū Ṣāliḥ’s or Ibn al-Musayyab’s.

Ibn Sīrīn’s *ḥadīth*, which consists of five elements (they are similar to Abū Ṣāliḥ’s elements 2, 4, 5, 7, 12), is characteristically different from the former *ḥadīths*. It begins with “*al-ḥasanatu bi-‘ashri amthālibā*”, which is the second element of Abū Ṣāliḥ’s *ḥadīth*. It lacks the elements 0, 1 and 3 of the latter which are found in Ibn al-Musayyab’s and Ibn Ziyād’s versions, but it has element 7 which is lacking in both of them. This suggests that Ibn Sīrīn’s *ḥadīth* is independent from the other *ḥadīths*.

Thus, all four groups of transmissions seem to be independent of each other. At the same time, they share similarities in substance and detail. This indicates that they are derived from a common source. According to the *isnād* the common source is Abū Hurayra. Put otherwise, according to the *isnād cum matn* analysis, Abū Hurayra can be considered the real common link of the *ḥadīth*.

We have some more single strands at our hand that have not yet been analysed. In our game of dating, these strands will also be dealt with in the

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<sup>115</sup> See, p.

<sup>116</sup> The elements 0, 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 are similar to Abū Ṣāliḥ’s elements 0, 1, 3, 4, 5 and 12 and to Ibn al-Musayyab’s elements 0, 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5. It misses Abū Ṣāliḥ’s elements 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13 and Ibn al-Musayyab’s elements 2 and 3.



following pages. However, we can already try to reconstruct the text that almost certainly goes back to Abū Hurayra, following the rule that if two or more students of Abū Hurayra transmitted a detail or element of the *ḥadīth*, it goes back to him. Here is the reconstruction:

- o. *Qāla/yaqūl Allāh*. (Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab, Ibn Ziyād)
1. *kullu ‘amal ibn Ādam labu* (Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab)
2. *al-ḥasanatu ‘ashru amthālibā* (Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab, Ibn Sīrīn)
3. *illā l-ṣawm* (Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab, Ibn Ziyād)
4. *fa-innahu/huwa/al-ṣawm/al-ṣiyām lī* (Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab, Ibn Ziyād, Ibn Sīrīn)
5. *wa-anā ajzī bihi* (Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab, Ibn Ziyād, Ibn Sīrīn).
6. *al-ṣawm/al-ṣiyām junnatun* (Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab)<sup>117</sup>
7. *yada‘u/yadharu ṭa‘āmahu wa-sharābahu/wa-shahwatahu min ajlī* (Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn Sīrīn)
8. *la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā‘imi atyabu ‘inda llāh min rīḥ al-misk* (Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab, Ibn Ziyād, Ibn Sīrīn).

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<sup>117</sup> However, we cannot surely determine whether this element goes back to Ibn al-Musayyab, for it is only Ibn Zayd who ascribes this element to the former.

## B. Traditions with secondary partial common link in the ISNĀDS

### e. The ḤADĪTH of al-A‘raj.

In our *isnād* analysis based on Juynboll’s method we did not analyse al-A‘raj’s *ḥadīth*, for, according to its *isnāds*, he transmitted his *ḥadīth* only to one of his students, Abū l-Zinād. In such a case Juynboll rules out the possibility that the ascription of the *ḥadīth* to al-A‘raj and even to Abū l-Zinād is historical. *Isnād cum matn* analysis, however, does not exclude *a priori* the historicity of such a strand. Accordingly, in what follows we will scrutinise to what extent al-A‘raj’s *ḥadīth* may provide us with clues in our game of dating.

Al-A‘raj (d. 117) is one of the most prolific transmitters from Abū Hurayra. In the canonical collections he transmitted 350 *ḥadīths* from the latter. 283 of them were handed down by ‘Abd Allāh b. Dhakwān al-Qurashī Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Abū l-Zinād (d. 136).<sup>118</sup> One of them is the *ḥadīth* under review. It is recorded not only in the canonical collections, but also in pre-canonical and post-canonical ones. According to the *isnād* bundle, Abū l-Zinād is a sort of common link, who has two partial common links: Mālik b. Anas (d. 179 A.H.) and Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna (d. 198), and a single transmitter, al-Mughīra b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (d. ?)<sup>119</sup> Let us begin with analysing the *ḥadīth* of Mālik.

### A. The ḤADĪTH of Mālik b. Anas

Mālik’s *ḥadīth* is recorded not only in his *Muwatta’*, but also in Ibn Ḥanbal’s (d. 241) *Musnad* and in al-Bukhārī’s (d. 256) *Ṣaḥīḥ* as well as in al-Bayhaqī’s (d. 458) *al-Sunan al-kubrā*. All versions share common characteristics without being identical. Let us begin with Mālik’s *Muwatta’*. In the *Muwatta’*, Mālik’s *ḥadīth* is divided into two texts. The first reads as follows:

“*An Mālik ‘an Abī l-Zinād ‘an al-A‘raj ‘an Abī Hurayra anna rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama qāla: al-ṣiyāmu junnatun fa-idhā kāna aḥadukum*

<sup>118</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfat*, vol. 10, p. 10.

<sup>119</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, vol. 3, p. 149; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 10, pp. 266-7. According to Juynboll’s new method of *isnād* analysis, two partial common links are not enough to justify the historicity of a common link. Besides, in this case, both partial common links are weak, for they do not have several partial common links as transmitter.

*ṣā'imān fa-lā yarfuth wa-lā yajhal. Fa-in imru'un qātalahu aw-shātamahu fa-l-yaqul innī ṣā'imun innī ṣā'imun*".<sup>120</sup> (From Mālik from Abū l-Zinād from al-A'raj from Abū Hurayra, [he said] that the Messenger of God (pbuh) said: the fasting is a protection. When anyone of you is fasting he should neither utter obscene speech nor behave foolishly. If anyone reviles him or fights him let him say: "I am fasting, I am fasting"). Having the same *isnād*, the second text reads: "*wa-lladhī nafsi bi-yadihi la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā'imi atyabu 'inda Allāh min riḥ al-misk, innamā yadharu shahwatahu wa-ṭa'āmahu wa-sharābahu min ajli, fa-l-ṣiyāmu lī, wa-anā ajzi bihi, kullu ḥasanatin bi-'ashri amthālihā ilā sab'i mi'a ḍi'fin illā l-ṣiyāma fa-huwa lī wa-anā ajzi bihi*"<sup>121</sup> (By Him in whose hand is my soul, the smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God than the scent of musk. Yet he abandons his [sexual] desire, his food and his drink for my sake. The fast is [meant] for me and I will reward it. Every good deed is [worth] ten equivalents up to seven hundred as much except the fasting, it is [meant] for me and I will reward it.

Ibn Ḥanbal provides Mālik's *ḥadīth* with two *isnāds* and *matns*. The first one, which he transmitted from Ishāq,<sup>122</sup> and which is also divided into two parts (this is inferred from the remark "*wa-bi-isnādihi anna rasūl llāh ...qāla*") is very similar to the two versions of the *Muwatta'*. They vary only slightly in wording. Instead of saying "*al-ṣiyāmu junnatun*", Ibn Ḥanbal's version says "*inna l-ṣiyāma junnatun*". In addition, Ibn Ḥanbal says "*innī ṣā'imun*" only once instead of twice as in the version of the *Muwatta'*. Likewise, in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* "*azza wa-jalla*" is added following "*inda llāh*", while the *Muwatta'* omits it.

Ibn Ḥanbal's second version, which he ascribes to Rawḥ, is similar to a large extent to the *Muwatta'*'s second part.<sup>123</sup> Both texts vary only insignificantly in wording. In Ibn Ḥanbal, the word "*innamā*" preceding "*yadharu*" is missing. Instead of saying "*yadharu shahwatahu wa-ṭa'āmahu wa-sharābahu*" Rawḥ's text reads "*yadharu ṭa'āmahu wa-sharābahu wa-shahwatahu*".

Mālik's *ḥadīth* is transmitted also by 'Abd Allāh b. Maslama al-Qa'nabī, which is found in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Abū Dāwūd's *Sunan* and al-Bayhaqī's *Sunan*.<sup>124</sup> Ibn Maslama's text found in al-Bukhārī, though differently worded, resembles characteristically the two versions of Mālik's *Muwatta'* and Ishāq's

<sup>120</sup> Mālik, *Muwatta'* (*riwāyat* Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā), 18 (=k. *al-ṣiyām*) : 22 (=bāb)

<sup>121</sup> Mālik, *Muwatta'*, ibidem.

<sup>122</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 465. See diagram 8 on p. 252.

<sup>123</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 516.

<sup>124</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *ṣawm*, 2; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 304.

*matn*, found in Ibn Ḥanbal. Whereas these two versions are divided into parts, Maslama's text is one tradition. Like the first text of the *Muwattaʿa*, Ibn Maslama's *matn* begins with the "*al-ṣiyāmu junnatun*". Then he omits "*fa-idhā kāna aḥadukum ṣā'iman*" and continues with *fa-lā yarḥuth wa-lā yajhal*". Instead of saying "*innī ṣā'imun*" once as in Ishāq's *matn* or "*innī ṣā'imun innī ṣā'imun*" as in the *Muwattaʿa*'s first part, Ibn Maslama's text reads "*innī ṣā'imun marrataynī*" (I am fasting two times, [i.e. I am fasting, I am fasting]). Besides, Ibn Maslama omits "*innamā*" (like Rawḥ) and says "*yatruku*" instead of "*yadharu*" and "*wa-l-ḥasanatu bi-'ashri amthālihā*" instead of "*kullu ḥasanatin bi-'ashri amthālihā*". The rest of the second part as given in the *Muwattaʿa* and in the *Musnad*, that is, "*ilā sab'i mi'a diḥḥin illā l-ṣiyām fa-huwa lī wa-anā ajzī bihī*" is missing.

The first part of Ibn Maslama's tradition is also found in Abū Dāwūd's *Sunan*.<sup>125</sup> This version is missing the beginning "*al-ṣiyāmu junna*", but it contains the elements "*fa-idhā kāna aḥadukum ṣā'iman*" and "*innī ṣā'imun innī ṣā'imun*" in which al-Bukhārī's version differs from Yaḥyā's and Ishāq's. That shows that Ibn Maslama's *matn* corresponds to those of other students of Mālīk and that the differences are due to al-Bukhārī. He is also probably responsible for joining together the two originally separate traditions. This was already noticed by Muslim scholars.<sup>126</sup> That Ibn Maslama's *ḥadīth* consisted originally also of two separate traditions, can be concluded from the fact that the individual parts are separately transmitted elsewhere.

The second part of Ibn Maslama's *matn* is found in al-Bayhaqī's *Sunan*. A comparison between both versions (al-Bukhārī's and al-Bayhaqī's) shows a serious difference: al-Bayhaqī says: "*innamā yatruku shahwatahu wa-ṭa'āmahu wa-sharābahu*", while al-Bukhārī says: "*yatruku ṭa'āmahu wa-sharābahu wa-shahwatahu*". Al-Bayhaqī's order corresponds to Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā's in the *Muwattaʿa* and Ishāq's in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*, whereas al-Bukhārī's corresponds to Rawḥ's in the *Musnad*. There are two possible explanations: 1) al-Bukhārī's version is incorrect as is his reproduction of the first part of Ibn Maslama's *ḥadīth*. Thus, Rawḥ's order of words would be unique. 2) Mālīk's

<sup>125</sup> Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, *al-ṣawm*, *al-ghība li-l-ṣā'im*.

<sup>126</sup> Al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ 'alā l-Muwattaʿa*, vol. 2, p. 268.

transmission were, due to his many students, widely spread and the later collectors knew the versions of several students, which vary insignificantly from one another. That could lead to mutual interference among the versions. Al-Bayhaqī belongs to the fourth generation of transmission after Ibn Maslama, that is, there is a long period of transmission between them.

The remaining differences between al-Bayhaqī's and al-Bukhārī's versions are minor details, which have to be regarded as normal changes in the course of the transmission process (the lacking or addition of eulogies, "al-nabī" instead of "rasūl Allāh", "wa" instead of "fa", the missing of conjunctions, suffixes, particular elements of the text etc.). On such differences almost no conclusion can be based. It is a common experience to scholars of *ḥadīth* that even in the third century A. H. when the process of transmitting *ḥadīths* was committed to writing and generally quite accurate, such small deviations occurred quite often. That applies both to al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* and to other collections. In Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*, for example, we find cases that the same *ḥadīth* from the same informant was passed on in a slightly different wording. One example are the two variants of Muḥammad b. Ja'far's transmission from Hishām b. Ḥassān, that have been dealt with in the discussion of Ibn Sīrīn's *ḥadīth*. It seems, finally, that the word "yatrūku" is typical for Ibn Maslama, for it is recorded by both al-Bukhārī and al-Bayhaqī. The three other transmitters from Mālik have "yadharru" instead.

Four versions of Mālik's *ḥadīth* recorded in different collections have been analysed. Although slightly differently worded, they all share a common *matn*. This strongly suggests that they derive from a common source, namely, Mālik b. Anas. Mālik's original text can be reconstructed as follows:

#### *Hadith I*

1. *al-ṣiyāmu junnatun* (transmitted by Yaḥyā, Ishāq, Ibn Maslama)
2. *fa-idhā kāna aḥadukum ṣā'imān* (Yaḥyā, Ishāq, Ibn Maslama)
3. *fa-lā yarfuth wa-lā yajhal* (Yaḥyā, Ishāq, Ibn Maslama)
4. *fa-in imru'un qātalahu aw shātamahu fal-yaqul innī ṣā'imun innī ṣā'imun* (Yaḥyā, Ishāq, Ibn Maslama)

#### *Hadith II*

5. *wa-lladhī naḥsī bi-yadihi la-kbulūfu fami l-ṣā'imi atyabu 'inda Allāh min riḥ al-misk* (Yaḥyā, Ishāq, Rawḥ, Maslama)

6. *yadharu (yatruku) shahwatabu wa-ṭaʿāmaḥu wa-sharābahu min ajlī* (Yaḥyā, Ishāq, Ibn Maslama)
7. *al-ṣiyāmu lī wa-anā ajzī bihi* (Yaḥyā, Ishāq, Rawḥ, Ibn Maslama)
8. *kullu ḥasanatin bi-ʿashri amthālibā* (Yaḥyā, Ishāq, Rawḥ, Ibn Maslama)
9. *ilā sabʿi miʿa ḍiḥīn, illā al-ṣiyām fa-huwa lī wa-anā ajzī bihi* (Yaḥyā, Ishāq, Rawḥ, Ibn Maslama).

## B. The ḤADĪTH of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna

Is Mālik the source of the *ḥadīth* or did he transmit it from an older authority? Let us analyse a parallel *ḥadīth* also ascribed to Abū l-Zinād, that is, the version of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna (d. 198). Ibn ʿUyayna’s *ḥadīth* is recorded by al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204), al-Ḥumaydī (d. 219)<sup>127</sup> and Muslim (d. 261).<sup>128</sup> Al-Shāfiʿī’s text reads as follows:

“*Akhbarānā Sufyān b. ʿUyayna qāla ḥaddathanā Abū l-Zinād ʿan al-Aʿraj [ʿan Abī Hurayra] anna l-nabī ṣallā Allāh ʿalayhi wa-sallam qāla idhā aṣbaḥa aḥadukum yawman ṣāʾiman fa-lā yarfuṭh wa-lā yajhal fa-in imruʿun shātamaḥu fa-l-yaqul innī ṣāʾimun innī ṣāʾimun wa-zāda Abū l-Zinād fihī: wa-idhā duʿiya aḥadukum ilā ṭaʿāmin wa-huwa ṣāʾimun fa-l-yaqul innī ṣāʾimun*”.<sup>129</sup> (Sufyān b. ʿUyayna transmitted to us, he said: Abū l-Zinād transmitted to us from al-Aʿraj from [Abū Hurayra] [he said]: The Prophet (pbuh) said: When anyone of you is fasting at someday he should neither utter obscene speech nor behave foolishly. If anyone reviles him let him say: “I am fasting, I am fasting”. Abū l-Zinād adds in it: if anyone of you is invited for a meal while he is fasting let him say “I am fasting”)

Another version of Sufyān is recorded by al-Ḥumaydī. A comparison of al-Ḥumaydī’s version with al-Shāfiʿī’s reveals, that they are almost similar. They vary, however, in some significant points. Al-Ḥumaydī’s version is shorter than the one of al-Shāfiʿī. The sentence “*wa-idhā duʿiya aḥadukum ilā ṭaʿāmin wa-huwa ṣāʾimun fa-l-yaqul innī ṣāʾimun*” added by Sufyān or al-Shāfiʿī at the end is missing in al-Ḥumaydī’s text. This missing piece is transmitted by al-Ḥumaydī,<sup>130</sup> by al-Dārimī from Ḥajjāj b. Minḥāl,<sup>131</sup> by al-Tirmidhī from Naṣr

<sup>127</sup> Al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 442.

<sup>128</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *ṣiyām*, 160.

<sup>129</sup> Al-Shāfiʿī, *Badāʾiʿ al-minan*, vol. 1, 256.

<sup>130</sup> Al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 442 (1012).

<sup>131</sup> See al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, vol. 2, p. 24.

b. ‘Alī,<sup>132</sup> and by Muslim<sup>133</sup> as a separate transmission from Sufyān. The numerous separate transmissions of this sentence show that al-Shāfi‘ī, in his *matn*, combined two originally independent transmissions of Sufyān from Abū l-Zinād. This can still be seen in the text of al-Shāfi‘ī, which reads “*wa-zāda Abū l-Zinād fihī*” (and Abū l-Zinād added in it). Theoretically, this remark could have been from Sufyān, but the other transmissions show that it is from al-Shāfi‘ī himself. However, this “*ziyāda*” is not relevant for the discussion of the *ḥadīth* under review, as it is not found in any other version discussed so far, and evidently has not been part of Abū l-Zinād’s version of the *ḥadīth* under review.

Al-Ḥumaydī adds the words “*wa-qātalahu*” following “*shātamahu*” that are missing in al-Shāfi‘ī’s text. In addition, al-Ḥumaydī mentions the noun “*innī ṣā’imun*” after “*shātamahu...fa-l-yaqul*” only once, not twice. Al-Ḥumaydī’s text has a parallel in the transmission of Zuhayr b. Ḥarb recorded by Muslim. Both texts are nearly identical. They differ only at the end where Zuhayr’s text mentions (like al-Shāfi‘ī’s) “*innī ṣā’imun*” twice instead of once. The differences between al-Shāfi‘ī’s *matn* and al-Ḥumaydī’s are significant enough to conclude that both texts cannot be interdependent. However, the fact that they share a common text, strongly suggests that they are derived from a common source. According to the *isnād*, the common source is Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna. Sufyān’s original text can be reconstructed as follows:

- 1) *idhā aṣḥaba aḥadukum yawman ṣā’iman* (al-Shāfi‘ī, al-Ḥumaydī, Zuhayr)
- 2) *fa-lā yarfuth wa-lā yajhal* (al-Shāfi‘ī, al-Ḥumaydī, Zuhayr).
- 3) *Fa-in imru’un shātamahu (aw qātalahu) fa-l-yaqul innī ṣā’imun* (al-Shāfi‘ī, al-Ḥumaydī, Zuhayr).

This is clearly a parallel to Mālik’s *ḥadīth* I of Abū l-Zinād that lacks its first element. Besides, there is another tradition of Sufyān allegedly also transmitted from Abū l-Zinād found only in al-Ḥumaydī’s *Musnad*. The *ḥadīth* reads as follows:

“*Ḥaddathanā al-Ḥumaydī qāla [ḥadda]thanā Sufyān qāla [ḥadda]thanā Abū l-Zinād ‘an al-A’raj ‘an abī Hurayra qāla qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama qāla llāh tabāraka wa-ta’ālā kullu ‘amal Ibn Ādam huwa labu illā l-*

<sup>132</sup> Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, *ṣawm*, 64.

<sup>133</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Ṣiyām*, 28.

*ṣiyām huwa lī wa-anā ajzī bihi*".<sup>134</sup> (al-Ḥumaydī informed us, he said, Sufyān informed us, he said, Abu l-Zinād informed us from al-A'raj from Abū Hurayra, he said: The Messenger of God (pbuh) said: God, the supremely exalted said: Every action of the son of Adam is his except fasting. It is meant for me and I will reward it).

This tradition is parallel to Mālik's *ḥadīth* II of Abū l-Zinād, but it is much shorter containing only parts of its last elements 8 and 9. Since there are no variants of this tradition of Sufyān, it is not possible to establish by the strict *isnād cum matn* method that this tradition really goes back to him. But there are arguments in favor of such an assumption. One argument is that Sufyān's first tradition of Abū l-Zinād could be proven to have been transmitted by Sufyān. It differs from Mālik's version and is clearly not dependent on it. A second argument is that Sufyān's second tradition has correspondences with Mālik's *ḥadīth* II, but here the differences are even larger than in the case of *ḥadīth* I so that they are probably not dependent on another either. A third argument is that a parallel of Sufyān's tradition from Abu l-Zinād is preserved with a slightly different wording by Sa'īd b. Manṣūr from Mughīra who claims to have it from Abu l-Zinād.<sup>135</sup>

Besides Mālik's and Sufyān's transmissions, there is another version of the *ḥadīth* ascribed to Abū l-Zinād by Mughīra, which is found in al-Nasā'ī's *al-Sunan al-kubrā*.<sup>136</sup> The *matn* of this *ḥadīth* is fully identical to the first *ḥadīth* of Mālik but it has an addition at the end, which is not characterized as such. This addition summarizes the tenor of the tradition: "*mā yu'maru bihi al-ṣā'imu min tarki l-rafīh wa-l-ṣakhab*". Because neither Mālik nor Sufyān mention this addition, it does not go back to Abū l-Zinād, but derives from one of the transmitters after him. That the remaining text is identical to the text of Mālik makes it suspicious. The possibility that it is a copy of the latter, which was falsely or mistakenly ascribed to another transmitter (spread of *isnāds*), is not to be excluded. This possibility has to be taken seriously into account, because Qutayba b. Sa'īd, who has Mughīra as his informant in the *isnād*, was also a student and transmitter of Mālik. Based on this reason, this transmission cannot be used as independent proof for Abū l-Zinād's *matn*.

<sup>134</sup> Al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad*, 1010.

<sup>135</sup> According to the editor of al-Ḥumaydī's *Musnad*, vol. 2, 442, this tradition is found in Ibn Ḥajar's *Fatḥ al-bārī*, vol. 4, 75.

<sup>136</sup> Al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 2, p. 239 (3202).



Both Mālik b. Anas and Sufyān Ibn ‘Uyayna claim to have transmitted the *ḥadīths* from Abū al-Zinād. A comparison between the *ḥadīths* of Mālik and Sufyān reveals that their *matns* differ considerably from one another. Mālik’s texts are much longer and more detailed than Sufyān’s. The latter contain only the elements 2, 3, 4, and parts of 8 and 9 of Mālik’s text. Several elements are missing. The following differences are to be noted: In Mālik’s element 2 Sufyān says “*aṣḥaḥa*” instead of “*kāna*” and “*yawman ṣā’iman*” instead of “*ṣā’iman*”. In element 4 Sufyān has “*shātamahu aw qātalahu*” instead of “*qātalahu aw shātamahu*”. In element 8 Sufyān has “*kull ‘amal Ibn Ādam*” instead of “*kull ḥasana*”. In element 8 and 9 Sufyān lacks “*bi-‘ashi amthālibā ilā sab‘ mi’a dī‘fin*”. These are five characteristic differences from Mālik’s text, which show that Sufyān’s *matn* is not dependent on Mālik’s or the other way around. Therefore, the content of their common texts probably goes back to the common source, namely Abū l-Zinād.

We may reconstruct the original text circulated by Abū l-Zinād, following the rule that what both Mālik and Sufyān transmit from Abū al-Zinād belongs to the latter. Abū al-Zinād’s *ḥadīth* contained then at least the following items:

*Ḥadīth I:*

1. *Idhā kāna (aṣḥaḥa) aḥadukum ṣā’iman*
2. *fa-lā yarfuth wa-lā yajhal*
3. *fa-in imru’un shātamahu aw qātalahu (qātalahu aw shātamahu) fa-l-yaqul innī ṣā’imun innī ṣā’imun.*

*Ḥadīth II:*

4. *kullu ‘amal (Ibn Ādam labu, Sufyān)/kullu ḥasanatin (bi-‘ashri amthālibā ilā sab‘i mi’a dī‘f, Mālik)*
5. *illā al-ṣiyām*
6. *huwa lī*
7. *wa-anā ajzī bihi.*

This result is different from the result achieved using Juynboll’s method of *isnād* analysis. According to the latter method, even Mālik would not be an eligible common link (and fabricator) of the *ḥadīth* with the *isnād* Abū l-Zinād – al-A‘raj – Abū Hurayra, because Mālik has only one transmitter, who himself is a partial common link. Following Juynboll’s method, Ibn Maslama came out to be the inventor of the *ḥadīth*. By this method, it would have been

escaped our notice that there are considerable textual differences between Mālik's and Sufyān's transmissions.

How to assess the historicity of Mālik's *matn*, for which Sufyān has no parallel text? These are the elements 1, 5, 6, 7 and parts of 8 and 9 of Mālik's version. The *isnad cum matn* method does not help us in this case so that we must argue on the basis of common sense. To begin with, we may ask, why Sufyān did not transmit the textual elements, which Mālik mentions in this context and why he did not link the two *ḥadīths* as Mālik does. The following is to consider: The reason might be that Sufyān did not see any significant connection between the two *ḥadīths* and therefore did not pass them on jointly. It is also possible that he did know the missing element but did not teach them or that the collections of his students, which were accessible to later collectors, were not complete. Some elements could have been considered as separate traditions by Sufyān, for instance the missing element "*al-ṣiyāmu junna*". This sentence has a more general meaning than the remaining text and is also widely spread as a separate tradition. That this sentence is not preserved from Sufyān as a separate *ḥadīth* can have different reasons, not least the fragmentary source material from this time. On the other hand, we may ask whether it is sensible to assume that Mālik fabricated these details or received them from somebody else and falsely ascribed them to Abū l-Zinād.

Mālik was not the only one who transmitted these details. Students of al-A'mash, Suhayl and 'Aṭā' transmitted them as well. The transmissions of these scholars, however, differ from that of Mālik. Put differently, Mālik's transmission not corroborated by Sufyān has its own characteristics distinguishing it from other transmissions. If one assumes that Mālik did not receive the aforesaid text elements from Abū l-Zinād, one must suppose that Mālik took them from several other transmissions, which he might have known, and changed the wording so that their exact origin was no more ascertainable. At the same time he consciously must have ascribed the foreign elements falsely to Abū l-Zinād. It is true that theoretically this possibility cannot be excluded, but there is no evidence for such an assumption. It is just as likely that Abū l-Zinād disseminated *ḥadīths* similar to those, for example, of his contemporaries al-A'mash, 'Aṭā' or al-Zuhrī. In this

connection, the question of from whom he received his information, can be left aside.

It is, accordingly, more plausible to assume that Mālik received not only those textual elements that are corroborated by Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna from the source he mentioned, namely Abū al-Zinād, but also those which are only found with him.

Mālik’s *matn* from Abū l-Zinād contains an element “*ilā sab‘i mi’a dīf*” which is not found in any *matns* of Abū Hurayra’s direct transmitters (Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab, Ibn Ziyād, Ibn Sīrīn) studied so far, but only in al-A‘mash’s version from Abū Ṣāliḥ. This element cannot be proved to have originated in Abū Ṣāliḥ’s *matn*, as no other transmitters from Abū Ṣāliḥ, nor other versions of Abū Hurayra’s students studied so far, have it. It is to exclude, however, that Mālik took the element “*ilā sab‘ mi’a dīf*” from al-A‘mash. This looks like an interdependence between Mālik’s and al-A‘mash’s versions. In Ibn Ḥibbān’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*,<sup>137</sup> there are three versions of Abū l-Zinād’s one tradition from Abū Hurayra, which is closely related to the first part of the *ḥadīth* under review. They are transmitted by three persons from Abū al-Zinād: Mālik, Sufyān and Warqā’. Sufyān’s version is found in more several other sources. Mālik’s version, Warqā’s and a version of Mughīra b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (from Abū l-Zinād) in al-Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* contain the element “*ilā sab‘i mi’a dīf*” after “*‘ashr amthālihā*”<sup>138</sup> Let us have a look at the version of Mālik in Ibn Ḥibbān. It reads as follows: “*...idhā hamma ‘abdī bi-sayyi’a fa-lam ya‘malhā fa-ktubūhā lahu ḥasana fa-in ‘amilahā fa-ktubūhā lahu sayyi’a, fa-in tāba minhā fa-mḥubhā ‘anhu. Wa-idhā hamma ‘abdī bi-ḥasana fa-lam ya‘malhā fa-ktubūhā lahu ḥasana fa-in ‘amilahā fa-ktubūhā lahu bi-‘ashrat amthālihā ilā sab‘ mi’a dīf*”.<sup>139</sup> The other versions deviate in wording from that of Mālik, which suggests their independence from one another. For example, instead of saying “*idhā hamma ‘abdī bi-sayyi’a...*”, Sufyān begins his transmission with “*idhā hamma ‘abdī bi-ḥasana...*”. Similarly, Warqā’s version is different. He begins with “*idhā arāda ‘abdī an ya‘mala sayyi’a...*”. This is to assume, accordingly, that the element *ilā sab‘i mi’a dīf* was circulated by Abū l-Zinād.

<sup>137</sup> Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 2, pp. 104-5.

<sup>138</sup> *Dīf* is missing only in al-Bukhārī. Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, K. *al-tawḥīd* (98), *bāb* 35 (*qawli llāh ta‘ālā yurīdūna an yubaddilū kalām Allāh*).

<sup>139</sup> Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 2, p. 104

It will be clear in the following pages that this element is also found in some other versions.

Having recourse to *isnād cum matn* analysis, it is not possible to decide whether Abū l-Zinād truly received his *ḥadīth* from al-A‘raj. To assess the reliability of Abū l-Zinād’s claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from his informant al-A‘raj, his *ḥadīth* must be compared with other *ḥadīths* in order to see whether it is independent of them.

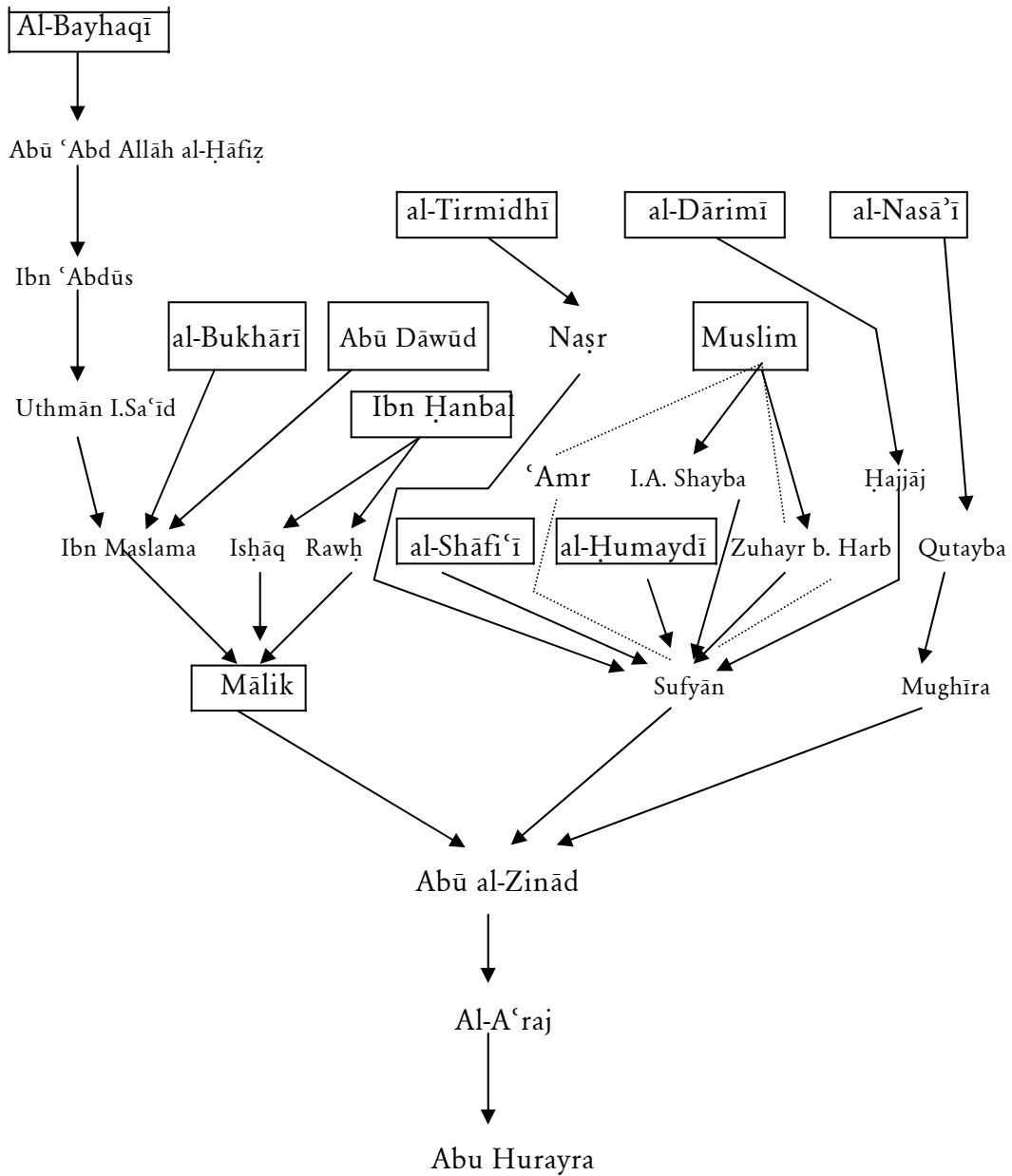
Abū l-Zinād’s *ḥadīth* consists of nine elements, seven corroborated by Mālik and Sufyān and four together with a passage of elements 8 and 9 only transmitted by Mālik. A comparison between Abū l-Zinād’s *ḥadīth* and those of Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab, Ibn Ziyād and Ibn Sīrīn reveals that the former differs from the latter in both structure and wording. Abū l-Zinād’s *ḥadīth* I as reconstructed on the basis of the transmissions which Mālik and Sufyān have in common is missing in the versions of Ibn al-Musayyab, Ibn Ziyād and Ibn Sīrīn. It is found in the *ḥadīth* of Abū Ṣāliḥ, it is true,<sup>140</sup> but the wording is different and Abū Ṣāliḥ put it at the end of his *ḥadīth*. Finally, Abū l-Zinād’s *ḥadīth* misses some elements found in other versions: It misses Abū Ṣāliḥ’s elements ٥, 8, 9, ١٥, Ibn Musayyab’s elements ٥ and 3.<sup>141</sup> The considerable differences suggest that Abū l-Zinād’s two *ḥadīths* of Abū Hurayra are not dependent of the versions transmitted by the primary common link transmitters discussed in the preceding section A. It is hard to imagine that Abū l-Zinād received his *ḥadīth* from Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab, Ibn Ziyād or Ibn Sīrīn or their students, but skipped his real informants from the *isnād* and quoted his teacher al-A‘raj instead. The conclusion is, therefore, that Abū l-Zinād’s *ḥadīth* is an independent version that he probably received, at least partly, from the source he mentions, namely al-A‘raj. This conclusion is not based on a strict application of the *isnād cum matn* method but only on a comparison of Abū l-Zinād’s *matn* with that of the primary common link transmitters from Abū Hurayra. We

<sup>140</sup> The structure of Abū l-Zinād’s *ḥadīth* given above is based on Mālik’s combination of the two *ḥadīths*. The elements 1, 2, and 3 are similar to Abū Ṣāliḥ’s element 13. Mālik’s additional element *al-ṣiyāmu junna* has a parallel in Abū Ṣāliḥ’s element 6. His additional element 5 is found in Abū Ṣāliḥ’s elements 11 and 12. His additional element 6 is found in Abū Ṣāliḥ’s element 7. His additional element 7 is found in Abū Ṣāliḥ’s elements 4 and 5. The four elements of Abū l-Zinād’s *ḥadīth* II correspond to Abū Ṣāliḥ’s elements 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5.

<sup>141</sup> The elements 6, 11 and 12 of Abū Ṣāliḥ’s version are also lacking in the reconstructed version but are found in Mālik’s transmissions from Abū l-Zinād.

shall see in the following that a comparison with other transmissions support the conclusion that al-A‘raj’s *ḥadīth* as transmitted by Abū l-Zinād are not fakes created by the latter.

Diagram 8



..... : *isnād* only  
 —————→ : *isnād* and matn

#### f. The ḤADĪTH of Sa‘īd b. Mīnā.

Another student of Abū Hurayra who allegedly transmitted the *ḥadīth* under review is Saʿīd b. Mīnā (d. ?).<sup>142</sup> An inspection of the versions going back to Saʿīd b. Mīnā reveals that they have a common link in the transmitter from Saʿīd, Salīm b. Ḥayyān. He invariably mentions Saʿīd without his *nasab* as his informant in the *isnād*. It is thus not clear which Saʿīd is meant. This has lead Muṣṭafā Muḥammad al-Aʿẓamī to ascribe Salīm's *ḥadīth* to Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab.<sup>143</sup> There are, however, at least three reasons why we have to ascribe Salīm's *ḥadīth* to Saʿīd b. Mīnā, not to Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab. Firstly, the fact that Salīm's *matn* is completely different from Ibn al-Musayyab's text reconstructed above. Secondly, in one version of Salīm's *ḥadīth*<sup>144</sup> in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*<sup>145</sup> we find the addition “*yaʿnī Ibn Mīnā*” after the name Saʿīd. Thirdly, a scrutiny of Salīm's biographical data reveals that he is only known as transmitter from Saʿīd b. Mīnā, not from Saʿīd b. Musayyab.<sup>146</sup> This case shows that *isnād* analysis alone is not sufficient to trace the transmission of knowledge in early Islam. We have to take recourse to *matn* analysis and biographical traditions as well.

There are four strands going back to Salīm. All are single strands found in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*. As we have pointed out in the foregoing discussion, *isnād* analysis applying Juynboll's recent method does not rely on this kind of strands. Put otherwise, Juynboll would accuse Ibn Ḥanbal of having fabricated the *isnāds* of the *ḥadīth* using the *matn* borrowed from somebody else. Is that really the case? Let us analyse Ibn Ḥayyān's texts found in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*. The first variant reads as follows:

“*ḥaddathanā Yazīd [ḥaddath]anā Salīm b. Ḥayyān [ḥadda]thanā Saʿīd qāla samiʿtu Abā Hurayra qāla qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ʿalayhi wa-sallama al-ṣawmu junnatun fa-idhā kāna aḥadukum yawman ṣāʿiman fa-lā yarfuth wa-lā yajhal wa-in imruʿun shatamahu aw-qātalahu fal-yaqul innī ṣāʿimun*”.<sup>147</sup> (Yazīd transmitted to us: [he said] Salīm b. Ḥayyān transmitted to us: [he said] Saʿīd said: I heard Abū Hurayra, he said: The messenger of God said: “The fast is a protection, when anyone of you is fasting at some day he should neither utter

<sup>142</sup> Al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*, vol. 4, pp. 61-62; Al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, vol. 1, p. 297; *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, vol. 5, p. 245; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 4, p. 91; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 11, p. 85-85.

<sup>143</sup> M.M. Azmi, *On Schacht's Origins*, pp. 162-3.

<sup>144</sup> I am grateful to H. Motzki who draw my attention to this fact.

<sup>145</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 306.

<sup>146</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 4, p. 213; al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*, vol. 4, p. 314; al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, vol. 1, p. 310; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 4, p. 168; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 11, p. 348-350.

<sup>147</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 504.

obscene speech nor behave foolishly. If anyone reviles him or fights him let him say: “I am fasting”).

The second strand is that of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān – Ibn Ḥayyān – Sa‘īd.<sup>148</sup> The *ḥadīth* of this strand is almost identical to the first one. They differ only slightly in wording. In the *isnād* the word linking Salīm with Sa‘īd is different. The second text uses “*‘an Sa‘īd*” instead of “*ḥaddathanā Sa‘īd*”.<sup>149</sup> Further differences are: “*wa-idhā kāna*” instead of “*fa-idhā kāna*”, “*fa-in aḥadun shatamahu aw fa-in imru’un shatamahu*” instead of “*wa-in imru’un shatamahu aw qātalahu*”.

The third strand is Bahz – Salīm b. Ḥayyān – Sa‘īd. Ibn Ḥanbal attaches Bahz’ *ḥadīth* to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s, but at the end of the *matn* Ibn Ḥanbal mentions the difference between ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s and Bahz’s text. Bahz says “*fa-in imru’un shatamahu aw qātalahu*”. The fourth strand is that of ‘Affān. Ibn Ḥanbal attached this strand to that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān as well. ‘Affān’s *matn* must have been nearly identical to that of Bahz. This is inferred from Ibn Ḥanbal’s remark “*wa-kadhā qāla ‘Affān aw qātalahu*”. It is worth mentioning that Ibn Hanbal also mentions Bahz’s *ḥadīth* separately in exactly the same wording.<sup>150</sup> In addition, Ibn Ḥanbal presents another *ḥadīth* of Bahz whose *matn*, which belongs to our Abu Hurayra tradition, is completely different from the first one. It contains only the phrase: “*khulūfu fami l-ṣā’im atyabu ‘inda llāh yawm al-qiāma min riḥ al-misk*”.<sup>151</sup>

Thus, Salīm’s versions found in Ibn Ḥanbal are very similar, except for the last *matn*, without being identical to each other. How do we explain this fact? Is it plausible to assume that Ibn Ḥanbal invented both *isnād* and *matn*? This assumption seems to be highly unlikely by virtue of the fact that the *matn* of Salīm’s versions varies considerably from any other versions of the *ḥadīth* found in Ibn Ḥanbal. We have already mentioned in the foregoing discussion that Ibn Ḥanbal provides for the *ḥadīth* under scrutiny more than

<sup>148</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 462.

<sup>149</sup> The majority of Muslim scholars believe that the word “*ḥaddathanā*” was used for direct contact, while the word “*‘an*” implies ambiguous statement of a transmitter. See the foregoing discussion in the first chapter. In early Islam, however, these words were interchangeably used. See our discussion on the relationship between Abū l-Zubayr and Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh in the second chapter. See also Motzki’s discussion on Ibn Jurayj’s and ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāh’s terminology, in: *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence*, pp. 101-4.

<sup>150</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 306.

<sup>151</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 306.

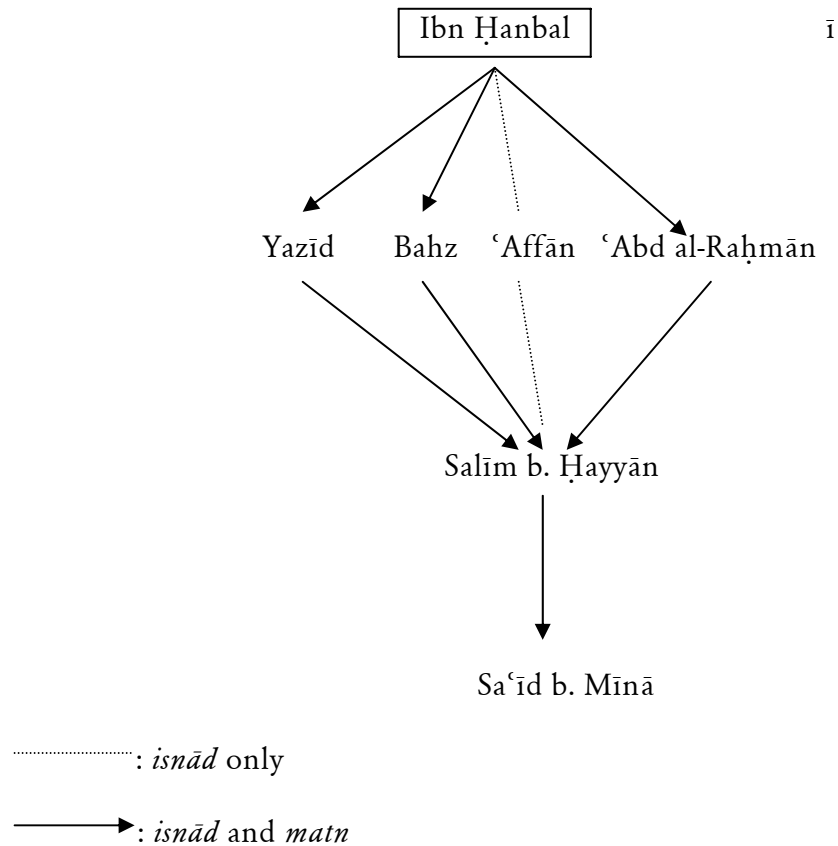
twenty strands. Salīm's *matn* differs characteristically from those of other strands. Besides, Ibn Ḥanbal distinguishes very carefully the *matn* variants of his transmissions from Salīm and notes the differences. It is not plausible to assume that Ibn Ḥanbal fabricated these comments to mislead later generations. It seems more obvious that Ibn Ḥanbal really received Salīm's tradition from the four people he names as his informants. Put differently, the *ḥadīth* going back to Salīm is really his. It can be reconstructed as follows:

1. *al-ṣawmu junnatun* (Yazīd, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Bahz, 'Affān)
2. *wa-(fa-)idhā kāna aḥadukum yawman ṣā'iman fa-lā yarfuth wa-lā yajhal* (Yazīd, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Bahz, 'Affān).
3. *fa-(wa-)in imru'un/aḥadun shatamahu aw qātalahu fa-lā yaqul innī ṣā'imun* (Yazīd, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Bahz, 'Affān).

What about Salīm's claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from Sa'īd b. Mīnā? It is conspicuous that Salīm's *matn* is very similar to that of Abū l-Zinād's first *ḥadīth* from al-A'raj. How to explain this fact? In view of the fact that most versions of other transmitters from Abū Hurayra deviate considerably from one another, the large agreement between Salīm's *matn* from Sa'īd b. Mīnā and that of Abū l-Zinād from al-A'raj is suspicious. Furthermore, the fact that Salīm is the only transmitter known to have transmitted the *ḥadīth* from Sa'īd b. Mīnā leads us to suspect this *ḥadīth*. It is, therefore, prudent not to use it as evidence for dating the *ḥadīth* under review.



Diagram 9



#### g. The ḤADĪTH of Abū Salama

Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf al-Zuhrī (d. 94 or 104) was one of Abū Hurayra's well-known transmitters. In the canonical collections, Abū Salama reportedly transmitted 495 *ḥadīths* from the latter.<sup>152</sup> However, the *ḥadīth* under review, transmitted by Abū Salama, is not found in any of the canonical collections. It is recorded in the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal,<sup>153</sup> *Sunan* of al-Dārimī,<sup>154</sup> *Bughyat al-bāḥith*<sup>155</sup> of al-Ḥārith b. Abī Usāma, *Faḍā'il al-awqāt*<sup>156</sup> of al-Bayhaqī and *Biḥār al-anwār*<sup>157</sup> of al-'Allāma al-Majlisī.

#### A. The ḤADĪTH of Muḥammad b. 'Amr.

<sup>152</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf bi-ma'rifat al-aṭrāf*, vol. 10, p. 15.

<sup>153</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 475, 501.

<sup>154</sup> Al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, vol. 1, 1776, 1777.

<sup>155</sup> Al-Ḥārith b. Abī Usāma, *Bughyat al-bāḥith*, p. 112.

<sup>156</sup> Al-Bayhaqī, *Faḍā'il al-awqāt*, p. 143.

<sup>157</sup> Al-'Allāma al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, p. 348.

According to the *isnāds*, Abū Salama passed on the *ḥadīth* to two transmitters: Muḥammad b. ‘Amr and Muḥammad b. Muḥammad. The *matns* of both transmitters differ largely from one another. Let us analyse both *matns* beginning with the *ḥadīth* of Ibn ‘Amr. There are four versions of Ibn ‘Amr, recorded in the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal and in the *Sunan* of al-Dārimī. Ibn Ḥanbal provides two *matns* of Ibn ‘Amr, one of them received from Yaḥyā and the other from Yazīd b. Hārūn. The first text reads as follows:

“Ḥaddathanā Yaḥyā ‘an Muḥammad ya’nī ibn ‘Amr qāla ḥaddathanī Abū Salama ‘an abī Hurayra ‘an al-nabī ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama qāla li-l-ṣā’imi farḥatāni farḥatun ḥīna yuṣṭiru wa-farḥatun ḥīna yalqā rabbahu wa-la-kbulūfu fami l-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda Allāh min riḥ al-misk”.<sup>158</sup> (Yaḥyā transmitted to us from Muḥammad, that is, Ibn ‘Amr, he said, Abū Salama transmitted to me from Abū Hurayra from the Prophet (pbuh), he said: The one who fasts has two joys: joy when breaking the fast, and joy when meeting his Lord. The smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God than the scent of musk).

The second text that he received from Yazīd is almost identical with the first one. They differ only slightly in wording. Instead of “*farḥatun ḥīna yuṣṭiru wa-farḥatun ḥīna yalqā rabbahu*”, the second text transmitted from Yazīd, reads “*farḥatun ‘inda fiṭrihi wa-farḥatun yawm al-qiyāma*”.<sup>159</sup>

Al-Dārimī provides also two *matns* for this *isnād*, which are completely different from one another. The first *matn* that he also transmitted from Yazīd is almost identical in wording to Ibn Ḥanbal’s second *matn*, apart from the structure of the *matn*. Al-Dārimī begins his *matn* with the sentence “*la-kbulūfu fami l-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda Allāh min riḥ al-misk*”, instead of putting it at the end of the version.<sup>160</sup> Al-Dārimī’s second *matn*<sup>161</sup> is completely different, although he allegedly received it from the same transmitter, namely Yazīd. It contains other elements known from Abū Ṣāliḥ’s *matn*. It reads as follows: “[1] *Kullu ‘amal ibn Ādam labu* [2] *fa-l-ḥasanatu bi-‘ashri amthālibā ilā sab‘i mi’a dī‘fin* [3] *illā l-ṣiyām* [4] *huwa lī* [5] *wa-anā ajzī bihi* [6] *innamā yatruku l-ṭa‘āma wa-shahwatahu min ajli wa-*

<sup>158</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 475.

<sup>159</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 501.

<sup>160</sup> Al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, vol. 1, 1776.

<sup>161</sup> al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, vol. 1, 1777.

*yatruku l-sharāba wa-shahwatabu min ajli [7] fa-buwa li wa-anā ajzi bihi*". ([1] Every action of the son of Adam is his [2] every good deed is [worth] ten to seven hundred [3] except the fasting [4] it is [meant] for me [5] and I will reward it [6] verily, he abandons the food and his [sexual] desire for my sake, and he abandons the drinking and his [sexual] desire for my sake [7] it is [meant] for me and I will reward it).

This *ḥadīth* is not identical to any of the versions transmitted from Abū Ṣāliḥ or other primary common links of Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīth*. Because Ibn Ḥanbal's second *matn* and al-Dārimī's first one are very similar without being identical, they are not copied from each other but go back to the same source. According to the *isnād*, this source is Yazīd b. Hārūn. Yazīd's text is similar without being identical to that of Yaḥyā. We can conclude from it that they must go back to the same informant. According to the *isnād*, this informant is Muḥammad b. 'Amr. His original text can be reconstructed as follows: 1) *Li-l-ṣā'imi farḥatāni*, 2) *farḥatun 'inda fiṭriḥ/hīna yuṣṭiru, wa-farḥatun yawma l-qiyāma/hīna yalqā rabbahu* 3) *la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā'mi atyabu 'inda Allāh min riḥ al-misk*.

Having recourse to *isnād cum matn* method, al-Dārimī's first text, thanks to the parallel in Ḥanbal's *Musnad*, can be ascribed to Muḥammad b. 'Amr, while in the case of his second *matn* is not possible, as parallel transmissions are lacking. Does that mean that al-Dārimī invented his second *ḥadīth* himself or falsely ascribed a text to Yazīd that he had received from somebody else? There are arguments against such an assumption. First, it is less likely that a *ḥadīth* collector of the third century fabricated traditions in this way. Second, in the study of *ḥadīth* collections, one often comes across the phenomenon that parts of a *ḥadīth* are transmitted separately and at the same time combined to a single tradition or a sequence of related traditions. It is thus conceivable that Yazīd's *ḥadīth* had originally the two parts given by al-Dārimī and that in Ibn Ḥanbal's collection only one part has been preserved. Such a case we have already come across in Mālik's transmissions from Abū l-Zinād – al-A'raj, which contains more elements than the version of Sufyān b. 'Uyayna. In that case we assumed that Mālik did not fabricate the additional text himself but also received it from the source he mentions even if that cannot be corroborated by variants from other transmitters. Such

an assumption holds also good for al-Dārimī's transmissions from Yazīd b. Hārūn as compared to that of Ibn Ḥanbal. We cannot prove that in this case but there are other cases in which it can be proven by the *isnād cum matn* method that a tradition given in one collection but missing in another is not necessarily a fake. There are several reasons why in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* (or other collections) the second part of Yazīd's text is not found. This hypothesis is not more speculative than the one that al-Dārimī falsely ascribed his second *ḥadīth* to Yazīd. Accordingly, we can at least tentatively regard both texts of al-Dārimī as part of Yazīd's transmission from Muḥammad b. 'Amr. Al-Dārimī's second text then offers the beginning of the *ḥadīth*, as we know it from Abū Ṣāliḥ and other key transmitters from Abū Hurayra; the first text corroborated by Ibn Ḥanbal, presents different elements, which are found at the end of Abū Ṣāliḥ's version. Yazīd's tradition, ascribed to him by Ibn Ḥanbal and al-Dārimī, consists of the following elements: 9) *li l-ṣā'imi farḥatāni* 10) *farḥatun 'inda fiṭriḥ* 11) *wa-farḥatun yarwma l-qiyāma/hīna yalqā rabbahu* (al-Dārimī's first *ḥadīth*) 8) *la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā'imi atyabu 'inda Allāh min riḥ al-misk* 1) *kullu 'amal ibn Ādam labu* 2) *fa-l-ḥasanatu bi-'asbri amthālibā ilā sab'i mi'a ḍi'fin* 3) *illā l-ṣiyām* 4) *huwa lī* 5) *wa-anā ajzī bihi* 6) *innahu yatruku l-ṭa'ama wa-shahwatahu min ajlī, wa-yatruku l-sharāba wa-shahwatahu min ajlī* 7) *fa-huwa lī wa-anā ajzī bihi* (al-Dārimī's second *ḥadīth*). This order clearly shows that al-Dārimī's traditions ascribed to Yazīd are not identical in structure to any versions of direct transmitters from Abū Hurayra studied so far. They contain in al-Dārimī's second *ḥadīth* the elements 1-5 of Abū Ṣāliḥ's *ḥadīth* (including the expression "*ilā sab' mi'a ḍi'f*" which is only found in al-A'mash's version), then element 7 and again the elements 4 and 5 of Abū Ṣāliḥ's *ḥadīth*. In al-Dārimī's first *ḥadīth* we find the elements 12, 8, 9 and 10 (in Ibn Ḥanbal's version 8, 9, 10, 12) of Abū Ṣāliḥ's *ḥadīth*. The combination of Abū Ṣāliḥ's elements in the order 7, 4, 5 is conspicuous. This combination of elements (the elements 6 and 7 of Yazīd's traditions) is typical for Abū l-Zinād's and some other versions that will be discussed later. The double occurrence of Abū Ṣāliḥ's elements 4 and 5 is likewise typical for Abū l-Zinād's *ḥadīth* (according to Mālik) and for some other versions. They all have also the expression *ilā sab' mia' ḍi'fin*, which does not belong to Abū Ṣāliḥ's original *matn*. This cannot

be a pure coincidence. This means that al-Dārimī's second *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. 'Amr's is close to Mālik's versions of Abū l-Zinād's *ḥadīth*. On the other hand, it is equally apparent that it strongly varies from the latter. Mālik's elements 1-5 of Abū l-Zinād's *ḥadīths* are not found in al-Dārimī's version of Muḥammad b. 'Amr's traditions and the other parallel elements differ in structure and wording. This is to conclude that both versions are independent of one another. Are Muḥammad b. 'Amr's *ḥadīths* dependent on al-A'mash's version of Abū Ṣāliḥ *ḥadīth*? The first six elements of both transmissions are very similar, but the wording is not identical. There is no repetition of the elements 4 and 5 in al-Amash's version, which also contains element 7 (*al-ṣawmu junna*) and that is lacking in Ibn 'Amr's *ḥadīth*. It is, therefore, not likely that Ibn 'Amr's versions are directly dependent on al-A'mash's.

## B. The ḤADĪTH of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad

Another student of Abū Salama who allegedly transmitted the *ḥadīth* in question from him was Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Aswad. There are three versions ascribed to him, all of them have Yazīd b. Hārūn and Hishām b. abī Hishām as transmitters from him. Let us analyze his *ḥadīth* beginning from that found in *Bughyat al-bāḥith*. It reads as follows:

"*Ḥaddathanā Yazīd [ḥadda]thanā Hishām ibn abī Hishām 'an Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Aswad 'an Abī Salama b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'an Abī Hurayra qāla qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallama u'ṭiyat ummatī khamsu kḥiṣālin fī Ramaḍān lam yu'tihinna ummatan qablahum KHULŪFU FAMI L-ṢĀ'IMI ATYABU 'INDA LLĀH MIN RĪḤ AL-MISK wa-tastaghfiru lahum al-malā'ikatu ḥattā yuṣfirū wa-yuzayyinu Allāh lahum kulla yaʿmin jannatabu thumma yaqūlu yūshiku 'ibādī al-ṣāliḥūna an yulqū 'anhum al-mu'na wa-l-adhā wa-yuṣīrū ilayka wa-yasfīdu fī maradati l-shayāṭīn fa-lā yakbluṣūna fīhi ilā mā kānū yakbluṣū ilayhi fī ghayrihi wa-yaghfiru lahum fī ākhiri laylatin qāla yā rasūl Allāh a-biya laylatu l-qadri qāla lā wa-lākin al-'āmilu innamā yūfī ajrabu idbā qaḍā 'amalahu'.<sup>162</sup> (Yazīd transmitted to us, he said: Hishām b. Abī Hishām told us from Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Aswad from Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān from Abū Hurayra, he said: The messenger of God said: my community (*umma*) was given five peculiarities in [the month of] Ramadan, which were not given to any *umma* before: 1) the smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God than the scent of musk 2) the angels ask God's forgiveness for them until they break their fast 3) God decorates his*

<sup>162</sup> al-Ḥārith b. abī Salama, *Bughyat al-bāḥith*, p. 112.

paradise for them every day, then he says: my pious servants are on the verge of experience from them of burden and grievance and they will turn toward you and they are tied in the devil of the Shaitans, so they will concerning him not come to (or: arrive at, reach) that they used to come to concerning somebody else 4) they are forgiven at the end of night, people said: Oh the messenger of God is it laylat al-qadr? The Messenger of God said: No. But the employee is paid when he finishes his work.

Other versions are found in the Shi'ī collection *Biḥār al-anwār* of al-‘Allāma al-Majlisī<sup>163</sup> and in *Faḍā'il al-awqāt* of al-Bayhaqī.<sup>164</sup> All three versions are very similar. They differ only insignificantly in wording and structure. Yazīd is the common link of the three single strand *isnāds*. According to Juynboll's method this is a spider and Yazīd, therefore, cannot be accepted, as common link. Yet the *matn* of *Biḥār al-anwār* differs so clearly in structure and wording from those of al-Ḥārith and al-Bayhaqī that it cannot be dependent on them. The *matns* of the al-Ḥārith's and al-Bayhaqī's versions, by contrast, are more similar. The tiny differences look like the normal errors of transmission, like *al-ṣā'imūn* instead of *al-ṣāliḥūn*, missing a word here and there, or variances in verbal forms. Theoretically, they could have been copied from each other at the level of al-Ḥārith. Yet this must not necessarily have been the case. The rule of *isnād cum matn* analysis that in real transmission the *matn* variants of pupils transmitting from the same informant vary is valid mainly for the first century and the first half of the second century. From the second half of the second century onwards written transmission became more common and sophisticated. At the same time, the quality of transmission improved and the differences between the variants transmitted from the same person decreased. Motzki has shown this development in comparing the transmissions of a few pupils of al-Zuhrī with the transmissions that Mālik's pupils preserved from their master.<sup>165</sup> That does not mean that all later transmissions are accurate. Differences can also indicate real transmission in later stages, yet identity of texts must in later stages not necessarily mean that they are copied from each other. Since Yazīd b. Hārūn is a late common link, he died around 206, it is possible that his

<sup>163</sup> al-‘Allāma al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 93, p. 348.

<sup>164</sup> Al-Bayhaqī, *Faḍā'il al-awqāt*, p. 143.

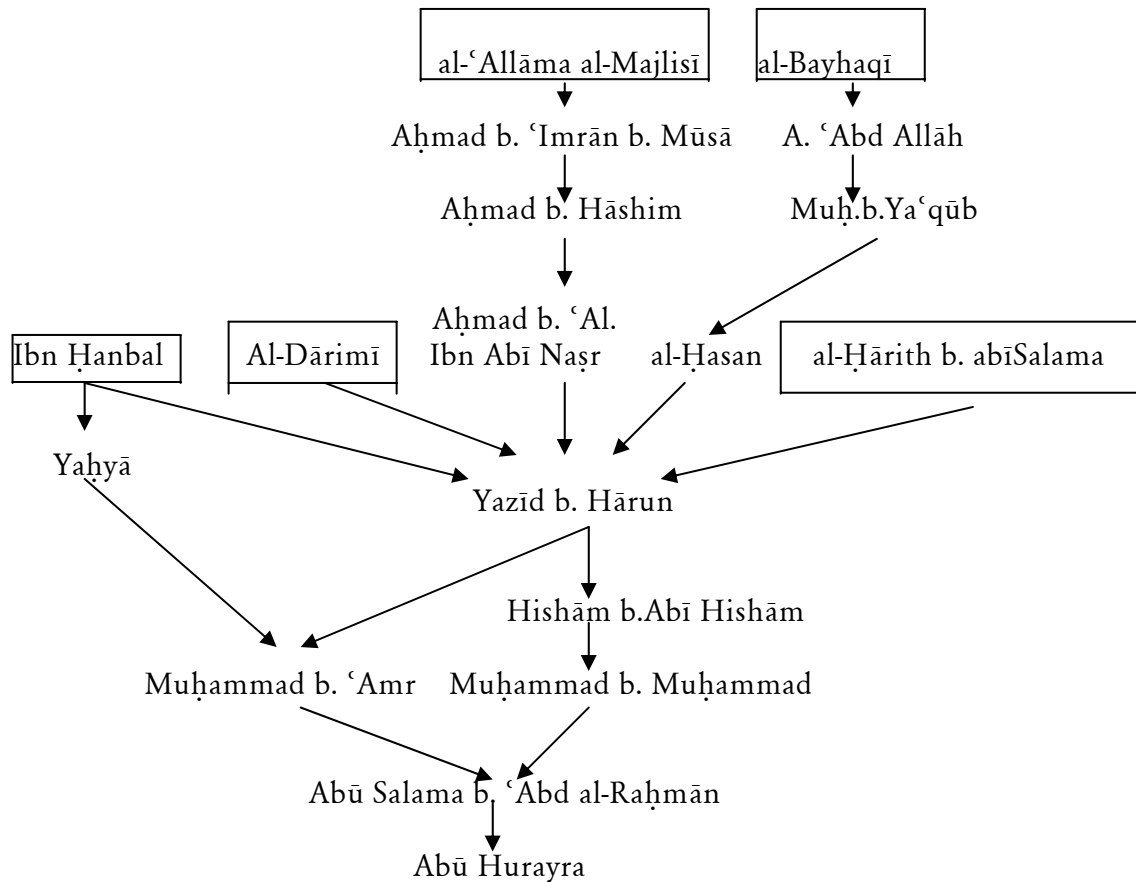
<sup>165</sup> See Harald Motzki, "Der fiqh des –Zuhrī: die Quellenproblematik," in *Der Islam* 68 (1991): 1-44, esp. 24 ff.

pupils received his traditions not only through lectures but also by copying a manuscript of their teacher. This could explain the large similarity of the three versions. This is to say: We cannot prove by *isnād cum matn* analysis that Yazīd is a real common link, it is true, but there is something to be said for the assumption that he could be the common link and there is no indication that he could not. Did Yazīd fabricate the *ḥadīth* or did he receive it from the source he mentioned? We have found out that the tradition from Yazīd, which is found in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* and al-Dārimī's *Sunan* goes back to Muḥammad b. 'Amr. Yazīd's second tradition that allegedly goes back to Muḥammad b. Muḥammad via Hishām b. abī Hishām has a completely different text. The latter differs very obviously from the elements of the *ḥadīths* commonly ascribed to Abū Hurayra. It contains only the element 12 (*khulūfu fami l-ṣā'im...al-misk*) of Abū Ṣāliḥ's version of Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīth* that is also found in Muḥammad b. 'Amr's version transmitted by Yazīd b. Hārūn. It makes no sense to assume that Yazīd b. Hārūn invented the version of Hishām b. abī Hishām in addition to that he received from Muḥammad b. 'Amr, since both texts differ too much from one another (and the *isnād* going back to Muḥammad b. Muḥammad is longer than we would expect if Yazīd had fabricated it). It is more plausible to assume that Yazīd's second version goes really back to Hishām b. abī Hishām. However, whether the latter himself or his alleged informant Muḥammad b. Muḥammad or someone before him has produced this combination of elements from different traditions cannot be established, for there are no further variants going back to other transmitters from Muḥammad b. Muḥammad. From which the version of Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīth* the element *khulūf fam al-ṣā'im...al-misk* derives cannot be established, as it occurs not only in Muḥammad's b. 'Amr's transmission from Abū Salama but also in a number of other versions, in which it shows almost no difference in wording.

Therefore, of the two versions of Abū Salama's *ḥadīth*, the first has to be ascribed to Muḥammad b. 'Amr, a transmitter from Abū Salama, the second to Hishām b. abī Hishām, who belongs to the second transmitter generation after Abū Salama. Having recourse to the *isnād cum matn* analysis, none of the versions can be surely ascribed to Abū Salama himself. However, the same

question as in the case of the transmission of the Abū l-Zinād from al-A‘raj arises. Is it probable, that Muḥammad b. ‘Amr received his version of Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīth* from one or more other transmitters and then falsely ascribed it to Abū Salama? The comparison of Muhammad b. ‘Amr's *ḥadīth* with similar versions of other transmitters (see 259-260) reveals that its texts resemble largely to those of al-‘Amash and Abū l-Zinād, but they differ clearly from one another. Nevertheless, assuming that the former's *ḥadīth* depends on the *matns* of the latter, its deviations from them are difficult to explain.

Hence, it is more plausible to assume from the fact, that Muhammad b. Amr's *ḥadīth* are independent. If Muḥammad b. ‘Amr received his versions not from al-A‘mash and Abū l Zinād, from whom does he have them then? It is very likely that he took them from the source he mentions, namely Abū Salama b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 94/104). Indeed, this is no result which is corroborated by strict *isnād cum matn* analysis (it could prove merely one of Muhammad b. ‘Amr's two texts as a real transmission), but a conclusion which rests on a comparison with other similar versions. Diagram 10





## h. The ḤADĪTH of ‘Ajlān.

There are three *ḥadīths* going back to ‘Ajlān found in both canonical and pre-canonical collections. All are transmitted by Ibn Abī Dhi’b (d. 159).<sup>166</sup> The latter did not state clearly which ‘Ajlān he meant as his informant. In the canonical collections, there are two transmitters of Abū Hurayra named ‘Ajlān. The first one is ‘Ajlān, the *mawlā* of Fāṭima, who transmitted 17 *ḥadīths* from Abū Hurayra found in the canonical collections. The second one is ‘Ajlān al-Madanī, the *mawlā* of al-Mushma‘il, who transmitted only one *ḥadīth* in the canonical collections found in al-Nasā’ī. That is, according to al-Mizzī,<sup>167</sup> the *ḥadīth* under review. Accordingly, having recourse to al-Mizzī’s *Tuḥfa*, we can ascertain Ibn Abī Dhi’b’s source, namely, ‘Ajlān al-Madanī.

Ibn Abī Dhi’b’s *ḥadīth* is found in the *Musnad* of al-Ṭayālīsī (d. 204) the *Musnad* of Ibn al-Ja’d (d. 220) and the *al-Sunan al-kubrā* of al-Nasā’ī (d. 303). Let us analyze the *ḥadīth* beginning with the *ḥadīth* found in the *Musnad* of al-Ṭayālīsī. It reads as follows:

“Ḥaddathanā Yūnus qāla ḥaddathanā Abū Dāwūd qāla ḥaddathanā Ibn abī Dhi’b ‘an ‘Ajlān ‘an Abī Hurayra qāla qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama: [1] lā tusābba wa-anta ṣā’imun wa-in kunta qā’iman fa-jlis [2] fa-wa-l-ladhī nafsi bi-yadihi la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda llāh ‘azza wa-jalla min riḥ al-misk”<sup>168</sup> (Yūnus informed us he said Abū Dāwūd informed us he said Ibn Abī Dhi’b informed us from ‘Ajlān from Abū Hurayra, he said: [1] No revile while you fast, and if you are standing you should sit down [2] By Him in whose hands is my soul the smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God, the Powerful and the Sublime, than the scent of musk).

A second version of Ibn Abī Dhi’b is recorded by Ibn al-Ja’d.<sup>169</sup> It is a short version that misses the first element. Ibn al-Ja’d’s version is almost identical to al-Ṭayālīsī’s second element. It differs only slightly in wording. It says “*wa-l-ladhī*” instead of “*fa-wa-l-ladhī*” and it misses “*‘azza wa-jalla*” after “*‘inda llāh*”. That Ibn al-Ja’d’s version misses the first element of al-Ṭayālīsī’s

<sup>166</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, pp. 61-2.

<sup>167</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 10, p. 253.

<sup>168</sup> Sulaymān b. Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, p. 312.

<sup>169</sup> ‘Alī b. al-Ja’d b. ‘Ubayd, *Musnad*, p. 410.

is to assume that the former was not construed under the model of the latter nor the other way round. That is, they are independent of each other. Conversely, the fact that Ibn al-Ja‘d’s version is greatly similar to al-Ṭayālīsī’s second element strongly suggests that this element is derived from a common source, namely, Ibn Abī Dhi’b.

Ibn Abī Dhi’b’s *ḥadīth* is also recorded by al-Nasā’ī.<sup>170</sup> It is also a short version that misses the second element of al-Ṭayālīsī’s. It is, however, similar to al-Ṭayālīsī’s first element. Though they share some similarities, al-Nasā’ī’s text and al-Ṭayālīsī’s first element differ significantly. Al-Nasā’ī adds a sentence “*fa-in sabbaka aḥadun fa-qul innī šā’imun*”, which is missing in al-Ṭayālīsī’s first element. Ibn Abī al-Ja‘d does not transmit the first element and can, therefore, not be included in the comparison of this element. We do not know, therefore, to whom this sentence goes back. In other words, only the elements transmitted by at least two transmitters from Ibn Abī Dhi’b can be ascribed to him. That is: 1) *lā tusābba wa-anta šā’imun wa-in kunta qā’iman fa-jlis* (transmitted by al-Ṭayālīsī and al-Nasā’ī)<sup>171</sup> 2) *wa-l-ladhī naḥṣi bi-yadihi* (3) *la-kbulūfu fami l-šā’imi atyabu ‘inda llāh min riḥ al-misk* (transmitted by al-Ṭayālīsī and Ibn al-Ja‘d). Whether Ibn Abī Dhi’b’s claim to have transmitted the *ḥadīth* from his informant, ‘Ajlān, is to be trusted, is difficult to say, for the former is the only transmitter who transmitted the *ḥadīth* under review from the latter. If we take a look on the *matn* of Ibn Abī Dhi’b’s *ḥadīth* and compare it with other *ḥadīths* studied so far, it is conspicuous that Ibn Abī Dhi’b’s *ḥadīth* has a typical characteristic distinguishing it from the other. The first element of Ibn Abī Dhi’b’s *ḥadīth* is missing in any versions, although a slight similarity can be found in the element 13 of Abū Ṣāliḥ’s. Conversely, Ibn Abī Dhi’b’s *ḥadīth* misses some characteristics of the *ḥadīths* studied so far, though his second element is almost identical to the elements 11 and 12 of Abū Ṣāliḥ’s version. This strongly suggests that the *ḥadīth* of Ibn Abī Dhi’b is independent of those of other transmitters. Yet even assuming that the *ḥadīth* goes back to ‘Ajlān, only the second element can be ascribed to Abū Hurayra, and it merely confirms an element of the *ḥadīth* of other

<sup>170</sup> Al-Nasā’ī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā, al-ṣaḥm*, vol. 2, 3259.

<sup>171</sup> Though there are three transmitters between al-Nasā’ī and Ibn Abī Dhi’b, this element of al-Nasā’ī can be taken as proof, for it is corroborated by al-Ṭayālīsī’s.

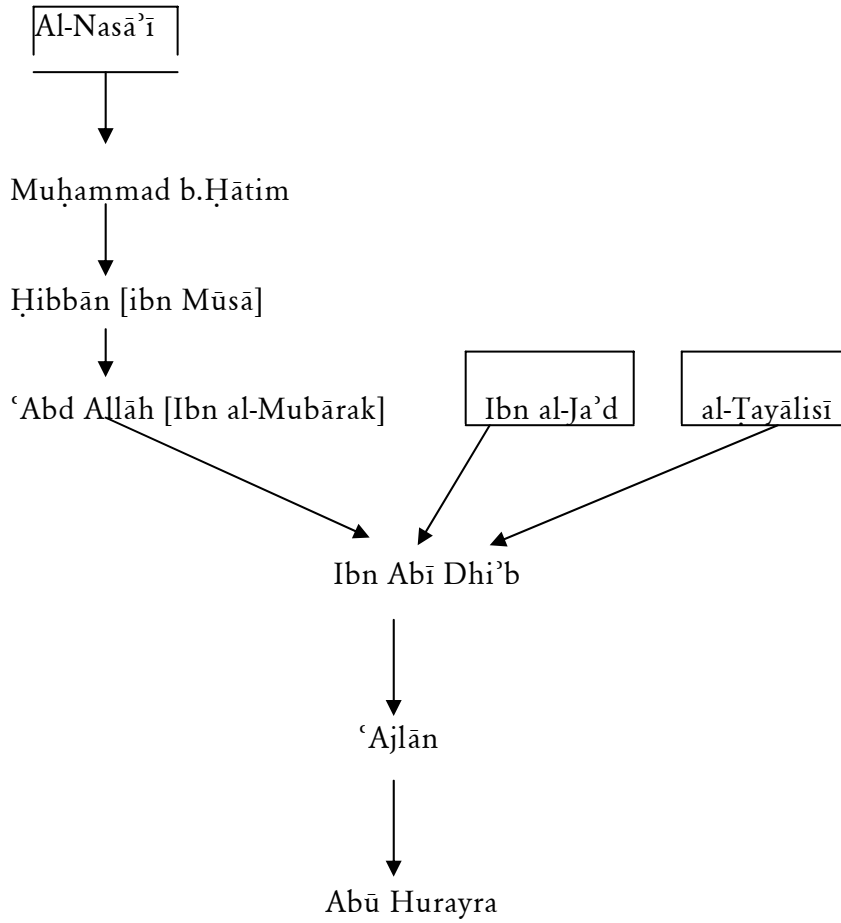
transmitters from Abū Hurayra. The structure of the text, i.e., the order of the elements 1, 2, 3 is also found in Mālik's version from Abū l-Zinād – al-A'raj (and, as we shall see, that of Hammām). In view of strong differences in element 1, Ibn Abī Dhib's version is not likely to be directly dependent of Abū l-Zinād's *ḥadīth*. Conversely, this might indicate that, as in the case of Abū l-Zinād – al-A'raj, the *ḥadīth* of Ibn Abī Dhib goes back to the informant he mentions, i.e., 'Ajlān. This is, however, a conclusion, which goes beyond the strict *isnād cum matn* method.

Ibn Abī Dhib's tradition belongs to the group of traditions that resemble Abū l-Zinād's *ḥadīth*. Though the text is very short and accordingly difficult to compare, the order of the element is the same as those of Mālik's tradition from Abū l-Zinād and Ma'mar's tradition from Hammām (as will be shown later). Yet though elements 1, 2 of Ibn Abī Dhib are identical to Mālik's (3, 4)<sup>172</sup> and Ma'mar's (3, 4) texts, the paraphrase of Ibn Abī Dhib's element 1 differs strongly from Mālik's and Ma'mar's texts. Moreover, in Mālik's and Ma'mar's version, the elements 1 and 2, 3 of Ibn Abī Dhib, are separate traditions, which comprise more elements than the text of Ibn Abī Dhib. Therefore, it is less probable that it depends on them.

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<sup>172</sup> See, p. 245-6.

Diagram 11



#### i. The ḤADĪTH of Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim.

There are two *ḥadīths* going back to Qays. One is found in the *Musnad* of Ibn Rāḥawayh<sup>173</sup> and the other in the *al-Fawā'id* of Ibn Mandah al-Iṣfahānī.<sup>174</sup> Both *ḥadīths* are transmitted by Ismā'īl b. Abī Khālid from Qays. The first *ḥadīth* found in the *Musnad* is a long *ḥadīth*. Most details of the *ḥadīth* are not part of the *ḥadīth* under review, and accordingly do not concern us here. Only the last element of the *ḥadīth* can be taken as part of the *ḥadīth* under review: “*wa-la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā'imi atyabu 'inda llāh min riḥ al-misk*”. The second *ḥadīth* found in the *al-Fawā'id* is a short *ḥadīth*, which contains only the last element of the Ibn Rāḥawayh's version. Their independence from

<sup>173</sup> Iṣḥāq b. Rāḥwayh, *Musnad*, vol. 1, p. 266.

<sup>174</sup> ʿAbd al-Waḥḥāb b. Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq b. Mandah al-Iṣfahānī (d. 475), *al-Fawā'id*, ed. Muṣ'id ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Ṭanṭā 1412, p. 68.

each other cannot be clearly established, as both texts match in only one element, which is identical in both texts. It is likely that Ibn Mandah's version is merely a fragment of an originally long version. It might also be that Ibn Mandah or a transmitter before him took only the last element from Ibn Rāhawayh and provided it with another *isnād*. Because the text is so short and likewise was transmitted rather concurrently, no judgment can be given on it.

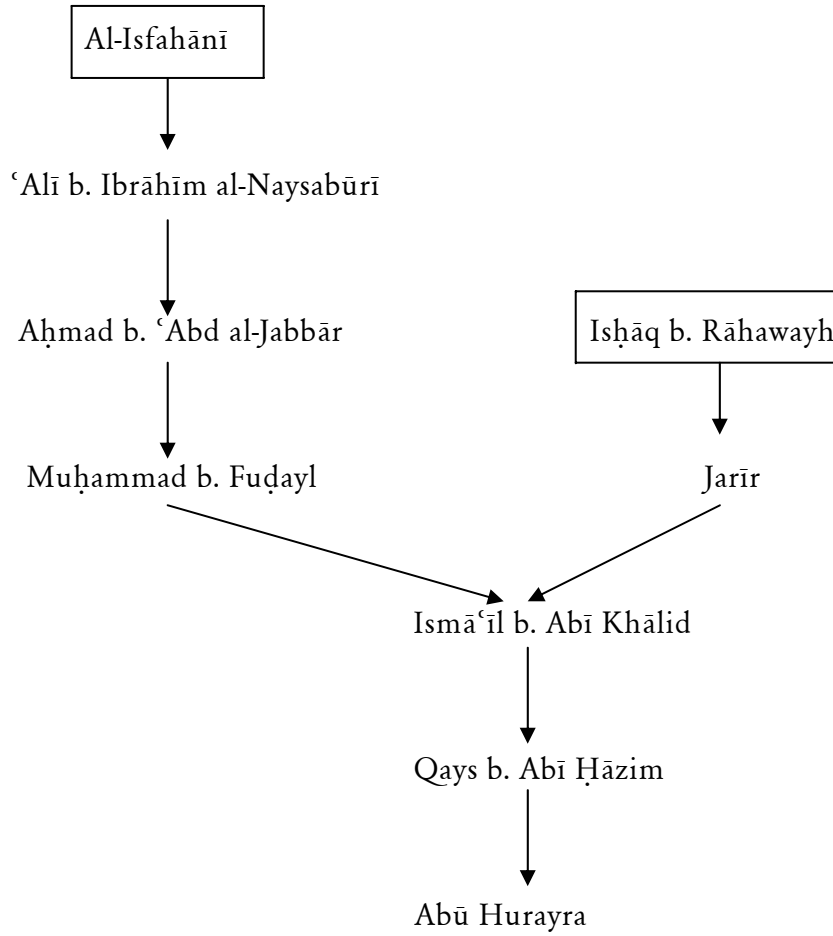
However, it is worthy of note that both Jarīr and Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl, the transmitters from Ismāʿīl b. Abī Khālid, transmitted not only Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim's *ḥadīth*, but also Abū Ṣāliḥ's *ḥadīth*. In al-Nasāʾi,<sup>175</sup> Jarīr's version from al-Aʿmash – Abū Ṣāliḥ, is even transmitted by Ibn Rāhawayh. A comparison between Jarīr's transmissions from Ismāʿīl b. Abī Khālid and his transmission from al-Aʿmash shows a grave difference. Only one element of Ismāʿīl's *ḥadīth* (the last one) is found in al-Aʿmash's version (there also the last element): "*la-khulūfū fami l-ṣāʾimi...al-misk*". Al-Aʿmash's elements 1-9 are missing in Ismāʿīl's *ḥadīth*. That Jarīr's transmission from al-Aʿmash differs characteristically from his transmission from Ismāʿīl suggests that Ibn Rāhawayh and Jarīr did not invent the *ḥadīth* of the latter.

The available *matn*-variants are very limited. The similarity between the two versions ascribed to Ismāʿīl exists only in a fragment of text. It does not let us conclude that there is a common source (Ismāʿīl). Theoretically, Ibn Fuḍayl's text could also be derived from Jarīr's text. The fact that Ibn Rāhawayh transmits also from Jarīr a version of al-Aʿmash, which differs largely from that of Ismāʿīl might suggest that Jarīr really received the *ḥadīth* of Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim from Ismāʿīl. It is, however, an uncertain conclusion. It goes beyond the strick *isnād cum matn* analysis, which gropes for a common link through partial common links starting from *ḥadīth* collections and procedeng backwards from one transmitter generation to the next.

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<sup>175</sup> Al-Nasāʾi, *Sunan*, vol. 4, p. 135.

Diagram 12



**j. The ḤADĪTH of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ya'qūb.**

Another tradition from Abū Hurayra is the transmission of al-'Alā' from his father ('*an abīhi*'), i.e., 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ya'qūb. It is transmitted only in later collections: the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Mu'jam al-awsaṭ* of al-Ṭabarānī and *Musnad* of Abū Ya'lā.<sup>176</sup> The text of Ibn Ḥibbān as follows:

*"Akhbaranā al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥubbāb qāla ḥaddathanā al-Qa'nabī qāla ḥaddathanā 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad 'an al-'Alā' [b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ya'qūb] 'an abīhi 'an Abī Hurayra qāla qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa-sallam qāla llāh tabāraka wa-ta'ālā kullu ḥasanatin 'amilahā Ibn Ādam jazaytuhu bihā 'asbrat ḥasanatin ilā sab'i mi'a ḍi'fin illā l-ṣiyām fa-huwa lī wa-anā ajzī bihi al-ṣiyāmu junnatun fa-man kāna ṣā'iman fa-lā yarfuth wa-lā yajhal fa-in imru'un shatamahu aw ādhāhu fal-yaqul innī ṣā'imun innī ṣā'imun"* (Al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥubbāb transmitted to us, he said al-Qa'nabī transmitted to us, he said 'Abd

<sup>176</sup> Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 8, p. 205.

al-Azīz transmitted to us from al-‘Alā [b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ya‘qūb] from his father from Abū Hurayra, he said the Messenger of God (pbuh) said, God, the supremely exalted said: Every good action done by the son of Adam I reward it ten up to seven hundredfold except fasting, for it is mine and I will reward it. Fasting is a protection. When one of you is fasting he should neither utter obscene speech nor behave foolishly. If anyone reviles or hurts him let him say: I am fasting, I am fasting).

Another *matn* of al-‘Alā’ is transmitted by Rawḥ, which is found in al-Ṭabarānī’s *al-Mu‘jam al-awsaṭ*.<sup>177</sup> It is very similar to the *matn* of Ibn Ḥibbān. It includes, however, an additional element “*yadhar al-ṭa‘āma min ajli wa-yadhar al-shahwata min ajli fa-huwa lī wa-anā ajzī bihi*”, which suggests the independence of both traditions. In other words, the text could be ascribed to al-‘Alā’. Al-‘Alā’s *ḥadīth* is also transmitted by Yaḥyā b. Ayyūb – Ismā‘īl, found in Abū Ya‘lā’s *Musnad*.<sup>178</sup> The text deviates largely from that of Ibn Ḥibbān and al-Ṭabarānī. It rather resembles Hammām b. Munabbih’s tradition c) which will be discussed below. This indicates that this tradition is independent from the two traditions. However, like both traditions, this version has the element “*ilā sab‘i mi’a ḍi‘f*”. Thus, the texts, or at least the common elements, of the three versions can be ascribed to al-‘Alā’.

The second part of al-‘Alā’s *matn* is very similar to Mālik’s first *ḥadīth* from Abū l-Zinād - al-A‘raj. The combination of elements 6 and 13 according to the numbering of Abū Ṣāliḥ’s *ḥadīth* is typical for Abū l-Zinād – al-A‘raj and (as will be shown later) Ma‘mar – Hammām. This part of al-‘Alā’s text has roughly the same structure as Abū Ṣāliḥ’s *ḥadīth* (o, part of 1, 2 plus *ilā sab‘i mi’a ḍi‘f*, 3, 4, 5) and thus differs considerably from Mālik’s transmission of Abū l-Zinād’s *matn*. Other clear deviations from Mālik’s two *ḥadīths* are: “*‘amilahā ibn Ādam jazaytuhu bihā*” is missing in Mālik’s *matn* after “*kullu ḥasanatin*”; Mālik says “*qātalahu aw shātamahu*” instead of al-‘Alā’s “*shātamahu aw ādhāhu*”. In al-‘Alā’s text Mālik’s element “*wal-ladhī nafsu Muḥammad bi-yadibi la-kbulūfu ...al-misk*” is missing. In Rawḥ’s additional element to al-‘Alā’s tradition, the position of *ṭa‘ām* and *shahwa* differs from that in Mālik’s version and the latter also has a third item

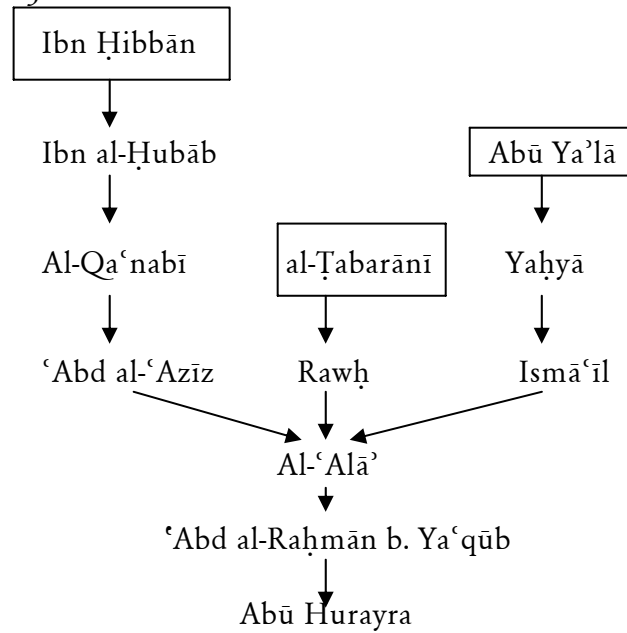
<sup>177</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu‘jam al-awsaṭ*, vol. 3, p. 156.

<sup>178</sup> Abū Ya‘lā, *Musnad*, vol. 11, p. 386.

(sharāb) which is missing in Raḥw’s version. A direct dependence of Mālik’s text can, therefore, be excluded.

Yet the expression “*kull ḥasana*” and “*ilā’ sab’i mi’a diḥ*” that are typical of Mālik’s version of Abū l-Zinād’s transmission and – as we shall see below – also Ma‘mar’s transmission of Hammām b. Munabbih’s tradition, show that al-‘Alā’s text is more related to this group of texts than to the versions of the primary common links that *qua* textual structure are related to Abū Ṣāliḥ’s transmission from Abū Hurayra.

Diagram 13



We have analysed the transmissions of some secondary partial common links. Because of the lack of variants available, the application of a strict *isnād cum matn* method does not allow us to go further than the time of the secondary partial common links. However, we have gone beyond the strict *isnād cum matn* method. The traditions of secondary partial common links have been compared with each other and with the transmission of primary partial common links in order to assess the extent of their interdependence. For example, the tradition ascribed to al-A‘raj by Abū l-Zinād has been compared with those ascribed to primary partial common links. As the result, though Abū l-Zinād is the only transmitter who claims to have received the *ḥadīth* from al-A‘raj, his transmission can be ascribed to the latter, as it is independent of the transmissions of primary partial common



links. The same applies to the transmission ascribed to Abū Salama by Muḥammad b. ‘Amr.

### C. Traditions with tertiary partial common links in the *ISNĀDS*.

#### k. The *ḤADĪTH* of al-Maqburī.

Sa‘īd b. Sa‘īd al-Maqburī (d. 117 or 123)<sup>179</sup> was according to the *isnāds* one of Abū Hurayra’s prolific pupils. In the canonical collections, al-Maqburī reportedly transmitted 143 *ḥadīths* from Abū Hurayra.<sup>180</sup> The *ḥadīth* under review ascribed to al-Maqburī, however, is not found in these collections, but in pre- and post- canonical collections, that is, in *Badā’i’ al-minan*, a collection of traditions ascribed to al-Shāfi‘ī, the *Musnad* of al-Ḥumaydī, and the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Ibn Khuzayma. Al-Maqburī reportedly passed his *ḥadīth* to two different pupils, Ibn Muḥammad b. ‘Ajlān and Ma‘n b. Muḥammad.

#### A. The *ḤADĪTH* of Ibn ‘Ajlān.

In al-Shāfi‘ī’s tradition contained in *Badā’i’ al-minan*, the following *isnād* is given: Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna – Ibn ‘Ajlān – Sa‘īd – Abū Hurayra. Not having analyzed the *matns* of the *ḥadīth* under review, Azmi ascribes Ibn ‘Ajlān’s (d. 148) *ḥadīth*, like Salīm b. Ḥayyān’s, to Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab.<sup>181</sup> Yet Azmi’s ascription is doubtful in view of the fact that the *matn* of Ibn Ajlān’s *ḥadīth* differs considerably from that of Ibn al-Musayyab. It must be another Sa‘īd, but which one? In view of the similarity between Ibn ‘Ajlān’s *matn* and that of Salīm, we could be tempted to ascribe Ibn ‘Ajlān’s *ḥadīth* also to Sa‘īd b. Mīnā. But, in al-Ḥumaydī’s *Musnad* we find the same *ḥadīth* of Ibn ‘Ajlān and here his source is given as Sa‘īd al-Maqburī.<sup>182</sup> This identification is corroborated by the biographical literature in which neither Ibn al-Musayyab

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<sup>179</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfat*, vol. 10, p. 8; *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 10, pp. 261-2.

<sup>180</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfat*, vol. 10, pp. 8-9.

<sup>181</sup> M. M. Azmi, *On Schacht’s Origins*, pp. 162-3

<sup>182</sup> al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 442.

nor Ibn Mīnā is given as his teachers, but al-Maqburī.<sup>183</sup> In al-Shāfi‘ī’s transmission, Ibn ‘Ajlān’s *ḥadīth* reads as follows:

“*akhbaranā Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna qāla ḥaddathanā Ibn ‘Ajlān ‘an Sa‘īd ‘an Abī Hurayra, wa-Abū l-Zinād ‘an al-A‘raj [‘an Abī Hurayra] anna l-nabī ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama qāla idhā aṣbaḥa aḥadukum yawman ṣā’iman fa-lā yarfuth wa-lā yajhal fa-in imru’un shatamahu fal-yaqul innī ṣā’imun innī ṣā’imun wa zāda Abū l-Zinād fihī wa-idhā du’iya aḥadukum ilā ta‘āmin wa-huwa ṣā’imun fa-l-yaqul innī ṣā’imun*”.<sup>184</sup> (Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna transmitted to us, he said Ibn ‘Ajlān transmitted to us from Sa‘īd from Abū Hurayra, and Abū l-Zinād from al-A‘raj [from Abū Hurayra], [he said] that the Prophet (pbuh) said: When one of you is fasting at some day he should neither utter obscene speech nor behave foolishly. If someone reviles him, let him say, “I am fasting”. And Abū l-Zinād adds in it: If one of you is called to eat, while he is fasting, let him say, “I am fasting”).

While al-Shāfi‘ī attached the Abū l-Zinād – al-A‘raj strand to that of Ibn ‘Ajlān – Sa‘īd, al-Ḥumaydī separates them. However, in al-Ḥumaydī’s *Musnad*, Ibn ‘Ajlān’s *ḥadīth* has no *matn*. Al-Ḥumaydī merely says *mithluhu*, that is, like Abū l-Zinād’s *matn*. Abū l-Zinād’s *matn* found in al-Ḥumaydī’s *Musnad* and Ibn ‘Ajlān’s *matn* found in *Badā’i’* are almost identical. They differ only slightly. Al-Shāfi‘ī’s version misses the word “*aw qātalahu*” after “*shātamahu*”, and at the end of the text it says “*innī ṣā’imun*” twice instead of once. In al-Shāfi‘ī’s transmission from Sufyān, there is a substantial difference between Ibn ‘Ajlān’s *matn* and that of Abū l-Zinād: Ibn ‘Ajlān’s version lacks the sentence “*wa-idhā du’iya aḥaduhukum...innī ṣā’imun*”. By contrast, according to al-Ḥumaydī, Sufyān transmits also this element (as separate tradition) from Ibn ‘Ajlān. Because both al-Shāfi‘ī and al-Ḥumaydī mention Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna as their informant, we may ascribe the *ḥadīth* to the latter at least the part that both al-Shāfi‘ī and al-Ḥumaydī ascribe to him. Who is responsible for the Ibn ‘Ajlān *ḥadīth*? According to the rules of Juynboll’s *isnād* analysis it must be Sufyān. Yet if al-Shāfi‘ī’s statement can be trusted, that Sufyān noticed a difference between Ibn ‘Ajlān’s and Abū l-Zinād’s *matn*, then it would be more plausible to assume that Sufyān indeed received the tradition from Ibn ‘Ajlān. The fact, however, that Ibn ‘Ajlān’s *matn* is nearly identical with a part of Abū l-Zinād’s tradition suggests that it

<sup>183</sup> See for example, al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz*, p. 62; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-i‘tidāl*, vol. 3, pp. 644-7; Ibn Ḥajar, *Ṭabdhīb al-Ṭabdhīb*, vol. 9, pp. 341-2.

<sup>184</sup> Al-Shāfi‘ī, *Badā’i’ al-minan fī tartīb musnad al-Shāfi‘ī wa-al-sunan*, vol. 1, p. 256.

is modeled on the latter. This suspicion coincides with opinions of early Muslim *ḥadīth* critics like Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and al-Dāraquṭnī who consider Ibn ‘Ajlān’s transmission from Sa‘īd al-Maqburī as problematic.<sup>185</sup> Ibn ‘Ajlān’s tradition is, therefore, in this case to be classified as erroneous or a fake that must be ignored for the dating of Abū Hurayra’s *ḥadīth* under review.

## B. The ḤADĪTH of Ma‘n b. Muḥammad.

A second *ḥadīth* ascribed to al-Maqburī allegedly transmitted by Ma‘n b. Muḥammad is found in Ibn Khuzayma’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Ma‘n b. Muḥammad’s *ḥadīth* differs completely from Ibn ‘Ajlān’s. Ibn Khuzayma reports that al-Maqburī reported the *ḥadīth* under review together with Ḥanzala from Abū Hurayra. Ibn Khuzayma gives two *isnāds* of the same *matn*. It reads as follows:

“*Ḥaddathanā Bishr b. Hilāl [ḥadda]thanā ‘Umar b. ‘Alī qāla sami’tu Ma‘n ibn Muḥammad yuḥaddithu ‘an Sa‘īd al-Maqburī qāla kuntu anā wa-Ḥanzala b. ‘Alī bi-l-Baqī’ ma’a Abī Hurayra fa-ḥaddathanā Abū Hurayra ‘an rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama qāla: al-tā’imu l-shākiru mithlu al-ṣā’imi l-ṣābiri qāla: qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama: qāla Allāh kullu ‘amal ibn Ādam labu illā l-ṣawma fa-innahu lī wa-anā ajzī bihi yada’u l-tā’ama wa-l-sharāba wa-shahwatahu min ajlī.*”<sup>186</sup> (Bishr b. Hilāl informed us, [he said] ‘Umar b. ‘Alī informed us, he said: I heard Ma‘n b. Muḥammad transmitting from Sa‘īd al-Maqburī, he said: I and Ḥanzala were at Baqī’ together with Abū Hurayra, then Abū Hurayra transmitted to us from the messenger of God (pbuh) he said: a thankfully eating person is like a patiently fasting person, he said: The messenger of God (pbuh) said: God said: Every action of the son of Adam is his except fasting, it is [meant] for me and I will reward it, he abandons the food and the drinking and his desire for my sake.) The second *isnād* reads: *[ḥaddatha]nāhu Ismā‘īl b. Bishr b. Maṣṣūr al-Sulamī: [ḥadda]thanā ‘Umar b. ‘Alī ‘an Ma‘n b. Muḥammad, qāla sami’tu Ḥanzala b. ‘Alī qāla sami’tu Abū Hurayra bi-bādhā l-Baqī’ yaqūlu: qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama bi-mithlibi.*

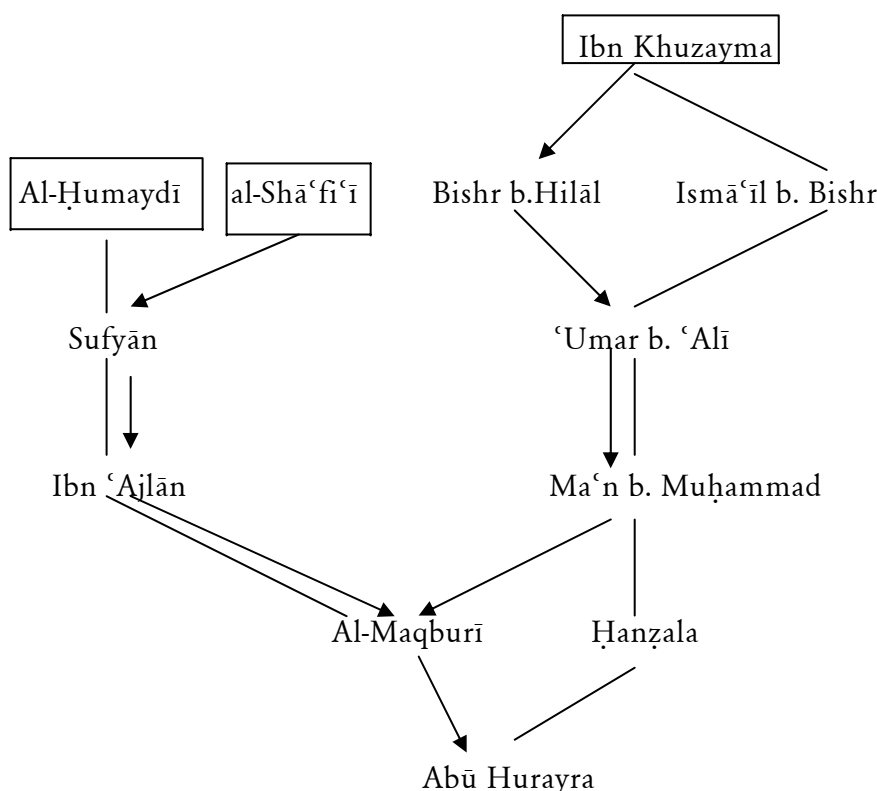
Ibn Khuzayma’s *isnāds* are single strands for which we do not have any corroboration. We cannot be sure whether Ibn Khuzayma really received the *ḥadīth* from both sources he mentioned. Even when we assume that both sources of Ibn Khuzayma received their *ḥadīth* from the informant they mention, namely, ‘Umar b. ‘Alī, we cannot be sure whether the latter received

<sup>185</sup> See the references given by the editor of al-Mizzī’s *Tahdhīb*, vol. 6, p. 433.

<sup>186</sup> Ibn Khuzayma, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 3, p. 197-8.

his *ḥadīth* from the source he quotes, namely, Maʿn b. Muḥammad. Apart from the fact that the *isnāds* are single strands, this double tradition gives rise to further objections: 1) Maʿn should have received the same tradition from both Saʿīd al-Maqburī and Ḥanẓala 2) Saʿīd in his tradition mentioned that Ḥanẓala was also there and 3) Ḥanẓala in his tradition refers to Saʿīd's place statement (al-Baqīʿ). That seems to be well designed and synchronized. It is also strange that both traditions that seem to belong together, should have been transmitted separately by different informants to Ibn Khuzayma. However, the *matn* is not identical to any versions of direct transmitters from Abū Hurayra studied so far, and even not only because of the fully new first sentence, which might be a separate tradition of Abū Hurayra. The structure (i.e., the order of the elements according to the count in Abū Ṣāliḥ's *ḥadīth*) is: 1, 3, 4, 5, 7. The element 6 (*al-ṣawmu junna*) conspicuously lacks also in many other transmissions. Yet though this *ḥadīth* seems to differ from the other versions, its independence from the latter cannot be established, as we do not know for sure to whom the differences go back. Furthermore, the fact that the *ḥadīth* differs completely from that of Ibn ʿAjlan makes the *ḥadīth* more suspicious. Therefore, as Ibn ʿAjlan's version Maʿn b. Muḥammad's tradition cannot be used in our scrutiny of Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīth*.

Diagram 14



## 1. The ḤADĪTH of Hammām b. Munabbih

Hammām b. Munabbih al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 131/132)<sup>187</sup> is allegedly one of Abū Hurayra's prolific students.<sup>188</sup> He is said to have been the first Successor to

<sup>187</sup> Hammām's date of death is debated. Ḥamīdullah, *Ṣaḥīfa* (Luton 1979) dates the death of Hammām in the year 101 or 102 (p. 62, and 64, Anm. 2). Sezgin, GAS I (p. 86) mentions Ḥamīdullah's dating and the problem that arises from it: If Hammām died that early, then Ma'mar can not have heard him, if he was born in 96. Sezgin does not give a solution for the contradiction. Ḥamīdullah tries to solve the problem, in which he assumes a mistake in the transmission of Ma'mar's date of birth (*tis'in* instead of *sab'in*). According to him, Ma'mar was thus born in 76 not in 96. Ḥamīdullah tries to shift Hammām's date of death around the year 100, in order to decrease the distance between the date of death of Hammām and Abū Hurayra. He is, however, mistaken. Ma'mar's birth is to be dated into the year 96. This is based on a transmission going back to Ma'mar himself. He reported that 1) he was still a young boy as Ḥasan al-Baṣrī died (110), and 2) in the same year, at the age of 14 years, took up his study of the *ḥadīth* with Qatāda (see al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, s.v. Ma'mar). This is correct. Ḥamīdullah's assumption, that the death year of Hammām is to be shifted in the 101 or 102, is based on Ibn Sa'd's *Ṭabaqāt*. It is conspicuous, however, that Ibn Sa'd's edition is the only source for this early date. Other sources, which are sometimes based even on Ibn Sa'd, give the year 131 or 132 (see al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*). Ḥamīdullah argues that the late sources are

commit to writing whatever *ḥadīths* he happened to hear from Abū Hurayra (d. 58 or 59).<sup>189</sup> That sounds as if Hammām was pupil of the Abū Hurayra for a long time and everything the former noted was that he heard from the latter. That is, however, highly unlikely because of the large difference of age between them. Abū Hurayra died in 58 or 59, and Hammām in 131 or 132. According to Ḥamīdullah (he does not quote his source) Abū Hurayra made a selection from his *ḥadīths* (presumably shortly before his death) for the young Hammām and dictated them to him. Hammām's collection of traditions ascribed to Abū Hurayra, consists of 140 *ḥadīths*, which is nowadays known as *Ṣaḥīfat Hammām b. Munabbih*.<sup>190</sup> The difference between Abū Hurayra's and Hammām b. Munabbih's dates of death is about seventy-two or three years, that means that Hammām must have reached the age of at least 88 (moon) years if he began to study with Abū Hurayra at an age of 14 or 15. The *Ṣaḥīfa* is not an autograph and there is no other transmission than that of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī (d. 211) from Ma'mar b. Rāshid (d. 153). This fact might lead some non-Muslim scholars to doubt the historicity of the *Ṣaḥīfa*. In other words, they would say that the *ḥadīths* might have been fabricated either by Ma'mar or 'Abd al-Razzāq, the common link of the preserved text.<sup>191</sup> The present study, applying the *isnād cum matn* method of analysis, does not reject the historicity of a text, merely because of the reasons mentioned above. Therefore, the *ḥadīth* under review, which is found in the *Ṣaḥīfa* will be analyzed and compared with other versions. There are three separate texts. The first text (a) reads as follows:

“(1) *al-ṣiyyāmu junnatun*, (2) *fa-in kāna aḥadukum ṣā'imān* (3) *fa-lā yajhal wa-lā yarfuṭh*, (4) *fa-in imru'un qātalabu aw shatamahu fāl-yaqul innī ṣā'imun innī*

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incorrect and that their mistakes rest on the incorrect reading of Ibn Sa'd's date, that is, instead of reading *iḥdā aw ithnatayn wa-mi'a*, one reads *iḥdā wa-thalāthīn wa-mi'a*. This notion of Ḥamīdullah is, however, not plausible, for it means that several people concurrently read Ibn Sa'd's date wrongly. It is the other way round. The original date of Ibn Sa'd is 131. The publisher of *Ṭabaqāt* or the writer of the handwriting, which was used in edition of *Ṭabaqāt*, reads it wrongly. The difference of death date between Abū Hurayra and Hammām is 73 years. If Hammām was 14 or 15 years old when he came to Abū Hurayra shortly before the death of the latter, Hammām must have been at the age of 88 (moon year). This is not impossible. The young age of Hammām and the possibly approaching death of Abū Hurayra also explain why the former got a written collection of the latter's *ḥadīths*.

<sup>188</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 10, pp. 11-12.

<sup>189</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfat*, vol. 10, pp. 1v-v.

<sup>190</sup> The *Ṣaḥīfa* has been first edited by M. Ḥamīdullah (5<sup>th</sup> ed., Luton 1961). It is supposedly the oldest preserved *ḥadīth* work.

<sup>191</sup> See Harald Motzki, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence*, 37-38, summarizing the position of the sceptics.

*ṣā'imun*<sup>192</sup> (The fasting is a protection. When anyone of you is fasting he should neither behave foolishly nor utter obscene speech. If anyone reviles him or fights him let him say: "I am fasting, I am fasting"). The second text (b) reads as follows: "(5) *wa-lladhī nafsu Muḥammad bi-yadihi la-khulūfu fam al-ṣā'imi atyabu 'inda Allāh min riḥ al-misk*, (6) *yadharu shahwatahu wa-ṭa'āmahu wa-sharābahu* (according to Ḥamīdullah's edition) *min jarrāya*, (7) *fā-l-ṣiyāmu lī wa-anā ajzī bihi*"<sup>193</sup> (By Him in whose hands is the soul of Muhammad, the smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God than the scent of musk. He abandons his sexual desire and his food for my sake. The fasting is [meant] for me and I will reward it). The third text (c) reads: "(8) *idhā aḥdatha aḥadukum islāmahu fa-kullu ḥasanatin ya'maluhā tuktabu bi-'ashri amthalihā* (9) *ilā sab'i mi'a di'fin*, (10) *wa-kullu sayyi'atin ya'maluhā tuktabu labu bi-mithlihā ḥattā yalqā llāh 'azza wa-jalla*"<sup>194</sup> (If anyone of you beautify<sup>195</sup> his Islam, every good deed he is doing is written [counted] as from ten like it up to sevenhundredfold. And every bad deed he is doing is written [counted] the same until he meets God, the Powerful and the Sublime).

Hammām's three *ḥadīths*, taken together miss only elements 1, 3 and 8-10 of Abū Ṣāliḥ's version. The first two texts of the *Ṣaḥīfa* are also found in 'Abd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf*.<sup>196</sup> Here 'Abd al-Razzāq (d. 211 A.H.) transmits the *ḥadīths* from Ma'mar (d. 153 A.H.) who took it from Hammām (d. 131 or 132), which is also the *isnād* of the *Ṣaḥīfa*. The differences between the *Ṣaḥīfa* and the *Muṣannaf* are only slight. In the *Muṣannaf*'s parallel to *ḥadīth* a) of the *Ṣaḥīfa* the words *aw shatamahu* and the repetition of *innī ṣā'im* are lacking. In the parallel to *matn* b) we find *yatraku* instead of *yadharu*. The third text of Hammām's *Ṣaḥīfa* which is not in the edition of the *Muṣannaf* is found in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* transmitted via Muḥammad b. Rāfi' from 'Abd al-Razzāq.<sup>197</sup> 'Abd al-Razzāq is the only transmitter who claims to have received the *ḥadīths* from Ma'mar and likewise the latter is the only narrator who purportedly transmitted the *ḥadīths* from Hammām. Looking to the *isnād* alone, therefore, one is tempted to assume that the *ḥadīth* under review might have been invented either by 'Abd al-Razzāq or Ma'mar. However, *matn* analysis does not corroborate such an assumption. 'Abd al-Razzāq's *ḥadīths*

<sup>192</sup> Hammām b. Munabbih, *Ṣaḥīfat Hammām b. Munabbih*, ed. Rif'at Fawzī, Cairo 1406/1985, 16.

<sup>193</sup> Hammām ibn Munabbih, *Ibidem*, 17.

<sup>194</sup> Hammām ibn Munabbih, *Ibidem*, 104.

<sup>195</sup> The word *aḥdatha* which means produce and innovate is probably a transmission error. The transmission of 'Abd al-Razzāq's *ḥadīth* in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* has *aḥsana* (beatify) instead of *aḥdatha*, which is more suitable here. The word *islāmahu* might also be a transmission error of originally *a'mālahu*.

<sup>196</sup> 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 4, p. 306.

<sup>197</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Īmān* (1), *bāb idhā hamma 'abd bi-ḥasana...*(59), 205.

with the *isnād* Ma‘mar - Hammām – Abū Hurayra that are related to the *ḥadīth* under review differ from ‘Abd Razzāq’s *ḥadīths*, which he says to have received from other transmitters on the same topic. We pointed out already that ‘Abd al-Razzāq transmitted the *ḥadīth* under review also from ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ through Ibn Jurayj, from al-A‘mash – Abū Ṣāliḥ through Sufyān al-Thawrī and from al-Zuhri – Ibn al-Musayyab through Ma‘mar. All these different transmissions of ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s have their own characteristic text distinguishing it from the other versions. We may accordingly conclude that ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s claim to have received Hammām’s *ḥadīths* from Ma‘mar is more plausible than the assumption that he forged it and it looks different from the other versions. The same applies to Ma‘mar’s claim to have received the *ḥadīths* from Hammām. A comparison of the *ḥadīths* which Ma‘mar ascribes to Hammām with the *ḥadīth* he transmitted via al-Zuhri from Ibn al-Musayyab reveals that they characteristically differ from one another. Ma‘mar’s Hammām *ḥadīth* misses Ma‘mar’s al-Zuhri element “*kullu ‘amal ibn Ādam labu illā al-ṣiyām*”. Conversely, the latter misses the former’s element “*yada‘u shahwatahu wa-ṭa‘amahu wa-sharābahu min jarrāya*”. “Ma‘mar’s Hammām *ḥadīths* are, therefore, independent from his al-Zuhri *ḥadīth*. This suggests that Ma‘mar received the traditions from the persons he names as his informants.

It is conspicuous that Hammām’s version, which consists of three separate *ḥadīths* is very similar in structure and wording to Mālik’s tradition from Abū l-Zinād – al-A‘raj. Yet Mālik’s text is divided only into two parts. Mālik’s *ḥadīth* I is exactly equivalent to Hammām’s *ḥadīth* a), Mālik’s *ḥadīth* II corresponds to Hammām’s *ḥadīth* b) and c), in which only c) shows strong differences in wording.<sup>198</sup> Version c) contains only elements 8 and 9 of Mālik’s *ḥadīth*.

If one takes three *ḥadīths* of Hammām into consideration and compares them with Mālik’s texts, one cannot regard them as identical and dependent on one another. Mālik’s and Hammām’s versions have a different division in single texts and deviate clearly at the end (Hammām’s text c) from one another. It is improbable that Hammām took the version of Mālik or

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<sup>198</sup> It is interesting that Hammām’s element “*ilā sab‘i mi’a di‘fīn*” is only found in al-A‘mash and Abū l-Zinād’s version.



what we reconstructed as the text that goes back to Abū l-Zinād as the model, or vice versa.

Hammām's *ḥadīth* c) is not only important because of its difference with Mālik's tradition from Abū l-Zinād al-A'raj – Abū Hurayra but also because it partly resembles another tradition found in Hammām's *Ṣaḥīfa* that deals with God's reward of good and bad deeds. Hammām's *ḥadīth* c) looks like a short summary of this *ḥadīth*. This tradition transmitted by 'Abd al-Razzāq from Ma'mar – Hammām – Abū Hurayra, is also known from Abū l-Zinād. Its variants show that its kernel must go back to Abū l-Zinād. Hammām's version of it, which is also found in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* as well as in Muslim's and Ibn Ḥibbān's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, varies considerably from Abū l-Zinād's text and is not identical with any of its variants. This suggests that 'Abd al-Razzāq's transmission of this *ḥadīth* ascribed by Ma'mar to Hammām's *Ṣaḥīfa* is not dependent on similar tradition deriving from Ma'mar's contemporary Abū l-Zinād and vice versa. We may conclude from it that both traditions derive from a common source, which is according to the *isnāds*, Abū Hurayra himself. This conclusion is not based on a strict *isnād cum matn* analysis because there are not variants which prove al-A'raj, Abū l-Zinād's alleged source, Ma'mar or Hammām as common links, but only on a reasoning based on indications found in the texts and the *isnāds*.

Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīth* of which Hammām's *ḥadīth* c) is a summary contains the *qudsī* element at the beginning, deals generally with the reward of God to the deed of mankind, and emphasize that the *ḥasana* is rewarded ten to seven hundred fold, *ilā sab'i mi'a ḍifīn*, (the latter is to be found only in the versions of Mālik and Warqā from Abū l-Zinād and the version of Ibn Sīrīn, all from Abū Hurayra).

In sum, our conclusion on Hammām's tradition is not based on a strict *isnād cum matn* analysis because there are no variants which prove Ma'mar or Hammām as common links, but only on reasoning based on indications found in the texts and *isnāds*, that is, a comparison between the traditions of Hammām with those of Mālik from Abū l-Zinād and al-A'mash from Abū Ṣāliḥ. The comparison leads us to conclude that Ma'mar really received his tradition from the informant he mentions, i.e., Hammām.

Subsequently, Hammām's *ḥadīth* can be taken into consideration in the dating of the *ḥadīth*, ascribed to Abū Hurayra about the reward of fasting.

#### D. Traditions that are documented only by single strand *ISNĀDS*

##### m. The *ḤADĪTH* of Mūsā b. Yasār.

Mūsā b. Yasār is another transmitter from Abū Hurayra who reportedly transmitted the *ḥadīth* under review from the latter. In the canonical collections, five *ḥadīths* of Mūsā from Abū Hurayra are found.<sup>199</sup> The *ḥadīth* under review is, however, none of them. It is contained in the *Musnads* of Ibn Ḥanbal<sup>200</sup> and Ibn Rāhawayh.<sup>201</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal's variant is a long version, whereas Ibn Rāhawayh's is a short one. The version of the former reads as follows:

“[*Hadda*]thanā Yazīd [*haddath*]anā Muḥammad ‘an Mūsā b. Yasār ‘an Abī Hurayra qāla qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-sallam [1] wa-l-ladhī naḥṣu Muḥammad bi-yadihi [2] la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda llāh min riḥ al-misk wa-qāla qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-sallam yaqūlu Allāh ‘azza wa-jalla [3] kullu ‘amal ibn Ādam labu [4] illā l-ṣiyām [5] fa-huwa lī [6] wa-anā ajzī bihi [7] innamā yatraku ta‘āmahu wa-sharābahu min ajlī [8] fa-ṣiyāmuhu labu [9] wa-anā ajzī bihi [10] kullu ḥasanatin bi-‘ashri amthāliba ilā sab‘i mi‘a ḍi‘fīn [11] illā l-ṣiyām [12] fa-huwa lī [13] wa-anā ajzī bihi”. (Yazīd informed us [he said] Muḥammad informed us from Mūsā b. Yasār from Abū Hurayra, he said, the messenger of God (pbuh) said: By Him in whose hand is the soul of Muḥammad, the smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God than the scent of musk. And he [Abū Hurayra] said, the messenger of God (pbuh) said: God the Powerful and the Sublime is saying: Every action of the son Adam is his except fasting. It [the fasting] is mine and I will reward it. He abstains from his food and his drink for my sake, consequently his fast is for him and I will reward it. Every good deed is [reckoned] as ten like it up to seven hundredfold, except fasting. It is mine and I will reward it”.

Ibn Ḥanbal claims to have received the *ḥadīth* from Yazīd b. Hārūn but there is no parallel preserved in other collections to corroborate this claim. Since it is only a single strand transmission the strict *isnād cum matn* method which needs common links cannot be applied. Accordingly, we need to find other

<sup>199</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 10, p. 378-9.

<sup>200</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, vol. 2, p. 257

<sup>201</sup> Ishāq b. Rāhawayh, vol. 1, p. 455.

means to answer the question whether Ibn Ḥanbal's claim to have received the tradition from Yazīd b. Hārūn can be trusted. As already pointed out in the previous discussion, Ibn Ḥanbal provides for the *ḥadīth* under review four variants allegedly transmitted by Yazīd: 1) Yazīd – Shu‘ba – Muḥammad b. Ziyād 2) Yazīd – Hishām – Ibn Sīrīn 3) Yazīd – Sālim b. Ḥayyān – Sa‘īd b. Mīnā and 4) Yazīd – Muḥammad – Mūsā b. Yasār. The *matns* of the first three strands have their own characteristics that are corroborated by the other *matns* of their group. The *matn* of *isnād* 4 differs considerably from any of the former three. Yazīd's *matn* ascribed to Mūsā b. Yasār misses the peculiarity of text 1: “*li-kulli ‘amal kaffāratun*”, which is not only typical of Yazīd's *ḥadīth*, but also of Shu‘ba's, Yazīd's informant, and even the character of Muhammad b. Ziyād's *ḥadīth*, Shu‘ba's informant. It can be concluded, therefore, that Yazīd's *matn* ascribed to Mūsā is independent of the *matn* transmitted from Muḥammad b. Ziyād. Text 4 is more similar to version 2, the *ḥadīth* of Ibn Sīrīn. Yet there are significant differences. As can be seen from the text quoted, Ibn Ḥanbal divides the *matn* of the strand 4 into two parts.<sup>202</sup> The first part consists of two elements: “[1] *wa-l-ladhī naḥṣu Muḥammad bi-yadihi* [2] *la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda llāh min riḥ al-misk*” (the element 11 and 12 of Abū Ṣāliḥ's version). The first element is missing in the *matn* of the strand 2. In this *matn* element 3 of Yazīd's Mūsā text is also missing: “*kullu ‘amal ibn Ādam labu*”. In addition, the second part of Yazīd's Mūsā tradition is a qudsī *ḥadīth*, while Yazīd's Ibn Sīrīn is not. Moreover, the structure of the *matns* of both strands differs considerably: Element 1 of Yazīd's Ibn Sīrīn tradition (YS) (Abū Ṣāliḥ's element 2) is found in element 10 of Yazīd's Mūsā text (YM). But the latter adds the sentence “*ilā sab‘i mi’a ḍiḥfin*”. Elements 2 and 3 of YS (Abū Ṣāliḥ's elements 4 and 5 are found in elements 5, 6 and 12, 13 of YM. Element 4 of YS (Abū Ṣāliḥ's element 7) is found in element 7 of YM. Element 5 of YS (Abū Ṣāliḥ's element 12) is found in element 2 of YM.

The comparison makes clear that both *matns* are independent of each other. Finally, Yazīd's Mūsā *ḥadīth* differs completely from his *matn* transmitted from Sa‘īd b. Mīnā. Therefore, it can be concluded that Yazīd's Mūsā *ḥadīth*

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<sup>202</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal divides this version into two parts. This is inferred from his saying “*wa-qāla [Abū Hurayra], qāla rasūl Allāh*” in the middle of the text.

is independent from the other three, though they derive from the same source, Yazīd. In other words, it is probable that Ibn Ḥanbal really received the different *ḥadīths* from Yazīd.

What about the claim of Yazīd to have transmitted the *ḥadīth* from Muḥammad [b. Ishāq]? Yazīd is the only transmitter from the latter, and therefore we do not have a parallel *ḥadīth* to compare. But if we compare Yazīd's *ḥadīth* he received from Muḥammad and the ones he received from other informants (Shu'ba, Hishām and Sālim b. Ḥayyān) it conspicuously reveals their considerable deviations. It is hard to imagine that Yazīd purposely fabricated four different *matns* and *isnāds* for the *ḥadīth* of Abū Hurayra. It is more plausible to assume that Yazīd's versions reflect a real process of transmission. Put differently, Yazīd really received the *ḥadīths* from the informants he mentions. The fact that in the three other cases Shu'ba's, Hishām's and Sālim's students corroborate Yazīd's claim to have transmitted the *ḥadīth* from these informants suggests that in this case it is not otherwise. Thus, it seems reasonable to ascribe the *ḥadīth* under scrutiny to Muḥammad b. Ishāq. Did Muḥammad invent the *ḥadīth* or did he receive it from the source he quotes, Mūsā b. Yasār?

Mūsā's *ḥadīth* was not only transmitted by Muhammad, but allegedly also by Dāwūd b. Qays. This version is found in the *Musnad* of Ibn Rāhawayh.<sup>203</sup> It reads as follows: “*la-khulūfu fam al-ṣā'im yaʿwim al-qiyāma atyabu 'inda llāh min riḥ al-misk*” It is a short version, which resembles the first part of Ibn Ḥanbal's version. However, like Ibn Sīrīn's version, it misses the sentence “*wa-lladhī nafsu Muḥammad bi-yadihi*”. We may wonder however whether this *ḥadīth* can corroborate Ibn Ḥanbal's version, for the text is too short. It is possible that both versions go back to Mūsā. But it is also possible that the Dāwūd b. Qays' fragment depends on that of Muḥammad. It cannot be determined because of the brevity of the fragments. Likewise, the fact that Dāwūd's version contains only one of the elements given by Muḥammad b. Ishāq is not a conclusive indication of their independence from one another. Dāwūd's *matn* that corresponds to element 12 of Abū Ṣāliḥ's text often appears alone. Dāwūd's claim to have transmitted the *ḥadīth* from Mūsā cannot be taken to corroborate the claim of Muḥammad b. Ishāq to have

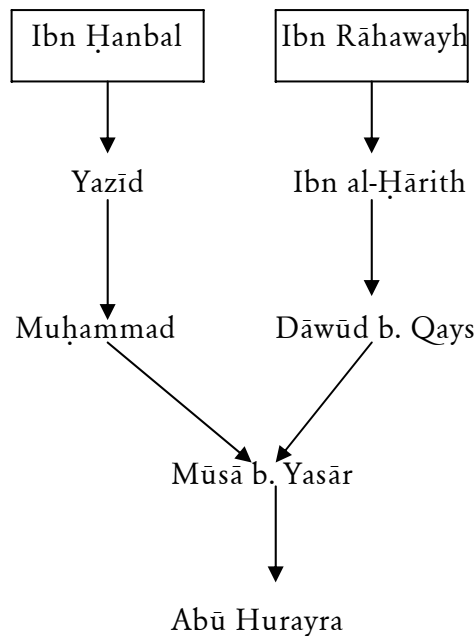
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<sup>203</sup> Ibn Rāhawayh, *Musnad*, vol. 1, p. 455.

transmitted the *ḥadīth* from Mūsā. Do we have to rule out the historicity of Muḥammad's claim? To answer this question let us compare Muḥammad – Mūsā's *ḥadīth* with other *ḥadīths* studied so far.

Though almost all elements of Muḥammad – Mūsā's *ḥadīth* are found in Abū Ṣāliḥ's *ḥadīth*, both are different. The former misses some elements of the latter (elements 6, 8, 9, 10 and 13) and their structures differ considerably. Here are the differences: Muḥammad - Mūsā : Abū Ṣāliḥ (1:11; 2: 12; 3:1; 4, 11:3; 5, 12:4; 6, 9, 13: 5; 7:7; 8:0 (the element 8 “*fa-ṣiyāmuhu lahu*” is not found in Abū Ṣāliḥ's nor in al-A'mash version);<sup>204</sup> 10:2.<sup>205</sup> Muḥammad's Mūsā *ḥadīth* differs also clearly in structure and content from the versions transmitted by other people from Abū Hurayra, like Ibn al-Musayyab, Ibn Ziyād, Ibn Sīrīn and others studied above. That suggests that Muḥammad did not receive the *ḥadīth* from pupils of Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab, Muḥammad b. Ziyād or other transmitters. That he really transmitted it from the source he mentions, Mūsā b. Yasār, is the most plausible solution. If this assumption is accepted, Mūsā b. Yasār's *ḥadīth* can be considered a credible transmission of Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīth*.

Diagram 15



<sup>204</sup> Possibly “*lahu*” is a transmission error for “*li*”. In that case this element resembles element 4 of Abū Ṣāliḥ's text.

<sup>205</sup> “*Ilā sab'i mi'a di'fin*” is, however, not the element of Abū Ṣāliḥ but only that of al-A'mash.

#### n. The ḤADĪTH of Dāwūd b. Farāhīj.

Dāwūd is another transmitter from of Abū Hurayra who allegedly transmitted the *ḥadīth* under review. Ibn Ḥanbal transmitted the *ḥadīth* from Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar who according to the *isnād* transmitted it from Shuʿba who transmitted it from Dāwūd. I could not find variants of this tradition in the sources. The *ḥadīth* reads as follows:

“[*Hadda*]thanā Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar qāla [*hadda*]thanā Shuʿba ʿan Dāwūd b. Farāhīj qāla samiʿtu Abā Hurayra yaqūlu mā kāna lanā ʿalā ʿabdi rasūl Allāh ...*wa-bi-isnādihi* qāla samiʿtu Abā Hurayra yuḥaddithu ʿan al-nabī ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi *wa-sallam annahu* qāla yaʿnī yaqūlu llāh ʿazza *wa-jalla al-ṣawmu huwa lī wa-anā* ajzī bihi *wa-la-khulūfu fami l-ṣāʿimi atyabu ʿinda llāh min riḥ al-misk*”.<sup>206</sup> (Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar informed us he said Shuʿba informed us from Dāwūd b. Farāhīj, he said I heard Abū Hurayra saying: At the time of the Prophet, we did not have... with the same *isnād* he [Dāwūd] said I heard Abū Hurayra transmitting from the Prophet (pbuh) that he [the Prophet] said, that is, God the Powerful and the Sublime says:<sup>207</sup> Fasting is mine, and I will reward it. The smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God than the scent of musk).

Ibn Ḥanbal divides Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar’s *ḥadīth* into two parts. The first part does not concern us here, for it is not an element of the *ḥadīth* under review. The second part is similar to versions of the *ḥadīth* transmitted by Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar from Shuʿba from Muḥammad b. Ziyād. They are, however, not identical. Ibn Ḥanbal provides not fewer than five versions of Abū Hurayra’s *ḥadīth* transmitted by Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar: two variants of Hishām’s Ibn Sīrīn tradition, one each of Shuʿba’s transmission from al-Aʿmash – Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Muḥammad b. Ziyād and from Dāwūd b. Farāhīj. The fact that the *matns* are characteristically different from each other and that Ibn Ḥanbal distinguishes his informants and their transmissions very carefully, strongly suggests that neither Ibn Ḥanbal nor Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar did fabricate the *ḥadīths*. That means that though Ibn Ḥanbal is the only transmitter of Ibn Jaʿfar’s tradition from Dāwūd, his claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from Ibn Jaʿfar is to be taken genuine. The same can be said about Ibn Jaʿfar’s claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from Shuʿba. Does the same

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<sup>206</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 458.

<sup>207</sup> “*yaʿnī yaqūlu llāh ʿazza wa-jalla*” is an insertion in the text, which probably does not stem from Abū Hurayra.

argument apply to Shu‘ba’s claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from Dāwūd? Let us have a look on the *matns* of the *ḥadīths* Shu‘ba ascribes to Muḥammad b. Ziyād and to Dāwūd. They differ significantly. Shu‘ba’s *ḥadīth* from Dāwūd misses the characteristic element of his *ḥadīth* from Ibn Ziyād, that is, “*kullu l-‘amal kaffāratun*”. This strongly suggests that the two *ḥadīths* are independent and that Shu‘ba did not forge Dāwūd’s *ḥadīth* according to the model of Ibn Ziyād’s tradition and vice versa. If this assumption is accepted, then Dāwūd’s *ḥadīth* can be considered a reliable version of Abū Hurayra’s *ḥadīth*. It consists only of Abū Ṣāliḥ elements 4, 5 and 12.

#### o. The ḤADĪTH of Mujāhid.

Mujāhid b. Jabr (d. 104) is another alleged transmitter of the *ḥadīth* under review from Abū Hurayra. His *ḥadīth* is found in the *al-Mu‘jam al-awsaṭ* of al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360).<sup>208</sup> It has a single strand *isnād* where we find four transmitters between the collector al-Ṭabarānī and Mujāhid. There are no other variants known to me. In other words, al-Ṭabarānī’s *isnād* (‘Abd al-‘Azīz – Bishr b. Hilāl – ‘Abd al-Wārith – Layth – Mujāhid) cannot be checked. Here is the *ḥadīth*:

“*Ḥaddathanā ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad qāla [ḥadda]thanā Bishr b. Hilāl qāla [ḥadda]thanā ‘Abd al-Wārith ‘an Layth ‘an Mujāhid ‘an Abī Hurayra qāla qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-sallam kullu ‘amal Ibn Ādam labu illā l-ṣawm fa-innahu lī wa-anā ajzī bihi wa-la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda llāh min riḥ al-misk*” (‘Abd al-Azīz b. Muḥammad informed us, he said Bishr b. Hilāl informed us he said ‘Abd al-Wārith informed us from Layth from Mujāhid from Abū Hurayra he said, the Messenger of God (pbuh) said: Every action of the son of Adam is his except fasting. It is mine, and I will reward it. And verily, the smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God than scent of musk).

Strangely enough, the *matn* of the *ḥadīth* is identical to the *matn* of al-Zuhri’s version of Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab’s transmission found in al-Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*.<sup>209</sup> How to explain the fact? The most probable solution is that al-Ṭabarānī’s *ḥadīth* is erroneously or falsely ascribed to al-Layth and Mujāhid by ‘Abd al-Wārith or Bishr b. Hilāl. That the tradition is only transmitted by these two

<sup>208</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu‘jam al-awsaṭ*, vol. 5, p. 131.

<sup>209</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *kitāb al-libās*, 78.

is already mentioned by al-Ṭabarānī himself. It can have been adopted from al-Zuhri's Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab version. Put it differently, according to the *isnād cum matn* analysis the *ḥadīth* of Mujāhid cannot be taken as corroborating evidence of our dating the *ḥadīth*.

**p. The ḤADĪTH of al-Ḥasan.**

Another single strand of Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīth* is that of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110) found in the post-canonical collection: *Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn* compiled by Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360).<sup>210</sup> According to the canonical collections, al-Ḥasan transmitted 22 *ḥadīth* from Abū Hurayra.<sup>211</sup> None of them is, however, the *ḥadīth* in question. There are six transmitters between al-Ḥasan and the collector. If we compare the *matn* of this *ḥadīth* with others it is unique in the sense that though its *matn* is a short version compared with that of Abū Ṣāliḥ, it contains several of its details. Here is the *matn*.

“Ḥaddathanā Mūsā b. ‘Isā b. al-Mundhir al-Ḥimṣī, [ḥadda]thanā Yūsuf al-Mudadī Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayda, [ḥadda]thanā al-Jarrāḥ b. Malīḥ, ‘an Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Dhī Ḥimāya ‘an Abī Marzūq ‘an Qatāda ‘an al-Ḥasan ‘an Abī Hurayra anna l-nabī ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-sallam qāla: [o] yaqūlu llāh ‘azza wa-jalla [1] al-ṣiyāmu lī [2] wa-anā ajzī bi [3] wa-ladhī nafsu Muḥammad bi-yadihi [4] la-khulūfu famī l-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda llāh min rīḥ al-misk [5] fa-idhā ṣāma aḥadukum fa-lā yarfuth wa-lā yajhal fa-in juhila ‘alayhi fa-l-yaqul innī ṣā’imun” (Mūsā b. ‘Isā al-Mundhir al-Ḥimṣī informed us, [he said] Yūsuf al-Mudadī Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayda informed us, [he said] al-Jarrāḥ b. Malīḥ informed us from Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Dhī Ḥimāya from Abū Marzūq from Qatāda from al-Ḥasan from Abū Hurayra that the Prophet (pbuh) said: [o] God the Powerful and the Sublime says: [1] Fasting is mine [2] and I will reward it [3] By Him in whose hand is the soul of Muhammad [4] the smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God than the scent of musk [5] when one of you is fasting he should neither utter obscene speech nor behave foolishly. If anyone acts foolishly toward him let him say: “I am fasting”).

The structure of Qatāda – al-Ḥasan *ḥadīth* differs from any versions studied so far. Element 4 agrees in wording with Abū Ṣāliḥ's version (element 11) and Mālīk's transmission from Abū al-Zinād - al-A'raj (element 5). Element 5 agrees in wording with Abū Ṣāliḥ's element 12, Ibn al-Musayyab's element 5,

<sup>210</sup> It is edited by Ḥamdī ‘Abd al-Majīd al-Salafī, Beirut 1417/1996

<sup>211</sup> See al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vol. 9, pp. 315-320.



Ibn Ziyād's element 4, Ibn Sīrīn's element 5 and the second part of element 5 of Mālik's transmission from Abū l-Zinād - al-A'raj.

Element 1, with which al-Ḥasan's *ḥadīth* begins (apart from the formula "yaqūlu llāh etc.") differs significantly from Abū Ṣāliḥ's *ḥadīth*, for it misses the latter's introduction. Such independent formulation of element 4 is also found in other versions of Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīth* (Mālik – Abū l-Zinād - al-A'raj in al-Bukhārī; Ibn Wahb – 'Amr – al-Mundhir – Abū Ṣāliḥ in al-Nasā'ī; Ma'mar – al-Zuhrī – Ibn al-Musayyab; and Ma'mar – Hammām b. Munabbih in 'Abd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf* and his transmission of the so-called *Ṣaḥīfat Hammām*). The phrase "*al-ṣiyāmu li*" instead of "*fa-innahu li*" can be the result of an abridgment or it can be the original text of a separate tradition that has been reformulated when being combined with another tradition. The element 5<sup>212</sup> of al-Ḥasan's *ḥadīth* deviates significantly in wording from Abū Ṣāliḥ's element 13. "*Lā yajhal*" is also found in Abū l-Zinād's version and "*jahila*" in that of 'Alī b. Zayd – Ibn al-Musayyab. In both cases, the remaining text of the element in question is not identical with that of al-Ḥasan and also the rest of his transmission deviates from them. This might indicate that they are independent of each other. Yet since no variant of al-Ḥasan's *ḥadīth* is found and it only emerges in a late collection, the strict method of *isnād-cum-matn* cannot be applied and the comparison with other versions is problematic because of the late date of the transmission. Accordingly, the tradition of Abū Hurayra ascribed to al-Ḥasan cannot be properly dated and cannot be used for dating the former's tradition.

#### q. The ḤADĪTH of Jābir b. Zayd

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<sup>212</sup> This element of al-Ḥasan's tradition is also mentioned in Ibn Abī Ḥatīm's *ʿIlal al-ḥadīth*, with the *isnād*, Sa'īd b. Bashīr – Qatāda – al-Ḥasan. Abū Ḥatīm, commenting the *ḥadīth*, says the *ḥadīth* is *mursal*, i.e., al-Ḥasan did not hear it directly from Abū Hurayra. See Ibn Abī Ḥatīm, *ʿIlal al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1343, vol. 1, p. 246. This variant is an indication that a version of Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīth* from Qatāda – al-Ḥasan circulated not only in the tradition of Ibn Marzūq. It is clear that al-Ṭabarānī's transmission is not a single strand. However, Ibn Ḥibbān's fragment is too short to make a safe statement about al-Ḥasan's text. It is only to say that there was an early version of al-Ḥasan that might have already been circulated by Qatāda.

Another variant of Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīth* is transmitted by Jābir, which is recorded by al-Rabī' in his *Musnad* via Abū 'Ubayda. It is divided in two parts. Here is the text:

"*wa-min ṭarīqihi* [Abū 'Ubayda 'an Jābir b. Zayd 'an Abū Hurayra] *qāla qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa-sallam khulūfu fam al-ṣā'imi atyabu 'inda llāh min riḥ al-misk. Fāraqa 'abdī shahwatahu wa-ṭa'āmahu min ajlī fa-l-ṣiyāmu lī wa-anā ajzī*"<sup>213</sup> (and from his chain [Abū 'Ubayda from Jābir b. Zayd from Abū Hurayra] he said, the messenger of God said: The smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God than the fragrance of musk. My servant abandons his [sexual] desire and his food for my sake. Fasting is mine and I will reward it). The second text reads: "*Wa-min ṭarīqi Abī Hurayra qāla qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa-sallam al-ṣawmu junnatun fa-idhā kāna aḥadukum ṣā'imān fa-lā yarfuṭh wa-lā yajhal wa-in imru'un qātalahu aw shatamahu fal-yaqul innī ṣā'imun*"<sup>214</sup> (And from Abū Hurayra he said, the messenger of God (pbuh) said: the fasting is a protection. When anyone of you is fasting he should neither utter obscene speech nor behave foolishly. If anyone reviles him or fights him let him say: I am fasting).

If one compares it to other textual traditions, it appears that Jābir's *matn* is more similar to Hammām b. Munabbih's *ḥadīth* than to any other *ḥadīths*. But it consists of two parts, rather than three, as Hammām's version. Apart from the lacking element 5 of Hammām's parallel (*wa-lladhī nafsu Muḥammad bi-yadihi*) Jābir's first *ḥadīth* has the same order of elements as Hammām's *ḥadīth* b). The same applies to the second Jābir-*ḥadīth*, which includes the elements 1-4 of Hammām's *ḥadīth* that correspond to Abū Ṣāliḥ's elements 6 and 13. Yet in Hammām's *Ṣaḥīfa* both texts are found in reverse order. The combination of Abū Ṣāliḥ's elements 6 and 13 is also found so far only in Mālik's – Abū l-Zinād's *ḥadīth*. The similarity of structure and wording suggest the possibility that Jābir's version and that of Hammām may be dependent from one another. The possibility of such a dependence cannot be excluded, but a neat comparison of the *ḥadīth* ascribed to Jābir b. Zayd with the Ma'mar's transmission from Hammām and Mālik's transmission from Abū l-Zinād, a few differences which can also suggest that they are not dependent. Instead of saying "*yadharu shahwatahu*", Jābir's *ḥadīth* says "*fāraqa 'abdī shahwatahu*". The variants "*ujāzī*" instead of "*ajzī*", *ṣā'imān* (like Mālik) instead of *yawman ṣā'imān*, and *min ajlī* (like Mālik) instead of "*min jarrāya*" may be due to errors of transmission or indicate a relation with

<sup>213</sup> Al-Rabī' b. Ḥabīb, *Musnad*, vol. 1, p. 133.

<sup>214</sup> Al-Rabī' b. Ḥabīb, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 134.

Mālik's *ḥadīth* or may indicate an independence. The issue is difficult to decide in this case, because no variants of Jābir's *ḥadīth* are available that could be used to date it. This *ḥadīth* cannot accordingly be included in the dating of Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīth*.

#### r. Bashīr – aṣḥābunā.

Another variant of Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīth* is transmitted by Bashīr, found in al-Ṭabarānī's *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*.<sup>215</sup> It has a single strand *isnād* where we find five transmitters between the collector al-Ṭabarānī and Bashīr. The *ḥadīth* reads as follows:

*Ḥaddathanā 'Abdān [ḥadda]thanā Azhar b. Marwān al-Raqqashī qāla [ḥadda]thanā 'Abd al-A'lā b. Sa'īd 'an Qatāda 'an Jary b. Kulayb 'an Bashīr al-Khaṣṣāsiyya qāla wa-ḥaddathanā aṣḥābunā 'an abī Hurayra anna l-nabī ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallama qāla yarwī 'an rabbihī ta'ālā [1] al-ṣawmu junnatun yajinnu bi-hā 'abdī min al-nār [2] wa-l-ṣawmu lī [3] wa-anā ajzī bihi [4] yada'u ta'āmahu wa-shahwatahu min ajli [5] wa-l-ladhī nafsi bi-yadihi [6] la-kbulūfu fam al-ṣā'imi 'inda llāh 'azza wa-jalla yawm al-qiyāma atyabu min al-riḥ al-misk. 'Abdān informed us, [he said] Azhar b. Marwān al-Raqqashī informed us he said 'Abd al-A'lā informed us from Qatāda from Jary b. Kulayb from Bashīr al-Khaṣṣāsiyya he said and our friends informed us from Abū Hurayra that the Prophet (pbuh) said, transmitting from his Lord the Supreme, [1] the fast is a protection, with which my servant protects himself from the hell [2] the fasting is [meant] for me [3] and I will reward it [generously] [4] he abandons his food and his [sexual] desire for my sake [5] by Him in whose hand is my soul [6] verily, the smell of the fasting person's mouth is more delectable to God the Powerful and the Sublime at the day of resurrection than the scent of musk.*

The structure and the elements of Bashīr's *ḥadīth* are different from those of other versions studied so far. Compared with Abū Ṣāliḥ's *ḥadīth*, Bashīr's is a short version, which contains some elements of the former. Element one of Bashīr's *ḥadīth* agrees with Abū Ṣāliḥ's element 6, apart from the addition *yajinnu bihā 'abdī min al-nār*. Elements two and three correspond to Abū Ṣāliḥ's elements four and five. Element four is similar to Abū Ṣāliḥ's element seven. Elements five and six agree with Abū Ṣāliḥ's elements 11 and 12. Bashīr's *ḥadīth*, however, is lacking some elements of Abū Ṣāliḥ's *ḥadīth*; 2, 3, 8, 9, 10 and 13. We can conclude, accordingly, that Bashīr's *ḥadīth* is

<sup>215</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, vol. 2, p. 45.

independent of Abū Ṣāliḥ's. Yet because there are five transmitters between the collector and Bashīr and that no variant of Bashīr's *ḥadīth* is found, the strict *isnād cum matn* method cannot be applied. Accordingly, the tradition ascribed to Bashīr cannot be properly dated and cannot be used for dating Abū Hurayra's tradition.

We have analysed the traditions of tertiary partial common links. We have found out that the traditions ascribed to Sa'īd al-Maqburī are modeled on the traditions ascribed to Abū l-Zinād. Meanwhile, 'Abd al-Razzāq's claim to have transmitted the traditions of Hammām via Ma'mar is independent of any versions. In other words, the *ḥadīth* can be ascribed to Hammām b. Munabbih. The same applies to the traditions ascribed to Mūsā b. Yasār by Muḥammad. They are independent of any traditions ascribed to primary and secondary partial common links. Similarly, Shu'ba's ascription to Dāwūd b. Farāḥij is independent of his ascription to Muḥammad b. Ziyād. Put differently, the *ḥadīth* can be ascribed to Dāwūd b. Farāḥij, a transmitter from Abū Hurayra. On the contrary, the *ḥadīth* ascribed to Mujāhid cannot be taken into account in the dating of Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīth*, not only because of the single strand (four transmitter between the collector al-Ṭabarānī and Mujāhid), but also the *matn* is identical to the version of al-Zuhri – Ibn al-Musayyab. It can be a false ascription. The same applies to the traditions ascribed to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Jābir b. Zayd and Bashīr.

## **2. The ḤADĪTH of other Companions and Successors**

### **A. The ḤADĪTH of Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī**

The *ḥadīth* of Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī is found in the canonical and pre- as well as post-canonical collections, that is, in Ibn Abī Shayba's *Muṣannaḥ*, in Abū Ya'la's *Musnad*, in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*, in 'Abd b. Ḥamid's *Musnad*, in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, in Ibn Khuzayma's *Ṣaḥīḥ* and in al-Bayhaqī's *Sunan al-kubrā*. According to the *isnād* bundle, Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl is the common link. In view of the fact that we have already discussed in detail the *ḥadīth* of Ibn

Fuḍayl as well as that of ʿUmar b. al-Murra in the foregoing chapters,<sup>216</sup> the strands having the *isnād* “Ibn Murra – Abū Ṣāliḥ” do not merit a repeated discussion. As we have pointed out already, the *ḥadīth* of Ibn Murra is a shortened version of Abū Ṣāliḥ’s *ḥadīth* from Abū Hurayra. The question has to be asked is whether it could have also been derived from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī.

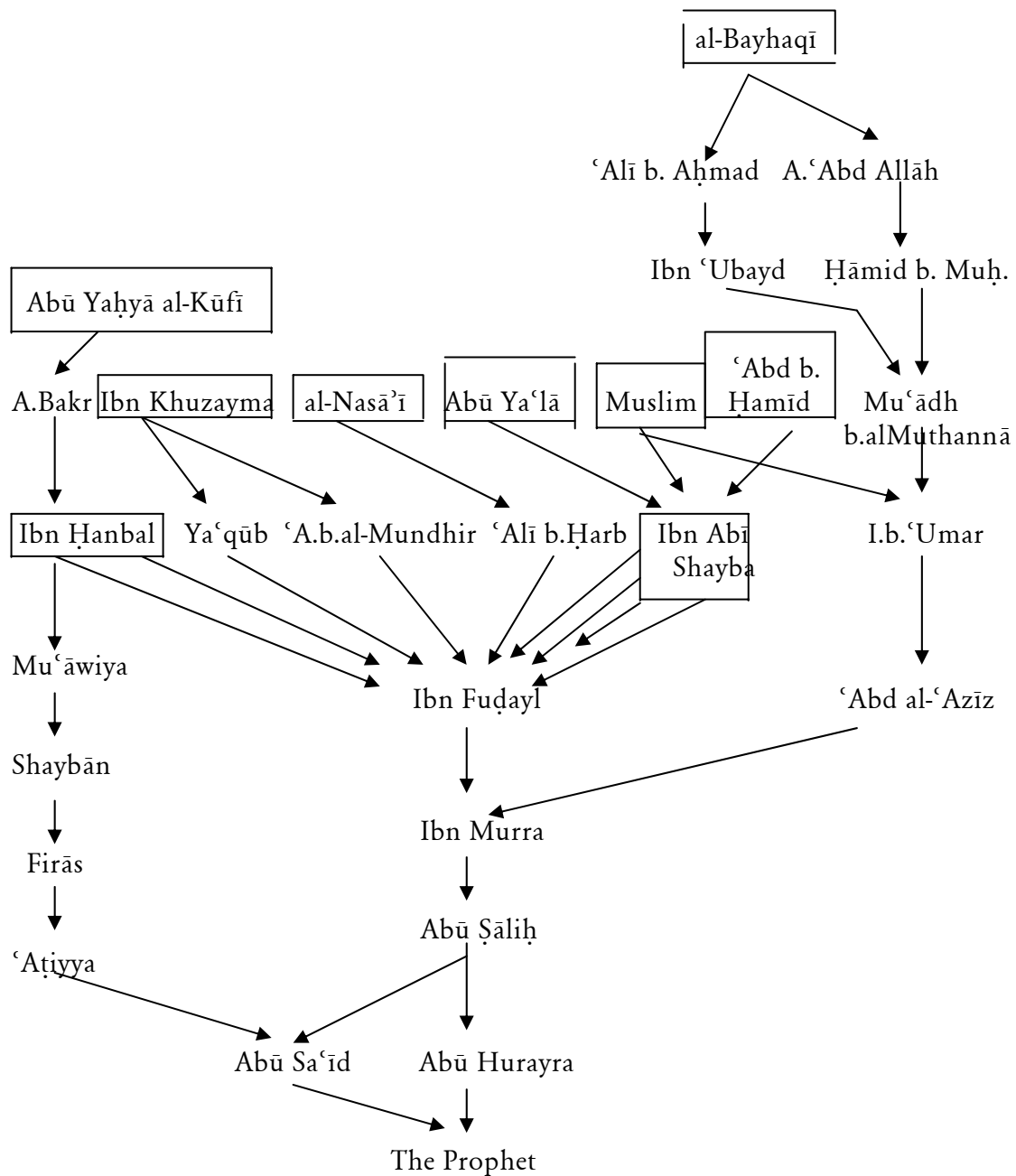
We have one variant to be discussed here, namely Ibn Ḥanbal’s *ḥadīth* allegedly transmitted from Muʿāwiya going back to ʿAṭiyya.<sup>217</sup> It is a single strand bypassing not only the common link Ibn Fuḍayl but even Ibn Murra and Abū Ṣāliḥ. Juynboll calls this kind of strand a diving strand, whose historicity is to be completely ruled out. It is the collector who invented it. According to Juynboll, the deeper the diving of a strand the younger it is.<sup>218</sup> Taking Juynboll’s theory at face value would mean that Ibn Ḥanbal’s *ḥadīth* from Muʿāwiya is younger than Muslim’s *ḥadīth* from Ishāq b. ʿUmar. It is even later than the *ḥadīth* of Ibn Khuzayma and al-Bayhaqī. In our case, Juynboll would accuse Ibn Hanbal, Muslim and al-Bayhaqī of having invented the diving strands. Did Ibn Ḥanbal really invent his strand?

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<sup>216</sup> See the foregoing discussion on Ibn Murra - Abū Ṣāliḥ – Abū Hurayra’s *ḥadīth*.

<sup>217</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 3, p. 40.

<sup>218</sup> Juynboll, “Nāfiʿ, the *mawla* of Ibn ʿUmar”, pp. 212-214. Juynboll’s description of what he calls “diving” phenomenon is similar to what M. Cook calls proliferation of *isnād*. See Michael Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, pp. 107-116



The above bundle shows that Ibn Ḥanbal provides three transmission lines of al-Khudrī’s *ḥadīth*: two of them go back to the latter via Ibn Fuḍayl - Ibn Murra – Abū Ṣāliḥ and one via Mu‘āwiya – Shaybān - Firās - ‘Aṭiyya. Ibn Ḥanbal’s first two variants are substantiated by other transmissions going back to Ibn Fuḍayl. Mu‘āwiya’s *ḥadīth* has no variant. It is found in the

*Musnads* of Ibn Ḥanbal and Abū Yaḥyā al-Kūfī.<sup>219</sup> Let us have a look on Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*. It reads as follows:

“[*ḥadda*]thanā Mu‘āwiya [*ḥadda*]thanā Shaybān ‘an Firās ‘an ‘Aṭīyya ‘an Abī Sa‘īd ‘an al-nabī ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-sallam annahu qāla [1] *la-kbulūfu fami l-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda llāh min fayḥ al-misk* [2] *qāla ṣāma hādhā min ajlī wa-taraka shahwatahu ‘an al-ṭa‘āmi wa-l-sharābi min ajlī* [3] *fa-l-ṣawmu lī wa-anā ajzī bihi*”. (Mu‘āwiya informed us [he said] Shaybān informed us from Firās from ‘Aṭīyya from Sa‘īd from the Prophet (pbuh) that he said: [1] The smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God than the scent of musk [2] he said this [person] fasts for my sake and he abandons his desires for eating and drinking for my sake [3] then the fast is Mine and I reward it”.

Al-Kūfī's version is almost identical to Ibn Ḥanbal's. The former differs only slightly in wording from the latter. It says “*min riḥ al-misk*” instead of “*min fayḥ al-misk*” and “*min al-ṭa‘āmi*” instead of “*‘an al-ṭa‘āmi*”. These variances look like copying errors. The almost complete identity of both texts is certainly due to the fact that Abū Bakr b. Mālik, the informant of al-Kūfī, took the *ḥadīth* from ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 290), the compiler of Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*, whereas slight deviations might go back either to al-Qaṭī‘ī (d. 368), the one who transmitted Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* from ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, or to Abū Bakr b. Mālik, Abū Yaḥyā al-Kūfī, or even later transmitters of both works.

The structure of Firās – Mu‘āwiya's *ḥadīth* differs largely from the reconstructed *ḥadīth* of Ibn Murra.<sup>220</sup> In the latter, we find the first element of Mu‘āwiya's *ḥadīth* (*la-kbulūf* etc.) at the end of the *ḥadīth* and the last element (*al-ṣawm lī* etc.) at the beginning. Moreover, while Ibn Murra's *ḥadīth* misses the second element of Mu‘āwiya's version, the latter misses some elements of the former: “*inna li-l-ṣā’imi farḥatayni.....fa-jazāhu fariḥa*” and “*wa-l-ladhī nafsu Muḥammad bi-yadihi*”. How to explain these deviations? Is it sensible to assume that Ibn Ḥanbal fabricated the Mu‘āwiya *ḥadīth*? Taking the assumption to be the case would mean that Ibn Ḥanbal invented the *matn* very carefully in order to make it different from his other variants of the *ḥadīth*, and at the same time provided it with different *isnāds*. This is imaginable, it is true, but is it probable? The fact that the *ḥadīth* varies from

<sup>219</sup> Firās b. Yaḥyā al-Kūfī, *Masānīd Abū Yaḥyā al-Kūfī*, p. 109.

<sup>220</sup> See Ibn Murra's reconstructed *ḥadīth* in the foregoing discussion.

any variants of Ibn Ḥanbal's rather suggests that the latter did not fabricate the *ḥadīth*. It does not mean, however, that Ibn Ḥanbal's *ḥadīth* goes really back to 'Aṭīyya, for we have no variant corroborating the latter's *ḥadīth*. We can only say that the large difference between both variants indicate their independence from one another. Abū Ṣāliḥ's claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from Abū Hurayra is corroborated by other students of the latter. That he has received the *ḥadīth* also from Abū Sa'īd is only claimed by Ibn Murra and is not substantiated by other transmitters from Abū Ṣāliḥ. This suggests that the Ibn Murra's claim cannot be taken as reliable.

The fact that Mu'āwiya and Ibn Murra's texts are obviously not dependent on one another does not mean that Mu'āwiya's version really goes back to Abū Sa'īd. It is to examine whether Mu'āwiya's text is really independent, i.e., not similar to any known versions. The structure of his text (it resembles the elements 12, 7, 4, 5 of Abū Ṣāliḥ's version) is also to be found in the versions of Mālik – Abū al-Zinād – al-A'raj, in those of Hammām b. Munabbih and those of Jābir b. Zayd, who all ascribe the *ḥadīths* to Abū Hurayra. Mu'āwiya's version is most similar to that of Jābir b. Zayd and deviates in wording from it only insignificantly. On the other hand, Jābir's text is probably dependent on the one of Hammām b. Munabbih's version of Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīth*. It means that Mu'āwiya's *ḥadīth* might not an independent transmission from Abū Sa'īd, but dependent on the Abū Hurayra-*ḥadīth* and falsely ascribed to Abū Sa'īd. Whether the text depends directly on Jābir b. Zayd's version, or whether we have to reckon with several similar versions, which are all based on Hammām b. Munabbih's *ḥadīth*, is hard to determine, as the exact age of the version of Jābir b. Zayd is not ascertainable.

The conclusion that Mu'āwiya's text was falsely ascribed to Abū Sa'īd is corroborated by two arguments: a) our finding that Ibn Murra's ascription of the text to Abū Sa'īd is false, and b) the fact that Mu'āwiya's Abū Sa'īd-*ḥadīth* is singular. The latter is an *e silentio* argument, it is true, but in view of the other arguments which speaks against the ascription to Abū Sa'īd, it can be used here.

Ibn Ḥanbal is certainly not responsible for the false ascription. As possible candidates remain the transmitters from Mu'āwiya to 'Aṭīyya. Who



might be the most probable candidate is difficult to ascertain, as variants of this transmission are lacking. Thus, both Ibn Murra's and Mu'āwiya's *ḥadīth* cannot be ascribed to Abū Sa'īd. Accordingly, they do not corroborate Abū Hurayra's claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from the Prophet.

## B. The ḤADĪTH of Ibn Mas'ūd.

Ibn Mas'ūd also reportedly transmitted parts of the *ḥadīth* under review from the Prophet. It is preserved in four *ḥadīth* collections: 'Abd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf*,<sup>221</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*,<sup>222</sup> al-Nasā'ī's *Sunan*<sup>223</sup> and al-Ṭabarānī's *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*.<sup>224</sup> Let us have a look on the version of the *ḥadīth* found in 'Abd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf*. It reads as follows:

“‘Abd al-Razzāq ‘an Ma‘mar ‘an Abī Ishāq ‘an Abī al-Aḥwaṣ ‘an Ibn Mas‘ūd qāla [1] *li-l-ṣā’imi farḥatāni farḥatun ‘inda fiṭrihi wa-farḥatun ḥīna ya’tī rabbahu* [2] *wa-khulūfu fami al-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda Allāh min riḥ al-misk*” (‘Abd al-Razzāq from Ma‘mar from Abū Ishāq from Abū al-Aḥwaṣ from Ibn Mas‘ūd, he said: [1] the one who fasts has two joys: joy when breaking the fast, and joy when coming to his Lord [2] and the smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God than the scent of musk).

‘Abd al-Razzāq is the only transmitter of whom the *ḥadīth* from Ma‘mar is preserved. Accordingly, most non-Muslim scholars would not attach much historical value to it. Yet we must ask: Is it probable that ‘Abd al-Razzāq invented the *matn* as well as the *isnād*? It seems less likely on account of the fact that ‘Abd al-Razzāq who usually identifies his informants very carefully<sup>225</sup> provides several variants of the *ḥadīth*, which vary characteristically from one another. The *matn* in question differs also from the other variants of ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s. It is hard to imagine that ‘Abd al-Razzāq invented all the varying *matns*. It is more sensible to assume that ‘Abd al-Razzāq really received the *ḥadīths* from the sources he mentions, in this case Ma‘mar.

The same argument applies to Ma‘mar. Ma‘mar provides three variants of the *ḥadīth*: besides the variant from Abū Ishāq [al-Sabī‘ī], he

<sup>221</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 4, p. 308.

<sup>222</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 1, p. 446.

<sup>223</sup> Al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, vol. 4, p. 161.

<sup>224</sup> Vol. 10, p. 129.

<sup>225</sup> See Motzki, *Origins*, chap. III.

transmitted a version from al-Zuhri – Ibn al-Musayyab and another from Hammām b. Munabbih. Significant differences<sup>226</sup> of the respective *matns* suggest that Ma‘mar really received the *ḥadīth* from his informants, in this case, Abū Ishāq. Moreover, Ma‘mar’s claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from Abū Ishāq, found in ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s *Muṣannaḥ*, seems to be corroborated by a tradition of Shu‘ba found in al-Nasā’i’s *Sunan*.

A comparison of the two versions shows differences both in structure and in wording. Al-Nasā’i’s variant has two additional elements (elements 4 and 5 of Abū Ṣāliḥ’s *ḥadīth*): “*al-ṣawmu lī wa-anā ajzī bihi*”. Instead of “*farḥatun ‘inda fīṭriḥ wa-farḥatun ḥīna ya’tī rabbahu*”, al-Nasā’i’s variant reads “*farḥatun ḥīna yalqā rabbahu wa-farḥatun ‘inda ifṭāriḥi*”. These differences suggest that the variants are not interdependent.

Only the first two elements of al-Nasā’i’s version (*al-ṣawmu lī wa-anā ajzī bihi*) are clearly *qudsī*. The other are not, as the change of he first to third person (*rabbahu*, *‘inda llāh*) shows. The first two elements actually require the Prophet as informant. Yet the fact that the Prophet is missing is certainly not a printing mistake. The fact that both Ma‘mar and Shu‘ba transmit from Abū Ishāq – Abū al-Aḥwaṣ – ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd without mentioning the Prophet speaks for the assumption that this is the original *isnād* which Abū Ishāq mentioned. In this case, the lack of the Prophet in the *isnād* can be considered as a criterium for the old age of the transmission.

The differences in wording of Ma‘mar’s and Shu‘ba’s text are not really significant. “*ya’tī rabbahu*” instead of “*yalqā rabbahu*” is probably a mistake, which occurred in copying a manuscript. It does not necessarily derive from Ma‘mar or ‘Abd al-Razzāq. It could have been made later as well. Only the different structure is remarkable. This is, however, a current phenomenon of the transmission in this early period (first half of the second century).<sup>227</sup>

The additional elements, which Shu‘ba has at the beginning including the explicit opening as *qudsī ḥadīth* are another problem. Do these go back to

<sup>226</sup> The structural differences of Ma‘mar’s transmission: Ibn Musayyab’s and Hammām’s texts do not contain the elements 8, 9, 10. Only element 12 is found in all three versions.

<sup>227</sup> See Motzki, “Der Fiqh des – Zuhri”. In this article, Motzki shows that the texts transmitted from al-Zuhri (Ma‘mar, Ibn Jurayj, Mālik, Ibn ‘Uyayna) differ considerably, whereas in the following generation (e.g. Mālik’s pupils) the transmission from a scholar (e.g. Mālik) is accurate). Al-Zuhri is Abū Ishāq’s contemporary.

Abū Ishāq? Because other texts ascribed to Abū Ishāq are not available, one can only give an argument and infer from some indications. There are three possibilities: a) Ma‘mar may have shortened Abū Ishāq’s originally longer version; b) Shu‘ba may have added the elements 4 and 5 and the *qudsī* introduction that he knew from other transmissions; c) Abū Ishāq may have circulated the *ḥadīth* in different forms. The fact that Ma‘mar knows the elements 4 and 5, as he includes them in his transmission from al-Zuhri – Ibn al-Musayyab and from Hammām b. Munabbih speaks against the first possibility. Why should he leave them out in this case if Abū Ishāq quoted them? The fact that Shu‘ba transmits the elements 4 and 5 in all his transmission of Abū Hurayra’s *ḥadīth* (the versions of al-A‘mash, Ibn Ziyād and Dāwūd b. Farāhij ) and that they are always expressly characterized as *qudsī ḥadīth* (in his version from Dāwūd it is clearly an insertion of Shu‘ba himself) speaks for the second assumption. Many other versions do not explicitly indicate that it is as *qudsī ḥadīth*. Against c) speaks the fact that it is rather improbable that Abū Ishāq circulated the *ḥadīth* both as a *qudsī* and a non-*qudsī* one since the *qudsī* elements are more important than the others. All that indicates that Shu‘ba enlarged his transmission from Abū Ishāq.

The text that Shu‘ba and Ma‘mar have in common must go back to a common source. According to the *isnād*, the source is Abū Ishāq. The common text that contains only the elements found in Ma‘mar’s version goes back to Abū Ishāq. In other words, his version probably consisted only of the elements 8, 9, 10, 12 of Abū Ṣālih’s version.

Did Abū Ishāq receive the *ḥadīth* from the source he mentions, namely Abū al-Aḥwas? We have a parallel text to compare, that is, Abū al-Aḥwas’s *ḥadīth* transmitted by Ibrāhīm found in Ibn Ḥanbal’s *Musnad*. It reads as follows:

“Ḥaddathanā ‘Amr b. Mujaḥḥim’ Abū al-Mundhir al-Kindī qāla ḥaddathanā Ibrāhīm al-Hajarī ‘an Abī al-Aḥwas’ ‘an ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd qāla qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-sallam [1] inna llāh ‘azza wa-jalla ja‘ala ḥasanata ibn Ādam bi-‘ashri amthāliha ilā sab‘i mi’a ḍiḥfin illā al-ṣawm [2] wa-al-ṣawmu lī wa-anā ajzi bihi [3] wa-li-l-ṣā’imi farḥatāni farḥatun ‘inda ifṭāriḥ wa-farḥatun yawma l-qiyāma [4] wa-la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda llāh min riḥ al-misk” (‘Amr b. Mujaḥḥim’ Abū al-Mundhir al-Kindī informed us, he said: Ibrāhīm al-Hajarī informed us from Abū al-Aḥwas from ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd, he said: The Prophet (pbuh) said: [1] Verily, God the Powerful and the Sublime makes the son of Ādam’s good deed ten like it up to seven

hundredfold except fasting [2] Fasting is mine and I will reward it [3] and the one who fasts has two joys: a joy at the time of breaking the fast and a joy at the day of resurrection [4] and the smell of mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God than the scent of musk).

‘Amr’s *ḥadīth* differs from Abū Ishāq’s not only in wording but also in the substance. It has a much larger *matn*. Only the last two phrases (3, 4) are also Abū Ishāq’s. Furthermore, the wording varies slightly in the common elements. Instead of “*ya’tī rabbahu*” or “*yalqā rabbahu*” ‘Amr’s *ḥadīth* reads “*yawm al-qiyāma*”. The variant “*yawm al-qiyāma*” instead of “*ḥīna yalqā rabbahu*” is, however, found also in Ibn Ḥanbal’s transmission of Abū Hurayra’s *ḥadīth*, which goes back to Abū Salama.

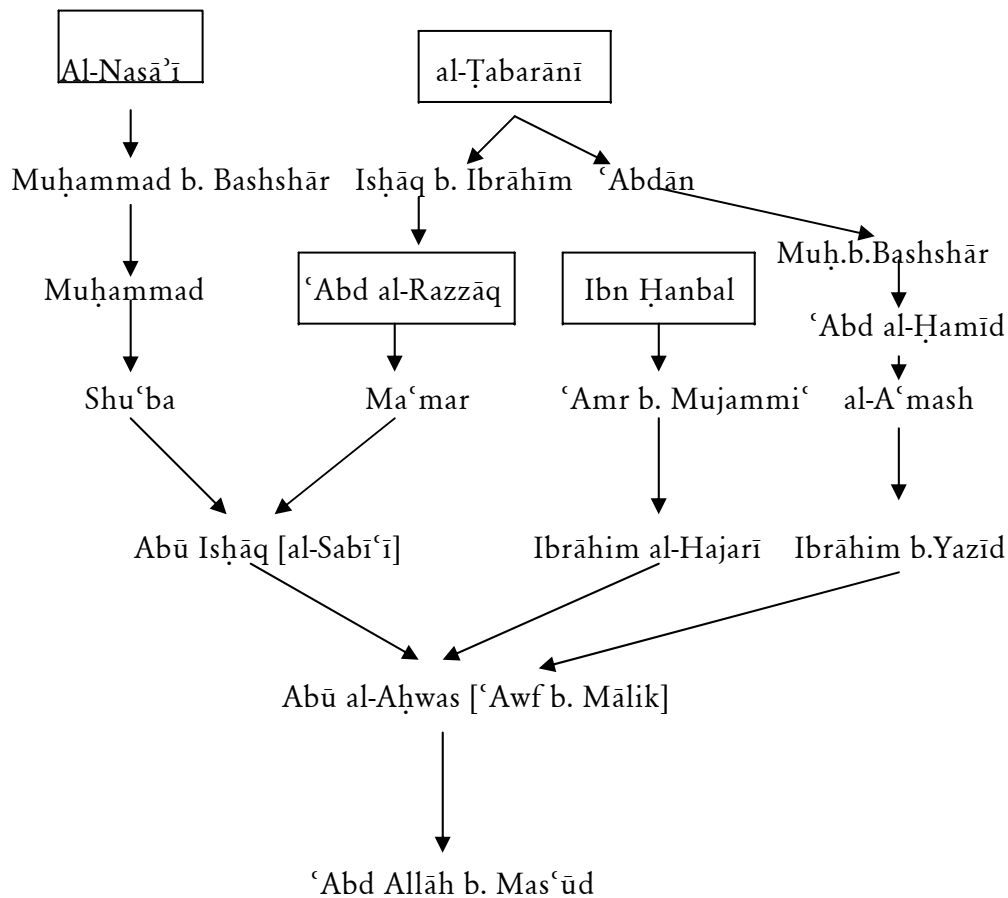
‘Amr b. Mujaḥmi’s text has the same structure as Shu‘ba’s transmission from al-A‘mash – Abū Ṣāliḥ and the wording is frequently similar. Accordingly, ‘Amr’s text looks like a variant of Shu‘ba’s *ḥadīth*. It is less likely that Abū al-Aḥwaṣ transmitted a text from Ibn Mas‘ūd (who died early), which strongly resembles in so many details al-A‘mash’s version of the Abū Hurayra-*ḥadīth*. It means that ‘Amr b. Mujaḥmi’s *ḥadīth* is likely not a reliable transmission. It does not go back in this form to Abū al-Aḥwaṣ. But it is likely that ‘Amr has received it from Shu‘ba and ascribed it to Ibn Mas‘ūd in a slightly changed form. He may have been guided by the *isnād* of Shu‘ba’s Abū Ishāq transmission, but replaced the latter with his own informant, Ibrāhīm al-Hajarī. It could have been a deliberate forgery of *isnād* and *matn* or a consequence of a slovenly transmission. This result agrees with the negative judgment given to ‘Amr b. Mujaḥmi’ by the classical Muslim *ḥadīth* critics.<sup>228</sup> This judgment applies also to Ibrāhīm al-Hajarī,<sup>229</sup> from whom Shu‘ba and both Sufyāns are said to have transmitted as well.

These reasons lead to the conclusion that the version of the *ḥadīth* ascribed to Ibn Mas‘ūd can only be traced back to Abū Ishāq, the common link of the transmissions of ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s *Muṣannaf* and al-Nasā’ī’s *Sunan*. Ibn Ḥanbal’s version is to be considered a “dive”, which ‘Amr b. Mujaḥmi’ is likely to blame. The original text of Abū Ishāq contains only the elements 8, 9, 10 and 12. This combination occurs only in Abū Ṣāliḥ’s

<sup>228</sup> Al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta’dīl*, vol. 6, 265.

<sup>229</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, vol. 1, p. 48; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 1, pp. 164-6.

Abū Hurayra-*ḥadīth*. (The elements 8, 9, 10 are lacking all other transmission of the Abū Hurayra-*ḥadīth*, with the exception of Abū Salama's. But here is the structure 12, 8, 9, 10). That suggests that Abū Ishāq has taken a fragment of Abū Ṣāliḥ's version as a model, and transferred it to Ibn Mas'ūd, probably to make it a purely Kufan transmission. If this assumption is true, he must have replaced Abū Ṣāliḥ with his own informant for Ibn Mas'ūd, Abū al-Aḥwas.<sup>230</sup>



### C. The ḤADĪTH of Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh.

The *ḥadīth* under scrutiny is reportedly transmitted also by Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh. In the canonical collections, Jābir reportedly transmitted 960 *ḥadīth*.

<sup>230</sup> An only slightly longer version of Abū Ṣāliḥ's *ḥadīth* was likewise brought into circulation in Kufa by Ibn Murra See above.

360 of them were allegedly further transmitted by Abū al-Zubayr.<sup>231</sup> However, the *ḥadīth* under scrutiny is not one of them. Jābir's *ḥadīth* is found in two *ḥadīth* collections: in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*<sup>232</sup> and in al-Bayhaqī's *Faḍā'il al-awqāt*.<sup>233</sup> Ibn Hanbal's text reads as follows:

“[Ḥadda]thanā 'Itāb b. Ziyād ḥaddathanā 'Abd Allāh [ḥadda]thanā Ibn Lahī'a ḥaddathanā Abū al-Zubayr 'an Jābir 'an al-nabī ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa-sallam qāla innamā l-ṣiyāmu junnatun yastajinnu bihā al-'abd min al-nār huwa lī wa-anā ajzi bihi” (“Itāb b. Ziyād informed us, he said ‘Abd Allāh informed us, he said Ibn Lahī'a informed us, he said Abū al-Zubayr informed us from Jābir from the prophet (pbuh), he said: Fasting is protection, from which the servant becomes protected from the hell, it is for me and will I reward it).

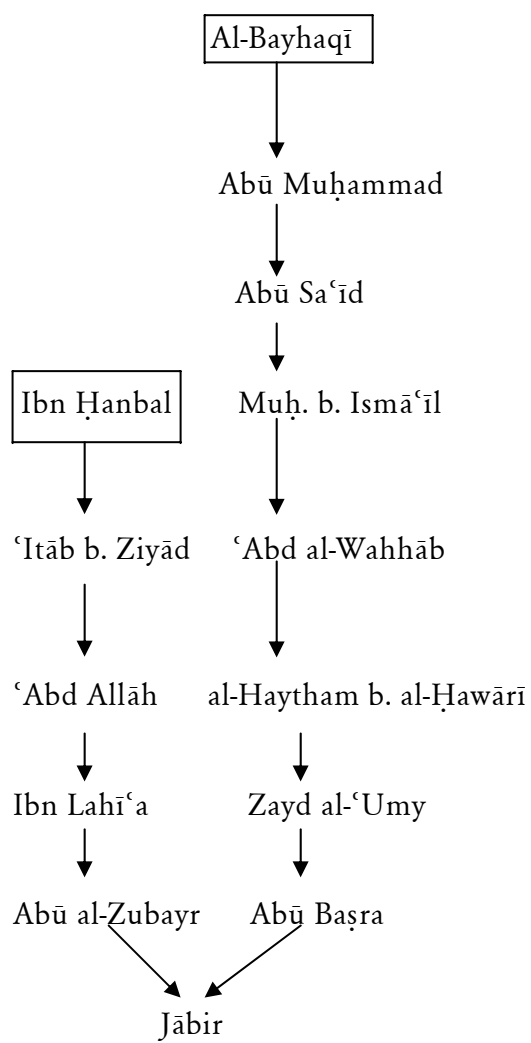
Al-Bayhaqī's variant is a long version, which includes only one element of our *ḥadīth*: “fa-inna khulūfa afwābihim hīna yumsūna atyabu 'inda llāh min rīḥ al-misk”. Other elements resemble those of Hishām b. Abī Hishām – Muḥammad b. Muḥammad – Abū Salama – Abū Hurayra,<sup>234</sup> which does not concern us here. It is incomparable to Ibn Ḥanbal's variant. Ibn Hanbal's text includes an element, which is missing in any variants of the *ḥadīth* transmitted by Ibn Ḥanbal: “yastajinnu bihā al-'abd min al-nār”. It looks like an addition to explain the meaning of *junna*. However, in view of the fact that no other variants are available, we cannot assess from whom the element is stemming. It is to say that the *isnād-cum matn* method is not applicable in this case. Both traditions ascribed to Jābir are not datable with some precision.

<sup>231</sup> For the Abū al-Zubayr – Jābir *ḥadīth*, see the foregoing discussion on al-Albānī.

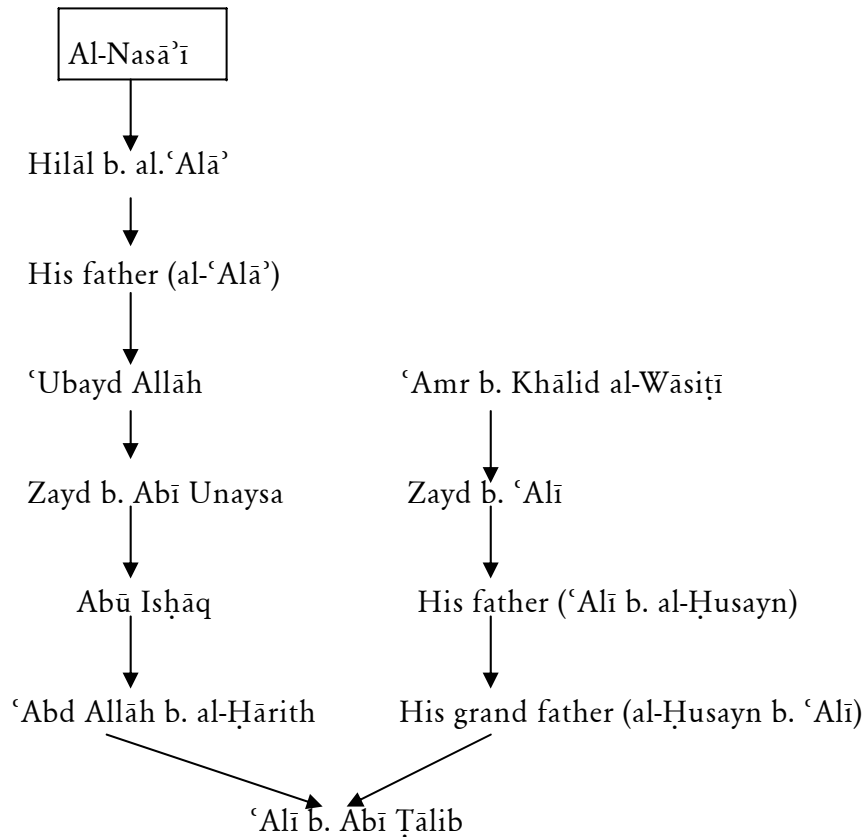
<sup>232</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 3, p. 396.

<sup>233</sup> Al-Bayhaqī, *Faḍā'il al-awqāt*, pp. 145-6.

<sup>234</sup> See the foregoing discussion on Abū Salama's *ḥadīth*.



#### D. The ḤADĪTH of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.



Another Companion of the Prophet who reportedly transmitted the *ḥadīth* under review is ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. The latter’s *ḥadīth* is found in the two *ḥadīth* collections: In *al-Sunan* of al-Nasā’ī<sup>235</sup> and in the *Musnad* al-Imām Zayd.<sup>236</sup> Let us first have a look on the *ḥadīth* found in al-Nasā’ī’s *Sunan*. It reads as follows:

“*Akhbaranī Hilāl b. al-‘Alā’ qāla ḥaddathanā abī qāla ḥaddathanā ‘Ubayd Allāh ‘an Zayd ‘an abī Ishāq ‘an ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith ‘an ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib ‘an rasūl Allāh ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama qāla inna llāh tabāraka wa-ta‘ālā yaqūlu [1] al-ṣawmu lī wa-anā ajzī bihi [2] wa-li-l-ṣā’imi farḥatāni ḥīna yuṣṭiru wa-ḥīna yalqā rabbahu [3] wa-l-ladhī naṣī bi-yadihi [4] la-kbulūfu fam al-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda llāh min rīḥ al-misk*”. (Hilāl b. al-‘Alā’ informed me, he said, my father (al-‘Alā’) informed us, he said, ‘Ubayd Allāh informed us from Zayd from Abū Ishāq from ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith from ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib from the Messenger of God, he said: God the supremely exalted said: [1] Fasting is mine and I will reward it [2] and the one who fasts has two joys: When he breaks the fast and when he meets his Lord [3] by the one [God] who keeps my soul in his hand, verily, the smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God than the scent of musk.

<sup>235</sup> Al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ṣiyyām*, 41.

<sup>236</sup> Zayd b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, *Musnad*, pp. 203-4.



One transmitter of the *ḥadīth* is Abū Ishāq. In the foregoing discussion on the *ḥadīth* of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd, we have pointed out that Abū Ishāq is the common link of Shu‘ba’s and Ma‘mar’s *ḥadīth*. Zayd b. Abī Unaysa’s<sup>237</sup> transmission from Abū Ishāq, however, is a single strand, for which no variant is found. Put differently, no other transmissions corroborate that Abū Ishāq has circulated such a *ḥadīth*. Therefore, we do not know whether the transmission ascribed to Zayd b. Abī Unaysa from Abū Ishāq from ‘Alī trully goes back to Abū Ishāq.

The *matn* of Zayd b. Abī Unaysa resembles slightly the *matn* of Shu‘ba’s Abū Ishāq transmission, it is true, but it is more strongly similar to the *matn* of Ibn Murra from Abū Ṣāliḥ. It is almost identical with this. All other transmissions from Abū Ṣāliḥ are different. We may suspect, accordingly, that both texts are interdependent. This is, however, a hypothesis, which is merely based on the great similarity of the texts. Because no variant of Zayd’s *ḥadīth* is available, it cannot be said about it anymore. This means that ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib’s *ḥadīth* recorded in al-Nasā’ī’s *al-Sunan* does not corroborate Abū Hurayra’s *ḥadīth*.

Abū Ṭālib’s *ḥadīth* found in the *Musnad* of Zayd b. ‘Alī exists in two variants. They read as follows:

“*ḥaddathanī Zayd b. ‘Alī ‘an abīhi* [‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn] *‘an jaddihi* [al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī] *‘an ‘Alī* [b. Abī Ṭālib] [‘alayhim al-salām] *qāla: qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-‘ālihi wa-sallama li-al-ṣā’imi farḥatāni, farḥatun ‘inda fiṭrihi wa-farḥatun yaẓm al-qiyāma, yunādī al-munādī ayna l-ḡāmiya akbāduhum, wa-‘izzatī la-arwiyyannahum al-yaẓm*”. Having the same *isnāds*, the second version reads “*la-khulūfu fam al-ṣā’imi atyabu min rā’ihat al-misk ‘inda llāh ‘azza wa-jalla, yaqūlu llāh ‘azza wa-jalla al-ṣawmu lī wa-anā ajzī bihi*”. (Zayd b. ‘Alī informed me from his father [‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn] from his grand father [al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī] from ‘Alī [b. abī Ṭālib] (peace be upon them), he said: The Prophet (pbuh) said: For the one who fasts two joys: Joy when breaking his fast, and joy at the day of resurrection. A caller calls where are those whose livers are thirsty, by my Glory I do will quench their thirst today). Having the same *isnād*, the second version reads: (The smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable than the scent of musk to God the Powerful and the Sublime, God the Powerful and the Sublime says: The fast is mine and I will reward it).

<sup>237</sup> His identification is based on the biographical information about Abū Ishāq and Zayd b. Abī Unaysa. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 10, pp. 18-23.

Zayd b. ‘Alī’s *ḥadīth* also cannot be examined with the *isnād-cum-matn* method, as no other variants, which claim to have derived from Zayd b. ‘Alī and ‘Alī, are available. Moreover, the material ascribed to Zayd b. ‘Alī is suspicious, as it often has Kufan and Iraqi character, while Zayd b. ‘Alī and his father lived in Medina.<sup>238</sup> It is possible that al-Wāsiṭī, who originally comes from Kufa, or his students have ascribed Iraqi traditions to Zayd b. ‘Alī. Zayd’s two combined *matns* have the same elements as Ibn Murra’s transmission from Abū Ṣāliḥ – Abū Hurayra/Abū Sa‘īd and Shu‘ba’s transmission from Abū Ishāq – Abū l-Aḥwaṣ – ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd, only in a slightly different structure and with insignificant differences in wording. Both are essentially Kufan transmission. Zayd b. ‘Alī’s two texts also show a great similarity with Zayd b. Abī Unaysa’s version. They contain the same elements (except element 11). It is possible that they are interdependent as well. Zayd b. Abī Unaysa originally also comes from Kufa. That confirms the suspicion that these transmissions, which were circulated in Kufa, were falsely ascribed to Zayd b. ‘Alī. The additional element “*yunādi l-munādī...*” derives possibly from another transmission. It is to prove, but it does not concern us here. Thus, the ascription of the *ḥadīth* to ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib cannot be corroborated.

#### E. The ḤADĪTH of Ibn ‘Abbās.

Another companion of the Prophet who reportedly transmitted the *ḥadīth* under review is Ibn ‘Abbās. There are four variants ascribed to him, which are all found in Shiite collections: *Bihār al-anwār*<sup>239</sup> of al-‘Allāma al-Majlisī, *Wasā’il al-shī‘a*<sup>240</sup> of al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Faḍā’il al-ashhur al-thalātha*<sup>241</sup> and *al-Khiṣāl*<sup>242</sup> of al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq. Let us have a look on al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq’s *ḥadīth*. It reads as follows:

“*ḥaddathanā Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdūs b. ‘Alī b. al-‘Abbās al-Jurjānī bi-Samarqand, qāla ḥaddathanā Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd Allāh b. Ya‘qūb b. Yūsuf al-Rāzī qāla ḥaddathanā Muḥammad b. Yūnus al-Kudaymī qāla ḥaddathanā Abū ‘Amir*

<sup>238</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 10, pp. 95-100.

<sup>239</sup> Al-‘Allāma al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, vol. 93, p. 249.

<sup>240</sup> Al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Wasā’il al-shī‘a*, vol. 10, p. 403.

<sup>241</sup> Al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, *Faḍā’il al-ashhur al-thalātha*, p. 134.

<sup>242</sup> Al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, p. 45.

*qāla ḥaddathanā Zama'a 'an Salama 'an 'Ikrima 'an Ibn 'Abbās 'an al-nabī ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa-ālihi qāla, qāla Allāh tabāraka wa-ta'ālā: kullu 'amal Ibn Ādam huwa lahu ghayr al-ṣiyām huwa lī wa-anā ajzī bihi, wa-al-ṣiyāmu junnat al-'abd al-mu'min yawm al-qiyāma kamā yaqiya aḥadukum silāḥahu fī al-dunyā, wa-la-kbulūfu fam al-ṣā'imi atyabu 'inda llāh 'azza wa-jalla min al-rīḥ al-misk, wa-al-ṣā'imu yafrāhu bi-farḥatayni: ḥīna yuṣṭiru fa-yaṭ'amu wa-yashrabu, wa-ḥīna yalqānī fa-udkhibulu al-jannata".* (Abū Muḥammad b. 'Abdūs b. 'Alī b. al-'Abbās al-Jurjānī in Samarqand informed us, he said Abū l-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh b. Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf al-Rāzī informed us, he said Muḥammad b. Yūnus al-Kudaymī informed us, he said Abū 'Āmir informed us, he said Abū Zama'a informed us from 'Ikrima from Ibn 'Abbās from the Prophet, peace be upon him and his family, he said, God, the supremely exalted said: Every action of the son of Adam is his except fasting. It is mine and I will reward it. Fasting is the protection of the devout servant at the day of resurrection, as the gun of anyone of you protects you in this world. Verily, the smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God, the Sublime and the Powerful, than the scent of musk. The one who fasts delights two joys: when he breaks the fast and then eats and drinks, and when he meets me and then I enter him in Paradise).

Al-Ṣadūq's other version varies from the latter, however, in wording: It reads "*jundun*" (soldier) instead of "*junnatun*" (protection), "*wa-inna lil-ṣā'imi farḥatayn*" instead of "*wa-l-ṣā'imu yafrāhu bi-farḥatayn*", and it has an addition "*min al-nār*" between "*al-'abd al-mu'min*" and "*yawm al-qiyāma*".<sup>243</sup> The differences are probably due to al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq since this version is also transmitted from 'Abdūs with the same *isnād*. Another variant is found in *Wasā'il al-shī'a*. This variant is almost identical to that of al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq. They differ only slightly. Instead of "*qāla Allāh tabāraka wa-ta'ālā*", it says "*qāla Allāh 'azza wa-jalla*", "*illā al-ṣiyām*" instead of "*ghayr al-ṣiyām*", "*fa-huwa lī*" instead of "*huwa lī*", "*inda llāh*" instead of "*inda llāh 'azza wa-jalla*". 'Abdūs' third variant is found in *Bihār al-Anwār*. It is also very similar to the variant transmitted by al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq. Theoretically, 'Abdūs' variants could have been copied from each other. Yet this must not necessarily have been the case. As already said in the foregoing discussion, from the second half of the second century onwards written transmission became more common and sophisticated. This could explain the large similarity of 'Abdūs' variants. This is to say that the *ḥadīth* probably goes back to him. Did 'Abdūs receive the *ḥadīth* from the source he mentioned, Abū l-Qāsim al-

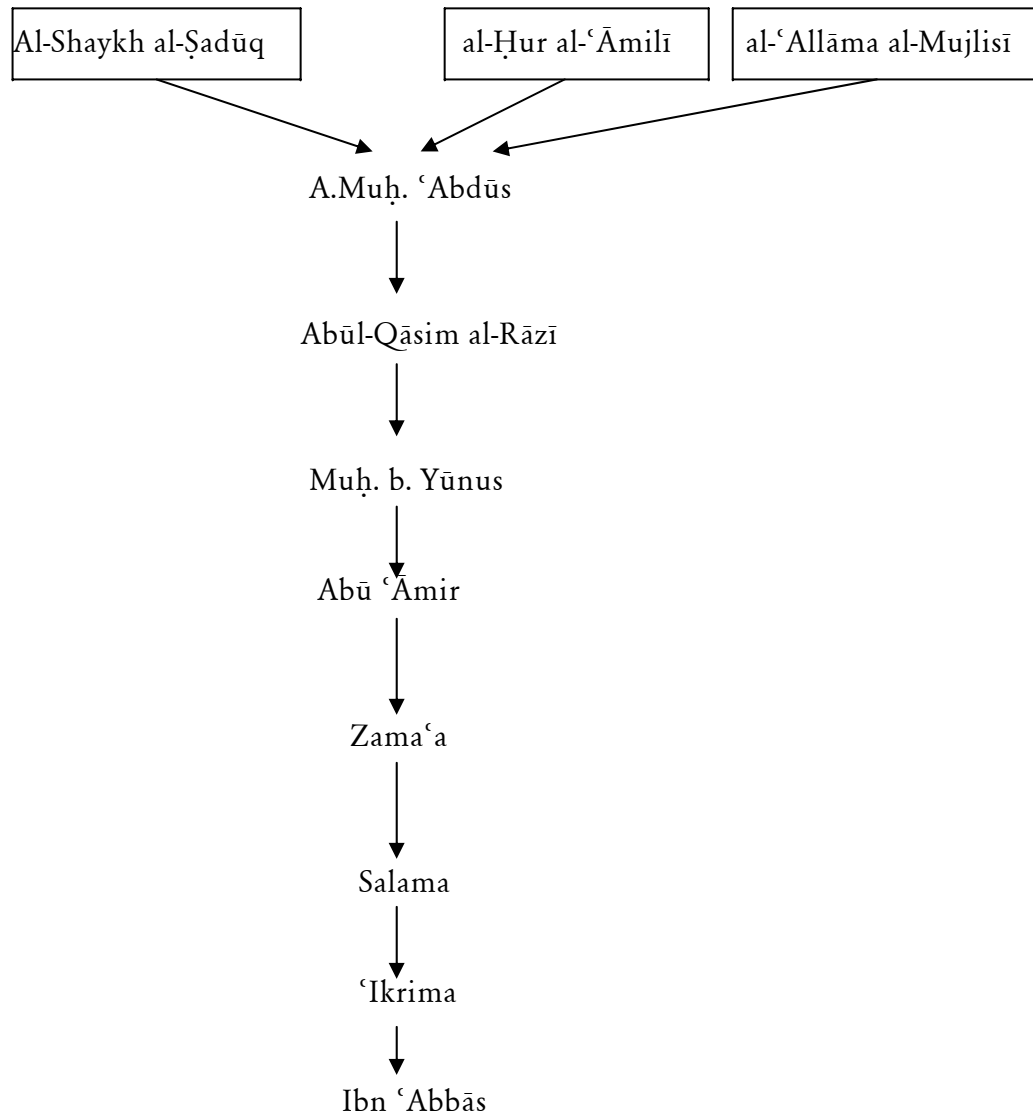
<sup>243</sup> Al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, *Faḍā'il*, p. 133.

Rāzī who allegedly received the *ḥadīth* from Muḥammad b. Yūnus, or did he fabricate it?

The structure of the text differs from that of any *ḥadīths* studied so far. It includes many elements of Abū Ṣāliḥ's *ḥadīth*, namely: 1, 3, 4, 5, 12, 8, 9, 10. Besides, the text ascribed to Ibn 'Abbās has elements, which are missing in any versions studied so far: "*wa-al-ṣiyāmu junnat al-'abd al-mu'min (min al-nār) yawm al-qiyāma kamā yaqiya aḥadakum silāḥuhu fī-l-dunyā*", "*ḥīna yuṣṭiru fa-yaṭ'mu wa-yashrabu, wa-ḥīna yalqānī fa-udkhilluhu al-jannata*". These differences might suggest that the *ḥadīth* is not construed under the model of any variants studied so far, but may be inspired by several versions transmitted from Abū Hurayra. The other differences may be due to the author of the tradition. Who the author is, cannot be established. Muḥammad b. Yūnus al-Kudaymī is a well-known third century sunni scholar, i.e., relatively late for a common link, whose *ḥadīths* are suspected by some *ḥadīth* critics.<sup>244</sup> The structure 1, 3, 4, 5, 12 we know from the transmission ascribed to Layth from Mujāhid from Abū Hurayra, only found in a late source. Because Mujāhid was an important student of Ibn 'Abbās, there might be correlation between Ibn 'Abbās's-*ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Yūnus and Mujāhid-*ḥadīth*. This is only an idea, which refers to the same structure of both texts. The elements 8, 9, 10 only appear in Abū Ṣāliḥ's *ḥadīth* from Abū Hurayra, in Abū Salama's version from Abū Hurayra, and in the versions ascribed to Ibn Mas'ūd and 'Alī. They are thus relatively rare even in the traditions going back to or ascribed to Abū Hurayra. It could be that these elements were originally a separate tradition of Abū Hurayra, which becomes combined with others secondarily.

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<sup>244</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat*, p. 689.



#### F. The ḤADĪTH of ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr.

Another alleged transmitter of the *ḥadīth* under review is ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr. His transmission is found in al-Ḥumaydī's *Musnad*, with the *isnād* Sufyān b. ʿUyayna – ʿAmr b. Dinār – ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr. This channel has originally no *matn*, but the word “*mithlabu*”, which suggests that the *matn* of this *isnād* is identical to the *matn* of the *isnād* mentioned before: Sufyān – Abū l-Zinād – al-Aʿraj – Abū Hurayra. In other words, Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, the informant of al-Ḥumaydī, provides two *isnāds* for one *matn*. The *matn* reads as follows:

“*Ḥaddathanā al-Ḥumaydī qāla [ḥadda]thanā Sufyān qāla [ḥadda]thanā Abū l-Zinād ‘an al-A‘raj ‘an Abī Hurayra qāla qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama qāla llāh tabāraka wa-ta‘ālā kullu ‘amal Ibn Ādam huwa labu illā l-ṣiyām huwa lī wa-anā ajzī bihi*”.<sup>245</sup> (al-Ḥumaydī informed us, he said, Sufyān informed us, he said, Abū l-Zinād informed us from al-A‘raj from Abī Hurayra, he said: The Messenger of God (pbuh) said: God, the supremely exalted said: Every action of the son of Adam is his except fasting. It is meant for me and I will reward it). The second *isnād*: *Ḥaddathanā al-Ḥumaydī qāla [ḥadda]thanā Sufyān qāla [ḥadda]thanā ‘Amr b. Dīnār ‘an ‘Ubayd b. ‘Umayr ‘an al-nabī ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama mithlabu*.<sup>246</sup> (al-Ḥumaydī informed us he said Sufyān informed us he said ‘Amr b. Dīnār informed us from ‘Ubayd b. ‘Umayr from the Prophet (pbuh), like it).

The question is whether Sufyān received the tradition, which is very similar to that of Abū l-Zinād (*mithlabu*) not only from the latter, but also from ‘Amr b. Dīnār, who claims to have received it from ‘Ubayd b. ‘Umayr.

With the *isnād cum matn* method, the question cannot be answered, as no variants are available for that. We can only speculate. ‘Amr b. Dīnār was indubitably the most important teacher of Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna.<sup>247</sup> This shows, among other things, the several parallel transmissions of Ibn Jurayj and Sufyān among others from ‘Amr b. Dīnār in the *Muṣannaḥ* of ‘Abd al-Razzāq. The question is, whether it is plausible to assume that Sufyān falsely ascribed the tradition to his teacher ‘Amr b. Dīnār, which he had received from Abū l-Zinād. Should one then not expect that he also ascribed other parts of Abū l-Zinād’s *ḥadīth* to ‘Amr? If one assumes that Sufyān falsely ascribed the text to ‘Amr b. Dīnār, should one not expect that he would have chosen a better *isnād*. The *isnād* is *mursal*, as ‘Ubayd b. ‘Umayr was not a real Companion (*ṣaḥābī*), but an early Successor (*tābi*). He must have been born in the time of the Prophet or he, as a child, may have seen him. He transmitted among others from Abū Hurayra.<sup>248</sup> Moreover, it does not often happen that ‘Ubayd is the informant of ‘Amr b. Dīnār. Therefore, Sufyān’s tradition does not seem to be a forgery.

It is reasonable to assume that if Sufyān received the *ḥadīth* from ‘Amr, the question whether it goes back to ‘Ubayd cannot be decided. It is possible that ‘Amr was mistaken about his informants, and he has the *ḥadīth* from

<sup>245</sup> Al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad*, 1010.

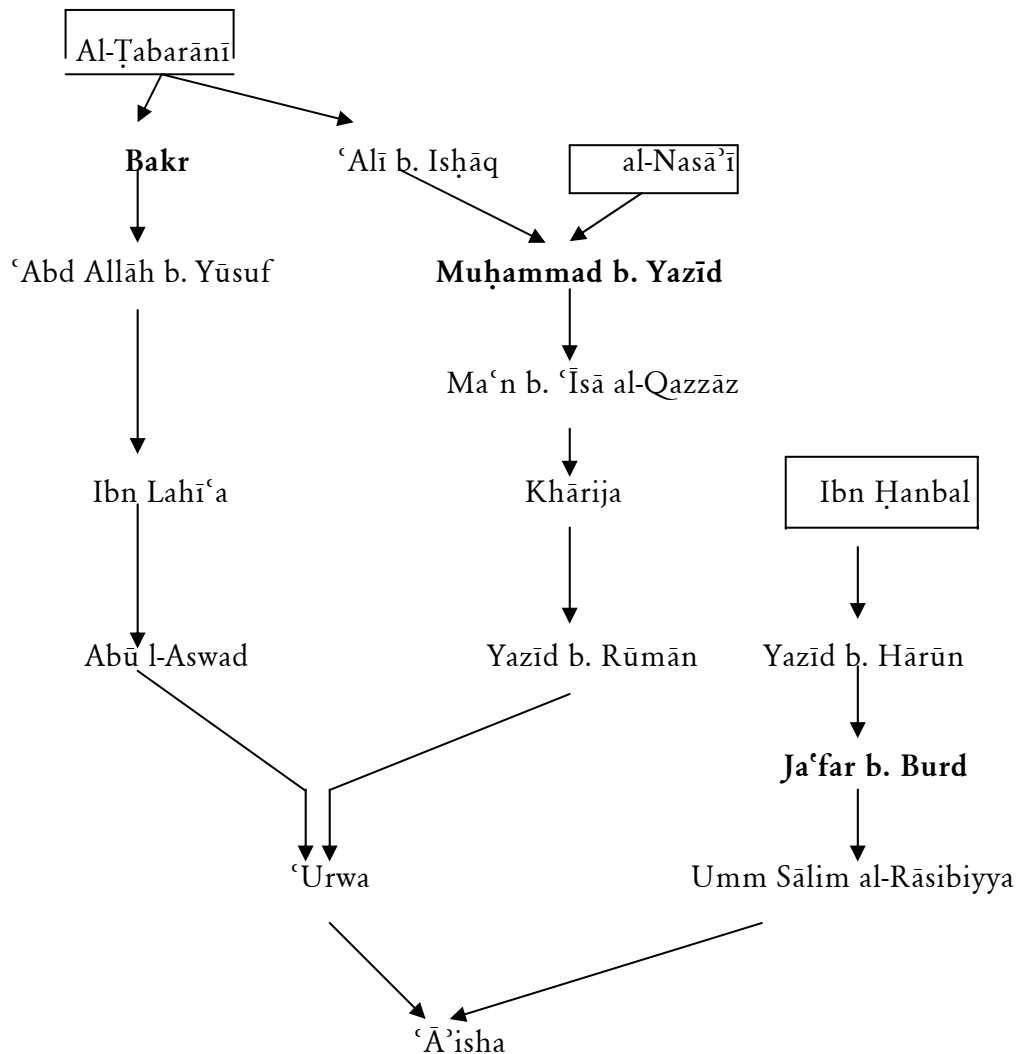
<sup>246</sup> Al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad*, 1011.

<sup>247</sup> See Harald Motzki, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence*, p. 177.

<sup>248</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 7, p. 71.

someone other than ‘Ubayd. If ‘Ubayd was really his informant, it is possible that ‘Ubayd has the *ḥadīth* from Abū Hurayra. ‘Ubayd can not have mentioned it or ‘Amr can have forgotten it. ‘Ubyad died around 68. At the time ‘Amr must have been still very young. However, these are all speculations. Even if the *ḥadīth* of al-Ḥumaydī goes back to ‘Amr b. Dīnār, which is possible, it does not contribute anything to our dating, as we cannot date it securely.

#### G. The ḤADĪTH of ‘Ā’isha



‘Ā’isha reportedly also transmitted the *ḥadīth* under review from the Prophet. ‘Ā’isha’s *ḥadīth* is to be found in three *ḥadīth* collections: The *Musnad* of Ibn

Ḥanbal,<sup>249</sup> *Sunan* of al-Nasā'ī<sup>250</sup> and *al-Awsaṭ* of al-Ṭabarānī.<sup>251</sup> Let us have a look on the *ḥadīth* found in the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal. It reads as follows:

“[Hadda]thanā Yazīd qāla [haddath]anā Ja‘far b. Burd ‘an Ummi Sālim al-Rāsibiyya qālat sami‘tu ‘Ā’isha taqūlu qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama wa-lladhī nafsu Muḥammad bi-yadihi la-khulūfu fam al-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda Allāh min riḥ al-misk” (Yazīd informed us, he said, Ja‘far b. Burd informed us from Umm Sālim al-Rāsibiyya, she said I heard ‘Ā’isha saying: The Messenger of God (pbuh) said: By Him in whose hand is the soul of Muḥammad, the smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God than the scent of musk”.

Since this is only a *matn* with a single strand-*isnād*, the *isnād cum matn* method is not properly applicable. Yet we can fall back on other arguments based on *matn* and *isnād*. Ibn Ḥanbal who meticulously identifies his informants provides the *ḥadīth* under review, as we have pointed out, with not fewer than 31 variants, The above version is not identical to any of them. In view of this fact, it is to assume that Ibn Ḥanbal’s claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from Yazīd is reliable. Put otherwise, it is hard to imagine that Ibn Ḥanbal purposely forged the different *isnāds* and at times invented their respective *matns*, which are different from one another. We can safely conclude, accordingly, that the *ḥadīth* goes back to Yazīd. b Hārūn (d. 160). Did Yazīd transmit the *ḥadīth* from his informant, Ja‘far b. Burd? There are some indications to take into account. First of all, of the 31 variants of the *ḥadīth* under review found so far in Ibn Ḥanbal’s *Musnad*, five of them Ibn Ḥanbal claims to have received from Yazīd.<sup>252</sup> A comparison of Yazīd-Ja‘far b. Burd’s *ḥadīth* (the above *ḥadīth*) with Yazīd’s other four *ḥadīth* reveals that the former differ considerably from the latter.<sup>253</sup> The former is a very short version, which has only two elements: 11, 12 of Abū Ṣāliḥ’s elements. It differs from the other four variants of Yazīd. It seems highly unlikely that Yazīd would create another authority, merely for the two elements. It is more

<sup>249</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 240.

<sup>250</sup> Al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, *Kitāb al-ṣiyyām*, 97.

<sup>251</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu‘jam al-awsaṭ*, vol. 3, p. 294; vol. 4, p. 273.

<sup>252</sup> The other four *isnāds* are: 1) Yazīd – Shu‘ba – Muḥammad b. Ziyād 2) Yazīd – Hishām – Ibn Sirīn 3) Yazīd – Sālim b. Ḥayyān – Sa‘īd b. Mīnā and 4) Yazīd – Muḥammad – Mūsā b. Yasār.

<sup>253</sup> For the respective character of the Yazīd’s other four *ḥadīths* see the foregoing discussion on Mūsā b. Yasār’s *ḥadīth*.



plausible to assume that Yazīd really received the *ḥadīth* from his informant, Ja‘far b. Burd. In addition, this assumption coincides with information provided by *ḥadīth* scholars found in the biographical literature, which says that Yazīd b. Hārūn transmitted traditions from Ja‘far b. Burd (d.?).<sup>254</sup> Accordingly, though Yazīd is the only transmitter from Ja‘far, the *ḥadīth* being independent of the others, probably goes back to Ja‘far b. Burd. Did Ja‘far b. Burd receive the *ḥadīth* from his informant, Umm Sālim?

Though it is said in biographical literatures that Ja‘far transmitted traditions from Umm Sālim,<sup>255</sup> the claim of the former to have received the *ḥadīth* in question from the latter is difficult to ascertain in this case, for no corroborating variant from Umm Sālim is found. Thus, ‘Ā’isha’s *ḥadīth* found in Ibn Ḥanbal cannot be dated earlier than to Ja‘far b. Burd (died approximately in the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century). Since the *matn* is identical with Abū Ṣāliḥ’s elements 11 and 12, it is possible that the text is taken from one of the transmissions going back to Abū Ṣāliḥ.

Let us have a look on other *ḥadīths* of ‘Ā’isha found in the *Sunan* of al-Nasā’ī and *al-Awsaṭ* of al-Ṭabarānī. Al-Nasā’ī’s version reads as follows:

“*Anba’anā Muḥammad b. Yazīd, qāla, [ḥadda]thanā Ma’n, ‘an Khārija b. Sulaymān ‘an Yazīd b. Rūmān ‘an ‘Urwa ‘an ‘Ā’isha ‘an al-nabī ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallama qāla: al-ṣīyām junnatun min al-nār, fa-man aṣbaḥa ṣā’iman fa-lā yajhal yawma’idhin, wa-in juhila ‘alayhi fa-lā yashtamuhu wa-lā yasubbuhu wal-yaqul innī ṣā’imun, wa-l-ladhī nafsu Muḥammad bi-yadihi la-khulūfu fam al-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda Allāh min riḥ al-misk.*” (Muḥammad b. Yazīd informed me, he said, Ma’n informed us from Khārija b. Sulaymān from Yazīd b. Rūmān from ‘Urwa from ‘Ā’isha from the Prophet (pbuh), he said: The fasting is a protection from the Hell (fire), who then fasts should not behave foolishly at the day. If one foolishly acts towards him he should not revile nor reproach him, and let him say: “I am fasting”. And by Him in whose hand is the soul of Muḥammad, the smell of the mouth of the one who fasts is more delectable to God than the scent of musk.

Al-Ṭabarānī provides two variants of ‘Ā’isha’s *ḥadīth*. The first one going back to ‘Urwa via Muḥammad b. Yazīd – Ma’n b. ‘Īsā al-Qazzāz – Khārija - Yazīd b. Rūmān is almost identical to al-Nasā’ī’s version. They differ only tenuously in wording: Instead of saying “*fa-in juhila ‘alayhi*”, al-Ṭabarānī’s version reads “*fa-in imru’un jahila ‘alayhi*”, “*wa-l-ladhī nafsi bi-yadihi*” instead

<sup>254</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *al-Ta’rīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 2, p. 186; al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta’dīl*, vol. 2, p. 475.

<sup>255</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tabdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 5, p. 10; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabdhīb al-tabdhīb*, vol. 2, p. 72; *al-Thiqāt*, vol. 6, p. 139. According to biographical literature Ja‘far was her *mawla*.

of “*wa-l-ladhī nafsu Muḥammad bi-yadihi*” and “*inda Allāh atyabu*” instead of “*atyabu ‘inda Allāh*”. The great similarity of the two versions must be due to the fact that they go back to the same informant, i.e., Muḥammad b. Yazīd. It is to conclude, therefore, that the *ḥadīth* goes back to Muḥammad b. Yazīd and that al-Ṭabarānī did not copy it from al-Nasā’ī’s *Sunan*. Did Muhammad b. Yazīd receive the *ḥadīth* from his informant, Ma’n b. ‘Īsā al-Qazzāz? Again, we have no variant to compare. If we look to the *matn*, Muḥammad b. Yazīd’s *ḥadīth* is similar to Mālik’s *ḥadīth* from Abū l-Zinād. Only the end of Mālik’s combined *ḥadīth* is missing: the elements 4, 5 and 7 of Abū Ṣāliḥ’s version. Yet there are also a few similarities with Abū Ṣāliḥ’s version: *aṣḥaḥa ṣā’iman* and *sabba*. Ma’n b. ‘Īsā, from whom Muḥammad b. Yazīd transmitted the *ḥadīth*, is also known to have passed traditions from Mālik.<sup>256</sup> One might, accordingly, assume that Muḥammad b. Yazīd’s *ḥadīth* has something to do with Mālik’s. Possibly, Ma’n b. ‘Īsā modelled his version on that of his teacher Mālik but ascribed it to ‘Ā’isha.

Al-Ṭabarānī’s second variant for ‘Ā’isha’s *ḥadīth* cannot corroborate Muḥammad b. Yazīd’s version. It is only a very short text, which contains only one element: The element 12 of Abū Ṣāliḥ: “*wa-la-khulūfu fam al-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda llāh min riḥ al-misk*”. This short element that is not only contained in Ja’far b. Burd’s and Muḥammad b. Yazīd’s version, but also most versions ascribed to Abū Hurayra is not enough as a proof for its origin with ‘Ā’isha. As we have pointed out in the foregoing discussion, Al-Ṭabarānī provides not fewer than 6 variants of the *ḥadīth*.<sup>257</sup> This *ḥadīth* is not identical to any of them. It is hard to imagine that al-Ṭabarānī who identifies his informants meticulously fabricated both *matn* and *isnād* to deceive later generation. The *ḥadīth* probably goes back to Bakr (d. ?). Did Bakr transmit the *ḥadīth* from his informant, ‘Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf? Again, Bakr’s claim cannot be determined, for he is the only transmitter who reportedly receives the *ḥadīth* from ‘Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf. Applying the *isnād cum matn* method, the *ḥadīth* in question goes back at the earliest to Bakr. Bakr’s transmission from ‘Ā’isha cannot be dated more earlier. Muḥammad b. Yazīd’s and Bakr’s

<sup>256</sup> See al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz*, p. 139.

<sup>257</sup> For other variants of al-Ṭabarānī, see the *ḥadīths* of Ṣalīm b. Khayyāt – Ibn Sīrīn – Abū Hurayra; Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān – Muḥammad b. Ziyād – Abū Hurayra; Layth – Mujāhid – Abū Hurayra; Qatāda – al-Ḥasan – Abū Hurayra; al-‘Alā’ – his father – Abū Hurayra.

*ḥadīth* are, therefore, not datable earlier than their own age. Thus, ‘Ā’isha’s *ḥadīth* cannot corroborate Abū Hurayra’s *ḥadīth*.

#### H. The ḤADĪTHS of ‘Uthmān b. Abī l-‘Āṣ and Mu‘adh b. Jabal.

Another Companion who reportedly transmitted the *ḥadīth* under review from the Prophet is ‘Uthmān b. Abī l-‘Āṣ. His transmission is to be found in a later *ḥadīth* collection: *al-Mu‘jam al-kabīr* of al-Ṭabarānī.<sup>258</sup> It contains the elements 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 of Abū Ṣāliḥ’s *ḥadīth*. Yet the elements 1 and 2 are shortened. The *isnād* of the *ḥadīth* is Abū Khalīfa – ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Ḥajabī – ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Thaqafī – ‘Anbasa – al-Ḥasan – ‘Uthmān b. Abī l-‘Āṣ. In view of the fact that the *ḥadīth* has no variant, it is not datable with the *isnād cum matn* method. It goes back at the earliest to the informant of al-Ṭabarānī, Abū Khalīfa al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥubāb. Its non-occurrence in early *ḥadīth* collections could be an indication of its later fabrication. This is a *silentio* conclusion, it is true, but in view of the fact that the *ḥadīth* under review was massively transmitted and widely known by early transmitters and collectors, we are struck by its having no corroborating variant.

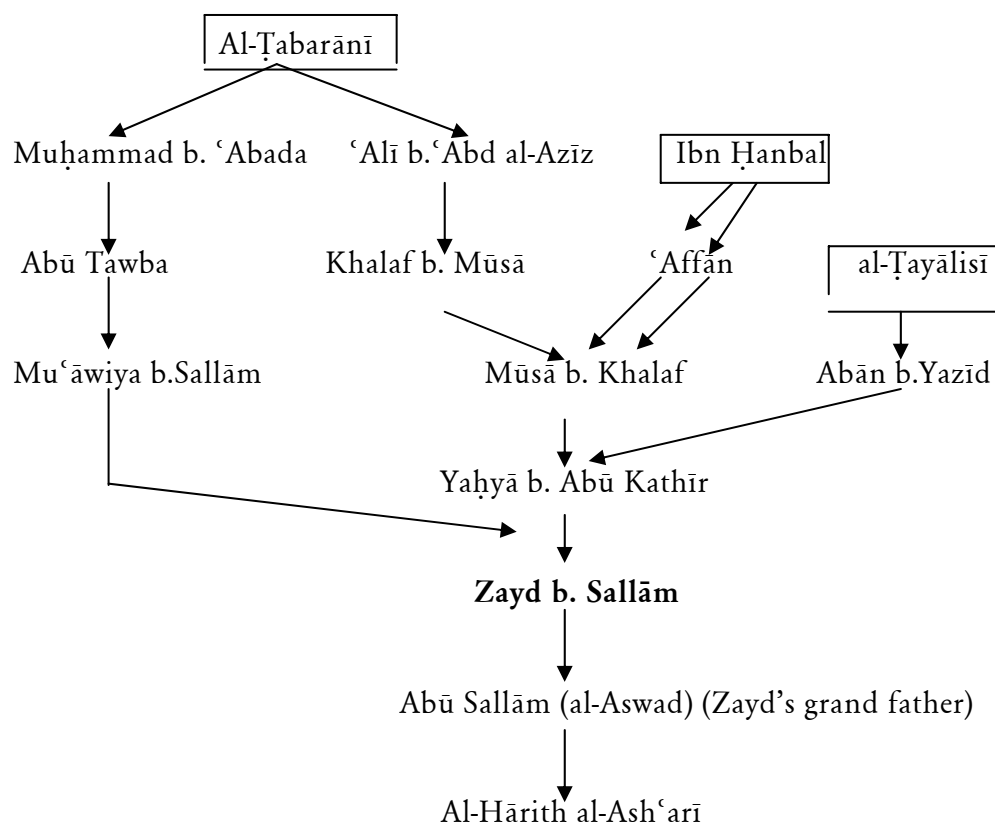
The same argument applies to the *ḥadīth* of Mu‘adh b. Jabal, the Companion of the Prophet, who is also reported to have transmitted the *ḥadīth* under review. His transmission is also to be found in al-Ṭabarānī’s *al-Mu‘jam al-kabīr*.<sup>259</sup> It is a long version, a dialogue between ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and Mu‘adh of which most of its elements do not concern us here. Only the element 12 of Abū Ṣāliḥ’s *ḥadīth* is found in this *ḥadīth*. The other elements might have variants in other collections. Thus, the *ḥadīth* of both ‘Uthmān b. Abū l-‘Āṣ and Mu‘adh b. Jabal do not confirm the *ḥadīth* of Abū Hurayra, since the possibility cannot be excluded that their text were modeled on or extracted from Abū Hurayra’s text and the *isnāds* added fictitiously.

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<sup>258</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu‘jam al-kabīr*, vol. 9, p. 58.

<sup>259</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu‘jam al-kabīr*, vol. 20, p. 70.

# I. The ḤADĪTH of al-Ḥārith al-Ash‘arī.



Another companion who reportedly transmitted the *ḥadīth* under review is al-Ḥārith al-Ash‘arī. His transmission is to be found in three *ḥadīth* collections: the *Musnad* of al-Ṭayālīsī,<sup>260</sup> the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal<sup>261</sup> and *al-Mu‘jam al-kabīr* of al-Ṭabarānī.<sup>262</sup> The *ḥadīth* is a very long version, most elements of which are not those of the *ḥadīth* under scrutiny. Only one element of the *ḥadīth* under review is found in this long *ḥadīth*: the element 12 of Abū Ṣāliḥ’s *ḥadīth*.<sup>263</sup>

Ibn Ḥanbal provides two *matns* with the same *isnād*. Both *matns* are very similar without being identical. Al-Ṭabarānī provides two *isnāds*. The first *matn* he claims to have received from ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz and the second from Muḥammad b. ‘Abada. Ibn Ḥanbal’s two versions resemble greatly al-Ṭabarānī’s first version. They differ only slightly in wording. What can be inferred from this great similarity? Are they interdependent from one

<sup>260</sup> Al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, p. 159.

<sup>261</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 4, p. 130, 202.

<sup>262</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu‘jam al-kabīr*, vol. 3, p. 285, 287.

<sup>263</sup> By virtue of this fact, the *ḥadīth* is not quoted here.

another? This does not seem likely. As already pointed out, the great similarity of texts from the second century onwards could have been caused by a more sophisticated written transmission in that period. It is more plausible, accordingly, to infer from the similarity of Ibn Ḥanbal's version with that of al-Ṭabarānī's first variant that they derive from the same source. This is also suggested by the *isnāds* which have a common link in Abū Khalaf Mūsā b. Khalaf. The *ḥadīth* probably goes back to him. According to the *isnād*, al-Ṭabarānī's version is transmitted by Mūsā's son Khalaf.

Did Mūsā receive the *ḥadīth* from Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr who is given as his informant? Mūsā b. Khalaf's claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from Yaḥyā is corroborated by that of Abān b. Yazīd found in al-Ṭayālīsī's *Musnad*. Looking to the *isnād* bundle, Juynboll would regard al-Ṭayālīsī's *isnād* as a "dive" strand, whose historicity is to be ruled out as later fabrication. Taken Juynboll's concept of "diving" at face value, would mean in this case that al-Ṭayālīsī's version is later than Ibn Ḥanbal's. That raises the question of how the *ḥadīth* found in the early collection, al-Ṭayālīsī's (d. 204) *Musnad*, can be later than the *ḥadīth* found in the younger collection of Ibn Ḥanbal? Juynboll could or might argue that the *ḥadīth* with its invented *isnād* was inserted in the *Musnad* by a transmitter or the later editor of al-Ṭayālīsī's *Musnad*. It seems, indeed that the *Musnad* of al-Ṭayālīsī in the preserved form is only a fragment of the original work. It is probably a collection (edition) of Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, one of al-Ṭayālīsī's student. Theoretically, the latter could have taken the version of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal as model, and invented the *isnād*. There is, however, no indication for such an assumption. A comparison of the *matns* of both versions speaks against this assumption.

A comparison of Abān's *ḥadīth* with that of Mūsā b. Khalaf reveals that they are similar but differ significantly in wording. The differences are more marked than the variances between Ibn Ḥanbal's and al-Ṭabarānī's versions going back to Mūsā b. Khalaf. This suggests that al-Ṭayālīsī's version is independent of Mūsā's version. Their similarity both in structure and elements indicates that their common source is Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr (d. 129/131). The *ḥadīth*, therefore, goes back to him.

Is the claim of the latter to have received his *ḥadīth* from his alleged informant, Zayd b. Sallām (d.?),<sup>264</sup> reliable? We have a variant to compare, which allegedly derives from Mu‘āwiya b. Sallām. It is to be found in al-Ṭabarānī’s *al-Mu‘jam*.<sup>265</sup> In view of the fact that the *isnād* of the *ḥadīth* is „diving” deeply below the first common link (Mūsā b. Khalaf), and found only in a late *ḥadīth* collection, Juynboll would question its reliability. Is it really the case? A comparison of the *matn* of the *ḥadīth* of Mu‘āwiya b. Sallām, who is Zayd b. Sallām’s brother with that of Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr’s reveals that they are very similar in structure and elements but differ in wording. How do we interpret this? Are they independent transmissions? It is difficult to ascertain, for the transmission from al-Ṭabarānī to Mu‘āwiya is a single strand. Yet, since al-Ṭabarānī transmits other versions of this *ḥadīth*, his second version could be used in the analysis of *isnād cum matn*. Since al-Ṭabarānī’s version, which according to the *isnād*, goes back to Mu‘āwiya b. Sallām is very similar to the version of Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr but different from it in detail, it is to conclude, according to *isnād cum matn* method, that they are independent from each other. That is, Yaḥyā’s and Mu‘āwiya’s versions must go back to a common source, namely, Zayd b. Sallām. That is what the *isnāds* state and what the comparison of texts suggests.

What are *ḥadīth* critics telling us about the relationship between Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr and Zayd b. Sallām and Mu‘āwiya b. Sallām? According to Yaḥyā b. Ma‘īn,<sup>266</sup> Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr heard neither Zayd b. Sallām, nor Mu‘āwiya b. Sallām, but received from the latter only Zayd b. Sallām’s books (notes) and transmitted later on, as if he himself had heard it from Zayd, that is, without explaining the purely written transmission. Likewise, Ibn Ḥanbal questions that Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr heard Zayd b. Sallām’s tradition from Mu‘āwiya. He says, if he had heard it from him, Yaḥyā would have mentioned Mu‘āwiya as well (as his informant). According to the strict criteria of the *muḥaddithūn*, Yaḥyā’s method of transmission is not allright (*mudallis*). That means that in Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr’s *ḥadīth*, Zayd b. Sallām is indeed his direct source, but only a written one, not Mu‘āwiya, who is much

<sup>264</sup> Al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta’dīl*, vol. 3, 2554; al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, vol. 1, p. 266; al-Mizzī, *Tabdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 10, pp. 77-79.

<sup>265</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu‘jam al-kabīr*, vol. 3, p. 287.

<sup>266</sup> Al-Mizzī, *Tabdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 10, p. 78.

younger. Evidently, Ibn Ḥanbal, like al-Bukhārī and Muslim, accepted Yaḥyā's tradition as direct transmission. It is apparent that the biographical information is compatible with the result of *isnād cum matn* analysis. It is to assume, accordingly, that Zayd b. Sallām is the real common source of Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr's and Mu'āwiya b. Sallām's versions. That is what the *isnād cum matn* analysis suggests. Mu'āwiya was still alive in 164. He was then a contemporary of Mālik. His evidently much older brother Zayd was a contemporary of Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr (d. 129 or 131). The *ḥadīth* of Sallām b. Zayd is, therefore, to date in first quarter of the second century A.H. Its prehistory remains obscure. The text also occurs in Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīths*: *wa-inna fam al-ṣā'im atyabu 'inda llāh min riḥ al-misk*. This passage is too short to be compared with the variants of Abū Hurayra. Therefore, we cannot decide whether it is an independent tradition going back to the Companion al-Ḥārith al-Ash'arī or whether it is borrowed from a version of Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīths*. In any case, Zayd b. Sallām's *ḥadīth* from al-Ḥārith al-Ash'arī cannot corroborate the *ḥadīth* of Abū Hurayra, nor can it prove that the concerned element goes really back to the Prophet.

## J. The ḤADĪTH of Abū Dharr

Another Companion who reportedly transmitted the *ḥadīth* under review from the Prophet is Abū Dharr. His *ḥadīth* is found in al-Ṭabarānī's *al-Mu'jam al-awsaṭ*.<sup>267</sup> It reads as follows:

“Ḥaddathanā ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu’āwiya al-‘Utbī qāla ḥaddathanā ‘Amr b. Khālīd al-ḥaranī qāla ḥaddathanā Ibn Lahī’a ‘an Khālīd b. Yazīd ‘an Ṣafwān b. Salīm ‘an Abī Ṣāliḥ al-Sammān ‘an Abī Dharr annahu ... qāla [1] *al-ṣiyāmu junna qāla Allāh* [2] *al-ṣiyāmu lī* [3] *wa-anā ajzī bihi* [4] *wa-l-ladhī naḥṣi bi-yadihi* [5] *la-khulūfu fam al-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘ani llāh min al-riḥ al-misk...*” “al-Raḥmān b. Mu’āwiya al-‘Utbī informed us, he said ‘Amr b. Khālīd al-Ḥaranī said Ibn Lahī’a informed us from Khālīd b. Yazīd from Ṣafwān b. Salīm from Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Sammān from Abū Dharr...the Prophet said: The fast is protection. God said: The fasting is meant for me and I will reward it generously. By Him in whose hand is my soul, verily, the smell of the mouth of the fasting person is more delectable to God than the scent of musk”

The *ḥadīth* contains the elements 6, 4, 5, 11, 12 of Abū Ṣāliḥ's *ḥadīth*. The structure of the *ḥadīth* is different from those of other *ḥadīths* studied so far.

<sup>267</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-awsaṭ*, vol. 5, vol. 77.

Yet in view of the fact that the *ḥadīth* has no variant, it is not datable with *isnād cum matn* method. The *ḥadīth* goes back at the earliest to the informant of al-Ṭabarānī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu‘āwiyā. The fact that the *ḥadīth* under review was widely known by early transmitters and collectors, the appearance of Abū Dharr’s *ḥadīth* only in the later collection could be an indication of its later fabrication. Accordingly, Abū Dharr’s *ḥadīth* cannot be taken to corroborate Abū Hurayra’s *ḥadīth*.

### 3. Conclusion

Having recourse to the *isnād cum matn* method, a long strenuous journey of dating has been undertaken to scrutinise and identify who might be the original transmitter of the *ḥadīths* under review and what has been their original texts. This formidable task has pushed us back to the very early period of Islam. After classifying and identifying who transmitted the *ḥadīths* under review from which transmitters, we started our scrutiny from the claim of the youngest transmitters, i.e., the *ḥadīth* collectors (*mukharrij*). The claims of the *ḥadīth* collectors to have received the *ḥadīths* from their respective informants have been analysed and compared with each other. Similarly, the claims of these informants to have passed on the *ḥadīths* from their respective sources have in turn been compared with one another. This procedure has been applied from the first to the last transmitters.

The *ḥadīths* under scrutiny were reportedly massively transmitted by a large number of transmitters from generation to generation. Moreover, the several elements that some versions of the *ḥadīths* contain allow fruitful comparisons of the variant texts. Accordingly, the *ḥadīths* under review have been chosen as the object of our investigation, using the *isnād cum matn* method. Mustafa Muhammad Azmi has already dealt with the *ḥadīth*. Azmi, however, only compiled a chart of *isnāds* and concluded from it that the *isnād* system started early and that the transmission was so widespread that fabrication on a large scale can be excluded as explanation of their origin and development. Yet Azmi’s method is mere ascription. He completely ignores the texts of the *ḥadīths* and by doing so he gives the impression that the texts of the *ḥadīths* are more or less the same. Yet they are not. His disregard of the



texts also led him to make some mistakes in ascribing particular *ḥadīths* to particular transmitters.

Surprisingly enough, no less than 165 variants of the *ḥadīths* have been found in 39 collections: in the canonical *ḥadīth* collections as well as in pre-canonical and post-canonical ones. 15 variants do not have *matns*, but only *isnāds*. Ibn Ḥanbal, for example, provides 39 versions, al-Bukhārī five, Muslim 12, al-Nasā'ī 13, al-Bayhaqī 14 al-Ṭabarānī 13, etc (see the complete diagram). According to the *isnāds*, 128 *ḥadīths* go back to Abū Hurayra and 37 *ḥadīths* go back to other eleven Companions or Successors. One *ḥadīth* is *mursal*. In view of the criteria of Muslim *ḥadīth* critics, the *ḥadīth* complex is *mutawātir*. Such a *ḥadīth* has hitherto never been scrutinised with the *isnād cum matn method*.

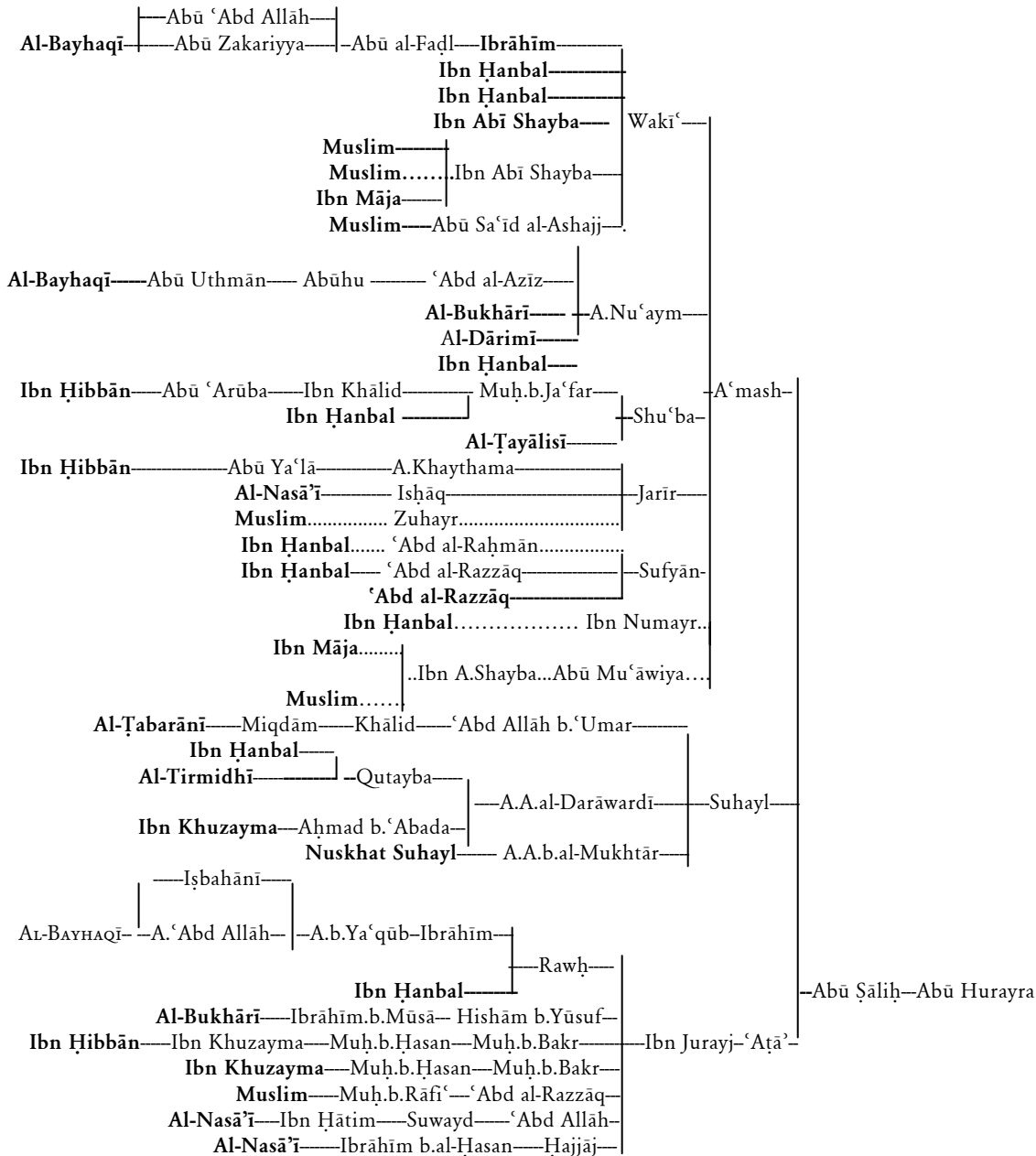
**A. Investigation of the ḤADĪTHS, which according to the ISNĀDS, go back to Abū Hurayra.**

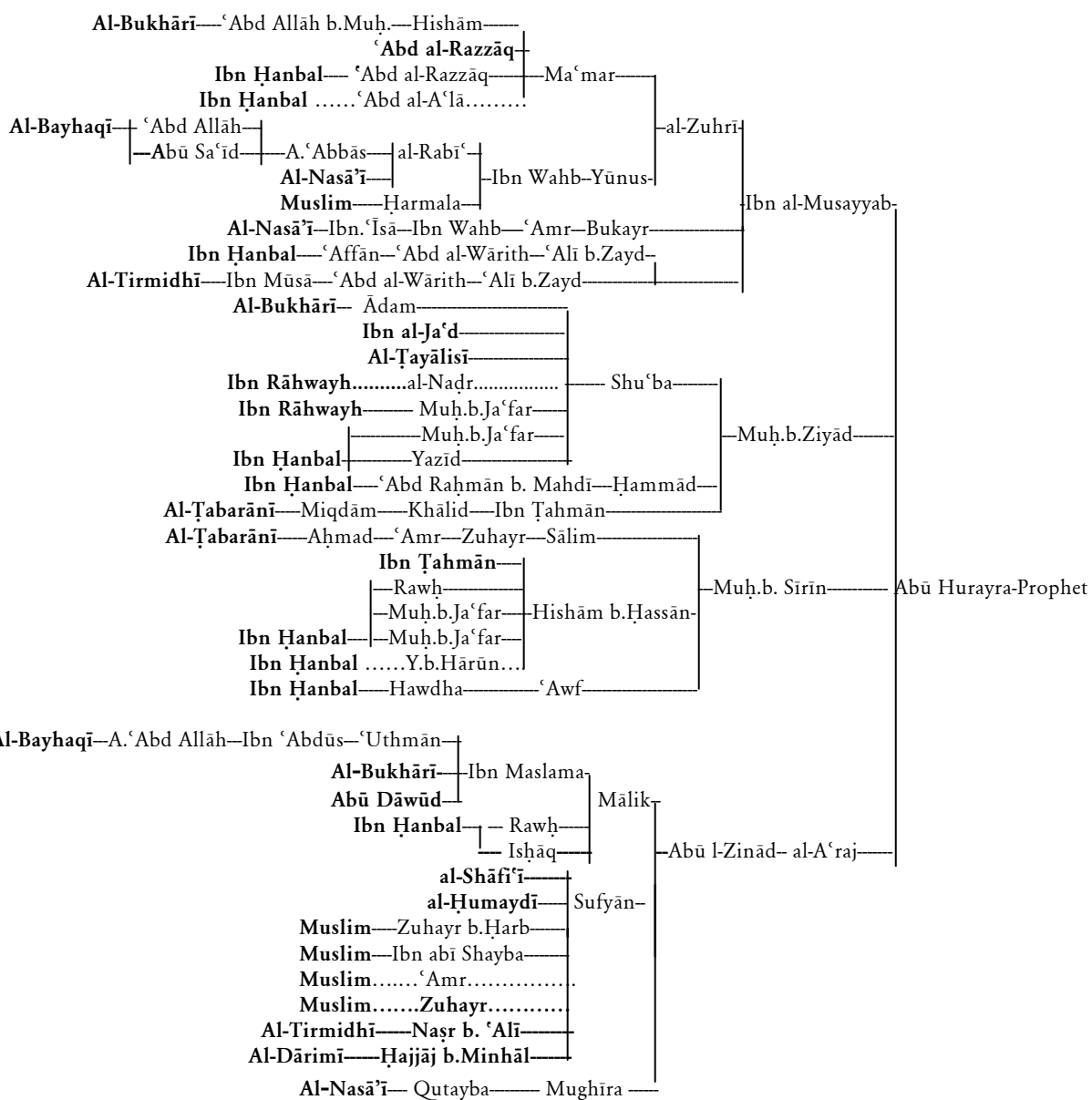
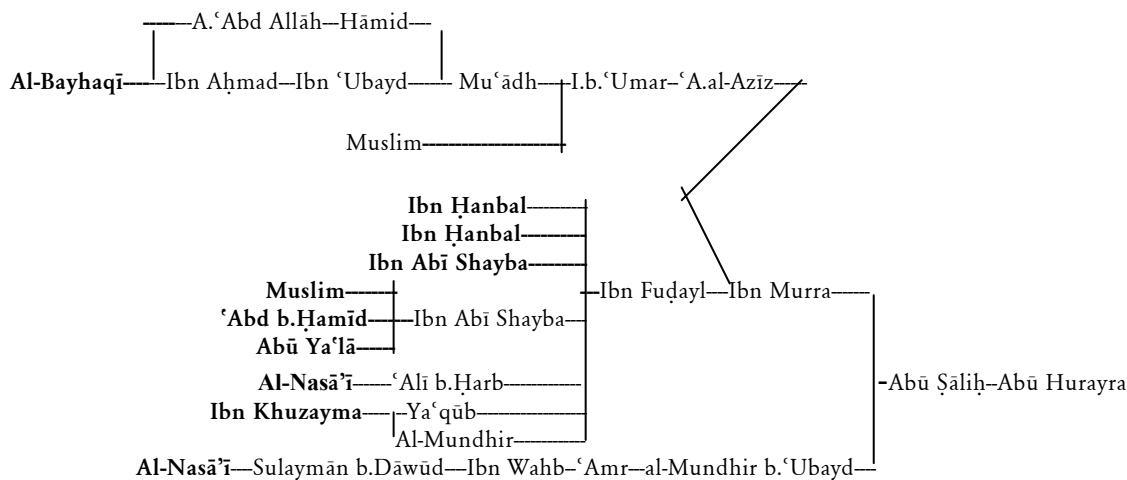
The goal of investigation was to identify who transmitted the *ḥadīth* variants from which transmitter, and to assess whether or not the ramification of the *isnāds* is linked with the *matn* variants. Likewise, it was to scrutinise whether Abū Hurayra can be considered common link in the sense that he has some secure partial common links. According to the *isnāds*, there are four partial common links of Abū Hurayra: Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab, Ibn Sīrīn and Ibn Ziyād.

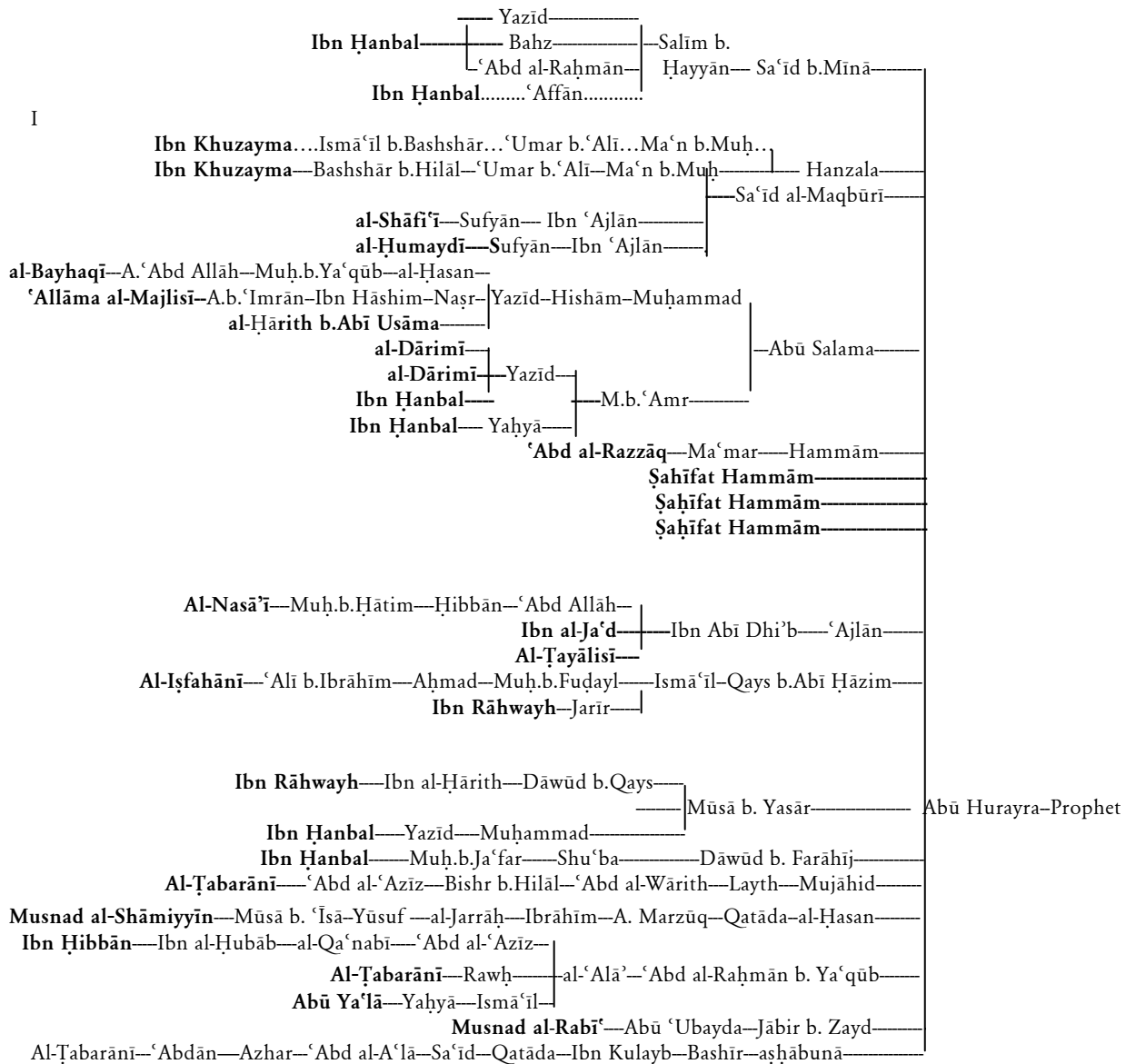
**The list of the elements of the ḤADĪTHS ascribed to Abū Hurayra.**

- o. *Qāla Allāh*
1. *Kullu ‘amal ibn Ādam lahu/ Kullu l-‘amali kaffāratun*
2. *Al-ḥasanatu ‘ashru amthālihā*
3. *ilā sab‘i mi’a di‘fin*
4. *illā l-ṣawm/ṣiyām*
5. *Fa-innahu lī*
6. *Wa-anā ajzī bihi*
7. *Al-ṣawmu junnatun*
8. *Yada‘u ta‘āmahu wa-sharābahu wa-shahwatahu min ajlī*
9. *Li-l-ṣā’imi farḥatāni*
10. *Farḥatun ḥīna yuṣṭir*
11. *Wa-farḥatun idhā laqiya rabbahu*
12. *Wa-lladhī nafsu Muḥammad bi-yadihi*
13. *Wa-la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda llāh min riḥ al-misk*
14. *Idhā aṣbaḥa aḥadikum ṣā’iman/idhā kāna yawmu ṣawmi aḥadikum*
15. *Fa-lā yarḥuth wa-lā yafsuq/yaṣkhab*
16. *fa-in subba/sābbahu fal-yaqul innī ṣā’imun*

The ISNĀD bundle of the ḤADĪTH going back to Abū Hurayra.







——: *Isnād* and *matn*

.....: *Isnād* only

Bold: *Ḥadīth* Collectors

## a. Traditions with primary partial common links (pcls) in the *ISNĀDS*

### A. Abū Ṣāliḥ (d. 101).

The *isnād* bundle shows that of the five transmitters from Abū Ṣāliḥ, only two of them are partial common links by virtue of three or more transmitters: al-Aʿmash and Suhayl. Other two partial common links, Ibn Jurayj and Ibn Fuḍayl, are only found in the second generation after Abū Ṣāliḥ. Yet it cannot be concluded from the structure of the *isnād* that the two partial common links are unshakable. Juynboll, for example, would not regard Suhayl as an unshakable pcl. Accordingly, the variant texts of the *ḥadīths* must be analysed to control the conclusion that resulted from the *isnād* structure and to distinguish the real transmission lines from the invented ones. In the case of al-Aʿmash and Suhayl, it is, therefore, to investigate, whether they are unshakable pcls. A comparison of the variant texts, which according to the *isnād* go back to al-Aʿmash, reveals that the texts are not identical, but contain characteristic differences, which could be assigned to the seven different students of al-Aʿmash. Two of them are in turn pcls. Accordingly, it is evident that a) the *isnāds* were not invented and later combined with a specific text, and that b) the texts were not copied from each other. Accordingly, al-Aʿmash must be regarded as a real pcl, and the several variant texts, which according to the *isnāds* go back to him, are real transmissions, not *isnād*-fictions. In other words, it is possible to reconstruct a text from the common variant texts, which definitely stems from al-Aʿmash.

The case of Suhayl is slightly more difficult, because the number of transmissions attributed to him is much fewer and the texts differ strongly from one another. Yet these differences show that the different transmissions are not dependent on each other. On the other hand, the similarities of the texts speak in favour of the fact that they are derived from the same source, namely Suhayl. Accordingly, it is possible to reconstruct a text from the common texts, which goes back to Suhayl. The imaginable possibility that the Suhayl's texts were modelled after the traditions going back to al-Aʿmash can be excluded by a comparison of both text corpora. The versions of both

clearly deviate in certain points from each other. A characteristic difference is, for example, that al-A‘mash’s text is expressly introduced as *ḥadīth qudsī*, whereas Suhayl’s version is not. Therefore, al-A‘mash and Suhayl must be regarded as independent pcls of Abū Ṣāliḥ. This is a strong argument for the assumption that the texts, which are common in both of al-A‘mash and Suhayl, are really transmitted from Abū Ṣāliḥ.

How to judge the transmissions, in which only one direct transmitter from Abū Ṣāliḥ is available and which fan out only in the next generation of transmission? That is, the case with the transmissions of Ibn Jurayj - ‘Aṭā’ and Ibn Fuḍayl – Ibn Murra. Do these pcls indicate that these versions were attributed to Abū Ṣāliḥ through forged *isnāds*? The investigation of text variants shows that this possibility is to be excluded.

Ibn Jurayj - ‘Aṭā’*s* *ḥadīth* has typical elements that are lacking in the texts of both al-A‘mash and Suhayl. Likewise, Ibn Fuḍayl - Ibn Murra’s *ḥadīth* has its own features. The composition of Ibn Murra’s *ḥadīth* differs largely from other versions and it lacks several elements. By virtue of this fact, it is to conclude that both Ibn Jurayj - ‘Aṭā’*s* and Ibn Fuḍayl - Ibn Murra’s *ḥadīths* are not constructed after the model of either al-A‘mash’s or Suhayl’s. Furthermore, even al-Mundhir b. ‘Ubayd’s *ḥadīth*, which has only a single strand *isnād* is to be taken to be independent from the other former four groups of Abū Ṣāliḥ’s *ḥadīth*, as it has a characteristic feature distinguishing it from other transmission. Moreover, the *laqab* of Abū Ṣāliḥ, al-Sammān, in Ibn ‘Ubayd’s *isnād* is unique. In other words, the *ḥadīth* ascribed to al-A‘mash, Suhayl, Ibn Jurayj - ‘Aṭā’, Ibn Fuḍayl - Ibn Murra or even Ibn ‘Ubayd are most probably theirs. It also means that Ibn Jurayj highly likely received his version from ‘Aṭā’, and Ibn Fuḍayl had his version from Ibn Murra.

Since we have established that the texts are not likely to have been modelled upon each other, it is to assume that the identical elements of the several variant texts must originate from a common source, namely, Abū Ṣāliḥ, who becomes then an undeniable common link. Relying on the rule that if two or more transmitters from Abū Ṣāliḥ agree on a detail or element, this element goes back to him, we are able to reconstruct the text circulated by him:

- o. *Qāla Allāh/yaqul Allāh* (al-A‘mash, Ibn Murra)
1. *kullu ‘amal ibn Ādam labu*. This element is transmitted by al-A‘mash (A), Suhayl b. Abī Šālih (S) and ‘Aṭā’ b. abī Rabāh (At).
2. *Al-ḥasanatu ‘ashru amthālihā* (A, S).
3. *illā l-ṣawm/ṣiyām* (A, S, At)
4. *Fa-innahu lī* (A, S, At, al-Mundhir b. Ubayd (MU).
5. *Wa-anā ajzī bibi* (A, S, At, MU and Ibn Murra (IM).
6. *Al-ṣawmu junnatun* (A, At).
7. *Yada‘u ṭa‘āmahu wa-sharābahu min ajlī* (A, S).
8. *Li-l-ṣā’imi farḥatāni* (A, S, At, IM).
9. *Farḥatun ḥīna yuṣṭir* (A, S, At, IM).
10. *Wa-farḥatun idhā laqiya rabbahu* (A, S, At, IM, MU)
11. *Wa-lladhī nafsu Muḥammad bi-yadihi* (At, IM)
12. *Wa-la-kbulūfu fami l-ṣā’imi aṭyabu ‘inda llāh min riḥ al-misk* (A, S, At, IM, MU).
13. *Idhā aṣbaḥa aḥadukum ṣā’iman (idhā kāna yaṣumu ṣawmi aḥadikum)* (S, At)
14. *fa-lā yarfuth wa-la yaṣuq (yaṣḥab)* (S, At)
15. *fa-in subba (sābbahu) fāl-yaqul innī ṣā’imun* (S, At).

It is conspicuous that only few elements are found in the versions of all five transmitters. That is, the elements 5, 10 and 12. Some elements are to be found in the versions of four transmitters, others in the texts of three or only two transmitters. Accordingly, the list of the elements cannot be regarded as one *ḥadīth* of Abū Šālih. It is only to assume that the elements within the different combinations go back to him. How can the different combinations be explained? There are three possible answers: either Abū Šālih circulated his *ḥadīth* in different forms or his students did not preserve his *ḥadīth* accurately or both. This might also be linked with the way of transmission in first half of the second century, which was still mainly oral.

#### B. Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab (d. 94/100).

It is apparent from the *isnād* bundle that Ibn al-Musayyab is backed up only by one weak partial common link (al-Zuhri) and two single strands (‘Alī b. Zayd and Bukayr). According to Juynboll’s method of *isnād* analysis,



Ibn al-Musayyab and even al-Zuhrī are merely seeming common links, which are corroborated by spidery strands. However, the *isnād cum matn* method does not reject *a priori* the historicity of single strands. Accordingly, the *matns* of the three transmitters of Ibn al-Musayyab have been analysed and compared to see whether they are independent from each other, or whether they are modelled after one another. Indeed, the comparison reveals their independence. Each transmission has its own characteristic feature distinguishing them from one another. An analysis of the variant texts attributed to al-Zuhrī enables us to regard al-Zuhrī as a real partial common link. ‘Alī b. Zayd’s *matn* is much longer than that of al-Zuhrī. The latter misses several elements of the former. By contrast, Ibn Zayd’s version is lacking an element of al-Zuhrī. Al-Zuhrī seems to have shortened the originally longer *matn*, as it is shown by Bukayr’s version. It is also a short one but it differs from al-Zuhrī’s *matn* both in the substance and wording. Bukayr’s *matn* varies also from Ibn Zayd’s. The former misses several elements of the latter. Conversely, Ibn Zayd’s *matn* misses two elements of Bukayr’s. Moreover, while Ibn Zayd’s *matn* is introduced as a *qudsī ḥadīth*, Bukayr’s one is not.

Since we have established the independence of the three transmissions, it is to conclude that the common elements of them must originate from a common source, i.e., Ibn al-Musayyab. The elements are the following:

- o. *Qāla/yaqūl Allāh* (al-Zuhrī and ‘Alī b. Zayd)
- 1. *kullu ‘amalin (ḥasanatin) ‘asbru amthālihā* (Bukayr and ‘Alī b. Zayd)
- 2. *Ibn Ādam* (al-Zuhrī, ‘Alī b. Zayd and Bukayr)
- 3. *Lahu illā l-ṣawm/l-ṣiyām* (al-Zuhrī and Bukayr)
- 4. *Huwa lī/al-ṣawmu lī* (al-Zuhrī, ‘Alī b. Zayd and Bukayr)
- 5. *Wa-anā ajzī bihi* (al-Zuhrī, ‘Alī b. Zayd and Bukayr)
- 6. *La-kbulūfu fam al-ṣā’mi atyabu ‘inda llāh min riḥ al-misk* (al-Zuhrī and ‘Alī b. Zayd)

Ibn Zayd’s additional elements “*wa-l-ṣawmu junna*” and “*fa-in jahila...fal-yaqul innī ṣā’imun*” might belong to the original text of Ibn al-Musayyab, as other transmissions from Abū Hurayra have these or similar elements as well.

However, since al-Zuhri's and Bukayr's texts which are short versions miss them, the elements cannot be safely ascribed to Ibn Musayyab.

**c. Muḥammad b. Ziyād (d. ?)**

The *isnād* bundle suggests that of the three transmitters from Ibn Ziyād, Shu'ba (d. 160) is a partial common link, whereas Ḥammād (d. 167) and Ibn Ṭahmān (d. 168) have only single strands. In other words, relying on *isnād* analysis alone, Muḥammad b. Ziyād is a weak or seeming common link, and the *ḥadīth* cannot be safely ascribed to him. Again, since the *isnād cum matn* analysis does not rule out the historicity of a single strand, merely because of the lack of corroborating *isnāds*, the transmissions of Ḥammād and Ibn Ṭahmān have been analysed and compared with that of Shu'ba to see how they are related to one another. This is to see whether these transmissions provide us with clues to assess Shu'ba's claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from Ibn Ziyād.

Shu'ba's original *matn* can be reconstructed on the basis of the several versions ascribed to him that differ only slightly. A comparison of Ḥammād's *matn* with that of Shu'ba's reveals significant differences. The former consists of two separate *ḥadīths* with the same *isnād*. The combined *matns* are equal to that of Shu'ba's *ḥadīth* without being identical. However, in view of the fact that no parallel versions from Ḥammād are available, we do not know for sure to whom the differences go back. Ḥammād's *matn* cannot be reconstructed, accordingly. Nevertheless, we can conclude that it seems unlikely that Muḥammad b. Ziyād's *ḥadīth*, transmitted by Ibn Ḥanbal via 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī from Ḥammād, has been modelled on Shu'ba's text, as it is not identical to any of its variants.

The same applies to Ibn Ṭahmān's variant. Though this version differs significantly from those of Shu'ba and Ḥammād, we cannot be sure whether the *ḥadīth* goes really back to Ibn Ṭahmān, for it is a single strand passing two links between al-Ṭabarānī and Ibn Ṭahmān. Thus, abiding by the strict *isnād cum matn* method, no definite results concerning the common link in the case of Ibn Ziyād's *ḥadīth* can be produced. It could be Shu'ba or Ibn Ziyād. However, the fact that there are two very different *matn* versions

of the *ḥadīth* transmitted from Shu‘ba that he ascribes to different informants, on the one hand to al-A‘mash – Abū Ṣāliḥ and on the other hand to Ibn Ziyād, favours the assumption that he really has this version from Ibn Ziyād. Together with the independent single strand traditions of Ḥammād and Ibn Ṭahmān we can conclude that Ibn Ziyād is a partial common link. The comparison of *isnāds* and *matns* allows us to ascribe the following elements to Ibn Ziyād.

○. *Qāla/yaqūl Allāh*

1) *Kullu l-‘amali kaffāratun*

2) *illā l-ṣawm*

3) *wa-l-sawmu lī*

4) *wa-anā ajzī bihi*

5) *la-khulūfu fam al-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda llāh min rīḥ al-misk.*

#### **d. Muḥammad b. Sīrīn (d. 110 A.H.)**

As in the case of Muḥammad b. Ziyād’s *ḥadīth*, the *isnād* structure of the *ḥadīth* ascribed to Ibn Sīrīn has only one possible partial common link, Hishām b. Ḥassān (d. 147/148 A.H.) and two single strand transmissions going back ‘Awf and Sālim b. Khayyāt. Applying Juynboll’s *isnād* analysis, the *ḥadīth* cannot be safely ascribed to Ibn Sīrīn. However, relying on the *isnād cum matn* method, Hishām b. Ḥassān can be proven to be a real partial common link. The traditions of ‘Awf and Sālim b. Khayyāt’s are not rejected *a priori*, merely because they are single strands. To assess their historicity, they are compared with the tradition of the partial common link Hishām b. Ḥassān to see whether or not they are independent transmissions. A comparison shows that ‘Awf’s tradition has individual features distinguishing it from Hishām’s. The order of the elements of ‘awf’s tradition varies so significantly from that of Hishām that it cannot be dependent on the latter. Though we cannot be sure that the tradition ascribed to ‘Awf goes really back to him, for there is only a single version, it is suitable for a reconstruction of Ibn Sīrīn’s *ḥadīth*, because the Hawdha-‘Awf *matn* varies largely from the other versions ascribed to Ibn Sīrīn. By contrast, Sālim’s text cannot be used to corroborate Hishām’s claim to have

transmitted the *ḥadīth* from Ibn Sīrīn, by virtue of the fact that it is identical to Rawḥ's variant of Hishām's version. Though the identity might be due to a mere coincidence, the transmission ascribed to Sālim could also have been a copy of Rawḥ's. Accordingly, it cannot be used as conclusive evidence for a reconstruction of Ibn Sīrīn's *ḥadīth*.

Thus, assuming that the transmission ascribed to 'Awf is independent from that of Hishām, Ibn Sīrīn's *ḥadīth* can be reconstructed as follows:

- 1) *al-ḥasanatu bi-'ashri amthāliha*
- 2) *wa-l-ṣawmu lī*
- 3) *wa-anā ajzī bihi*
- 4) *yada'u (yadhuru or taraka) ṭa'āmahu wa-sharābahu*
- 5) *la-khulūfu fam al-ṣā'imi atyabu 'inda llāh ('inda llāh atyabu) min riḥ al-misk.*

While elements 2-5 go very probably back to Ibn Sīrīn, for they are transmitted by Hishām and 'Awf alike, it remains doubtful whether element 1 goes back to Ibn Sīrīn, for it is transmitted only by Hishām and Sālim. Sālim's version is not conclusive evidence.

#### **b. Traditions with secondary partial common link in the ISNĀDS.**

In a number of *ḥadīths*, whose texts are likewise attributed to Abū Hurayra, the allegedly direct transmitters from him are singular. The *isnāds* mainly fan out only after the transmitters of the next generation, who seem to be like a pcls. We came across similar cases in our investigation of primary pcls, for example, the transmissions of Ibn Jurayj – 'Aṭā' and Ibn Fuḍayl – Ibn Murra from Abū Ṣāliḥ. Through a comparison of these versions with those of direct pcl from Abū Ṣāliḥ, it could be determined, whether the former are fictions or not. This method will also be applied in the following traditions, whose *isnāds* do not have pcls until the second generation after Abū Hurayra.

#### **A. Al-A'raj (d. 117): pcl Abū l-Zinād (d. 136)**

While Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab, Muḥammad b. Ziyād and Ibn Sīrīn are common links in the sense that more than one transmitter transmitted from them, it is only Abū l-Zinād who transmitted al-A'raj's *ḥadīths* according to

the *isnāds* of the available traditions. The *isnād cum matn* analysis confirms that the *ḥadīths* with the *isnād* Abū l-Zinād-al-A‘raj go really back to Abū l-Zinād. Relying on the *isnād* alone, the *ḥadīths* cannot be securely ascribed to al-A‘raj, for no variants corroborate Abū l-Zinād’s claim to have received it from al-A‘raj. To assess the reliability of Abū l-Zinād’s claim, the *ḥadīths* have been compared with those ascribed to Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab, Muḥammad b. Ziyād and Ibn Sīrīn, in order to investigate whether Abū l-Zinād’s *ḥadīth* is dependent on them. The comparison shows that the *ḥadīth* ascribed to al-A‘raj differs characteristically from the former four *ḥadīths*. Abū l-Zinād’s *ḥadīth* contains elements that are missing in the *ḥadīths* of Ibn al-Musayyab, Ibn Ziyād and Ibn Sīrīn, and are found in the *ḥadīths* transmitted from Abū Ṣāliḥ only in a different wording. Furthermore, Abū l-Zinād’s *ḥadīth* misses some elements found in the former four. It misses Abū Ṣāliḥ’s elements 1, 8, 9, 10, Ibn al-Musayyab’s elements 2, Ibn Ziyād’s element 1. It is highly unlikely that Abū l-Zinād received his *ḥadīth* either from Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab, Ibn Ziyād or Ibn Sīrīn or their students, but skipped his real informant from the *isnād*, quoted his teacher al-A‘raj instead, and at the same time made the text looking divergent from them. The considerable differences suggest that Abū l-Zinād’s *ḥadīth* is not copied from or modelled on the versions of the former four. Therefore, the possibility cannot be excluded that Abū l-Zinād’s *ḥadīth* is an independent version that he received from the source he mentions, namely al-A‘raj. The elements of Abū l-Zinād-al-A‘raj’s *ḥadīth* are:

- 1) *Idhā kāna (aṣḥaḥa) aḥadukum ṣā’iman*
- 2) *fa-lā yarfuth wa-lā yajhal*
- 3) *fa-in imru’un shātamahu aw qātalahu (qātalahu aw shātamahu) fa-l-yaqul innī ṣā’imun innī ṣā’imun*
- 4) *kullu ‘amal Ibn Ādam lahu (kullu ḥasanatin)*
- 5) *illā al-ṣiyām*
- 6) *huwa lī*
- 7) *wa-anā ajzī bihi.*

With the question, whether the transmitter, who can be established as a common link with the *isnād cum matn* analysis (Abū l-Zinād), has his tradition really from the informant, whom he mentions as a source (al-A‘raj),

the strict *isnād cum matn* method, which needs common links and ends by this, is abandoned. For Schacht and Juynboll, the question about the informants of common links is senseless, as they advocate the opinion that the common link is the originator/author of the tradition. Methodologically, this generalization is not justified. Therefore, it is to find out whether indications are available to answer the question, whether the information of common link is derived or might be derived from the mentioned informant. There are several possible indications, for example, information about a certain transmitter and his material, as well as the *matn* of the traditions itself. Texts of traditions, by which only the secondary or tertiary common links can be proved, can be compared with texts, which can be dated earlier by means of the *isnād cum matn* analysis because they are transmitted by primary pcls (this is the case in the *ṣaḥiḥ ḥadīth*). Likewise, it is possible to compare the texts of secondary or tertiary pcls (include the tradition of single strand) with one another. This text comparison serves to find out, whether the texts concerned could be independent from one another or not. Is the text not dependent directly on another text, i.e., does it not have another text as a model, one can justifiably assume, that it goes back to another source, presumably (but not necessarily) to an older one. The conclusion of such comparisons are less certain than the results of the strict *isnād cum matn* analysis that ends by a common link and reconstructs the textual elements that can be ascribed to the common link.

#### **B. Saʿīd b. Mīnā (d. ?): pcl Salīm b. Ḥayyān (d. ?).**

Like al-Aʿraj, Saʿīd b. Mīnā is not a common link, because the *isnāds* show only one transmitter transmitting the *ḥadīth* from him, Salīm b. Ḥayyān. It is the latter who is to be considered a common link by virtue of four transmitters, Yazīd, Bahz, ʿAffān and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who reportedly transmitted the *ḥadīth* from him. To appraise Salīm's claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from Saʿīd b. Mīnā, the former's *ḥadīth* has been compared with other *ḥadīths* ascribed to Abū Hurayra. The comparison reveals that the *ḥadīth* is suspicious, on account of the fact that the *ḥadīth* ascribed to Saʿīd b. Mīnā is considerably similar to that of Abū l-Zinād from al-Aʿraj (particularly in the transmission of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna and the first part of

Mālik's *ḥadīth*), while most versions of other transmitters from Abū Hurayra deviate considerably from one another. In other words, it is probably dependent on Abū l-Zinād's *ḥadīth*. Therefore, Sa'īd b. Mīnā's *ḥadīth* cannot be taken as evidence for dating the *ḥadīth* under review.

### C. Abū Salama (d. 94 or 104): pcl Muḥammad b. 'Amr (d. 144).

The problem we encounter in analyzing the *ḥadīth* of Abū Salama applying the *isnād cum matn* method is that, like in the cases of al-A'raj and Sa'īd b. Mīnā, Muḥammad b. 'Amr is the only transmitter from Abū Salama, and no corroborative variant is found. According to the *isnāds*, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, another transmitter from Abū Salama, ascribed the *ḥadīth* to the latter, it is true, but the *ḥadīth* cannot be ascribed to him, but only to his alleged student, Hishām b. Abī Hishām. Both *ḥadīths* are mutually exclusive and cannot corroborate one another. Accordingly, we cannot know for sure whether the *ḥadīths* really derive from Abū Salama. Muḥammad b. 'Amr's tradition consists of two separate *ḥadīths*, one of which shows some structural similarities with Abū l-Zinād – al-A'raj's tradition. The conclusion that this text goes back to Ibn 'Amr rests not on a strict *isnād cum matn* analysis, but on a comparison with traditions of Ibn 'Amr's contemporaries. The second *ḥadīth*, however, can be assigned to Ibn 'Amr by the *isnād cum matn method*. It resembles one group of elements, which is only to find in Abū Ṣāliḥ's version. Although it resembles the versions of Abū l-Zinād – al-A'raj and al-A'mash – Abū Ṣāliḥ, it is not dependent on them, because the differences are very large. If Ibn 'Amr's version is independent, it is not to exclude then that Abū Salama is the source of the *ḥadīth*. Here are Ibn 'Amr's texts.

Text I.

- 1) *li l-ṣā'imi farḥatāni*
- 2) *farḥatun 'inda fiṭriḥ, wa-farḥatun yawma l-qiyāma/hīna yalqā rabbahu*
- 3) *la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā'imi atyabu 'inda Allāh min riḥ al-misk*

Text II

- 4) *kullu 'amal ibn Ādam labu*
- 5) *fa-l-ḥasanatu bi-'ashri amthālihā* (3) *ilā sab'i mi'a ḍi'fīn*
- 6) *illā l-ṣiyām*

7) *huwa lī*

8) *wa-anā ajzī bihi*

9) *innahu yatruku l-ṭa'āma wa-shahwatabu min ajlī, wa-yatruku l-sharāba wa-shahwatabu min ajlī, fa-huwa lī wa-anā ajzī bihi.*

#### D. 'Ajlān (d. ?) : pcl Ibn Abī Dhi'b (d. 159)

The application of the *isnād cum matn* method in the case of the *ḥadīth* ascribed to 'Ajlān faces similar problems. Ibn Abī Dhi'b is the only transmitter from 'Ajlān. No other variants corroborate the former's claim to have transmitted the *ḥadīth* from the latter. Yet taking a look at Ibn Abī Dhi'b's *matn* and comparing it with other *ḥadīths* ascribed to Abū Hurayra, it is conspicuous that it differs from them: Its first element is missing in any versions, though a slight similarity may be found in the elements 14-16 of Abū Ṣāliḥ's version. Ibn Abī Dhi'b's *ḥadīth* also lacks some characteristics of the other *ḥadīths*. This suggests that Ibn Abī Dhi'b's *ḥadīth* is independent from the other ones. Yet even supposing that the *ḥadīth* went back to 'Ajlān, only two elements of this very short tradition could be ascribed to Abū Hurayra: elements two and three which correspond to the elements 12 and 13 of Abū Ṣāliḥ's text.

The structure of the text, i.e., the order of the elements is also to find in Mālik's version from Abū l-Zinād – al-A'raj (and that of Hammām). Because of the strong differences in element one (Abū Ṣāliḥ's element 16), a direct dependence of Ibn Abī Dhi'b's version on Abū l-Zinād's *ḥadīth* (Mālik's text is possibly nearer to the original form than that of Sufyān) and on Abū Ṣāliḥ's *ḥadīth* is not likely. This might indicate that, like in the case of Abū l-Zinād – al-A'raj, the *ḥadīth* of the partial common link (Ibn Abī Dhi'b) goes back to the informant he mentions, that is, 'Ajlān. This is, however, a conclusion that goes beyond the strict *isnād cum matn* method. The following is the text of Ibn Abī Dhi'b.

1) *lā tusābba wa-anta ṣā'imun wa-in kunta qā'iman fa-jlis*

2) *wa-l-ladhī nafsī bi-yadihi*

3) *la-kbulūfu fam al-ṣā'imi atyabu 'inda llāh min riḥ al-misk.*



**E. Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim: pcl Ismā‘īl b. Abī Khālīd.**

In the investigation of the *ḥadīth* ascribed to Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim we come across more problems. Besides the fact that Ismā‘īl b. Abī Khālīd is the only transmitter from Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim, the former cannot be safely taken to be a common link, though, according to the *isnāds*, two transmissions intertwine in his name (those of Jarīr and Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl). The problem is that the available variant *matns* are very short, and that the texts of both transmissions are almost identical. Theoretically, Ibn Fuḍayl’s text can be dependent on Jarīr’s text or the other way around. Yet going beyond the strict *isnād cum matn* method, this problem has been partly solved by taking into consideration the fact that Ibn Rāhawayh also transmits from Jarīr a version of al-A‘mash, which differs largely from that of Ismā‘īl’s version ascribed to Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim. This suggests that Jarīr really received the *ḥadīth* from Ismā‘īl. It is, however, an argumentative conclusion.

**G. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ya‘qub (d. ?): pcl al-‘Alā’ (d.?).**

The lack of variants faces us also in the case of the *ḥadīths* ascribed to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ya‘qub. Al-‘Alā’ is the only transmitter from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. The *isnād cum matn* analysis shows that the traditions in question really go back to al-‘Alā. Is his claim to have them from his father reliable? As in similar cases encountered before, a comparison with versions of al-‘Alā’s contemporaries can help to find out whether his text is dependent on one of them. The result of the comparison is that al-‘Alā’s *matn* resembles in structure partially Mālik’s transmission from Abū l-Zinād – al-A‘raj, partially al-A‘mash’s recension of Abū Ṣāliḥ’s text and Ma‘mar’s transmission of Hammām b. Munabbih’s *ḥadīth* c. Yet al-‘Alā’s text differs clearly from these three versions. This speaks in favour of an independent transmission. If a dependence on other traditions is not plausible, then the suspicion that al-‘Alā’ may have received his text from one of his contemporaries and then falsely ascribed it to his father ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ya‘qub loses its

plausibility. The later could indeed be al-‘Alā’s source for the tradition. Here are the texts of al-‘Alā’.

1. *Kullu ḥasanatin ‘amilahā Ibn Ādam*
2. *jazaytuhu bihā ‘ashru ḥasanatin*
3. *ilā sab‘i mi’a dī‘fin*
4. *illā l-ṣiyām*
5. *fa-buwa lī*
6. *wa-anā ajzī bihi*
7. *al-ṣiyāmu junnatun*
8. *fa-man kāna ṣā’iman*
9. *fa-lā yarfuth wa-lā yajhal*
10. *fa-in imru’un shatamahu aw ādhāhu fal-yaqul innī ṣā’imun innī ṣā’imun.*

It has thus become clear that in this section the *ḥadīths* of Abū l-Zinād - al-A‘raj, Muḥammad b. ‘Amr - Abū Salama, Ibn Abī Dhi’b – ‘Ajlān, and al-‘Alā’ – ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yaquḥ cannot only be dated by the *isnād cum matn* method to the transmitter (pcl) belonging to the second generation after Abū Hurayra, but by comparison with other versions of his *ḥadīths* also to the informant of the pcl-transmitter in question. These informants are direct transmitters from Abū Hurayra. Their traditions can thus be used to reconstruct the transmission history of Abū Hurayra’s *ḥadīths*.

**c. Tradition with a partial common link in the *ISNĀDS* only in the third generation after Abū Hurayra.**

**a. Sa‘īd al-Maqburī (d. 117/123).**

Relying only on the *isnāds* and the common link phenomenon, al-Maqburī’s *ḥadīths* must be ascribed either to Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna or ‘Umar b. ‘Alī. Yet the *isnād cum matn* method leads to a different conclusion. Indeed, the ascription of the *ḥadīth* to Sufyān is reliable, as both the collectors al-Ḥumaydī and al-Shāfi‘ī claim to have transmitted from him, and their texts are independent from one another. Is Sufyān’s claim to have received the tradition from Ibn ‘Ajlān reliable as well? In Juynboll’s view, this possibility can be dismissed. However, the fact that Sufyān meticulously noticed the difference between

the *ḥadīth* he says to have received from Ibn ‘Ajlān and that he transmitted from Abū l-Zinād suggest that Sufyān really received the *ḥadīth* from Ibn ‘Ajlān. Yet the fact that Ibn ‘Ajlān’s *ḥadīth* is almost identical with a part of Abū l-Zinād’s text suggests that it is modelled on the latter. This assumption is in line with Muslim *ḥadīth* critics’ opinion, which regards Ibn ‘Ajlān’s transmission from al-Maqburī as problematic.

The second version reportedly transmitted by ‘Umar b. ‘Alī from al-Maqburī is not convincing either. It has a single strand *isnād* and no corroborating version is available. Therefore, we cannot be sure whether ‘Umar b. ‘Alī had his *ḥadīth* from his alleged informant, Ma‘n b. Muḥammad. Apart from the fact that the *isnād* is a single strand from Abū Hurayra until ‘Umar b. ‘Alī, the *ḥadīth* seems to be too well designed and well synchronized between its alleged first transmitters from Abū Hurayra, Sa‘īd and Ḥanẓala. Moreover, it is strange that, the two versions of the *ḥadīth* that are obviously interrelated should have been transmitted separately, but in a very similar form, by two different pupils of Abū Hurayra. That means that though the *matn* is different from any versions, it cannot be established whether this version is earlier than ‘Umar b. ‘Alī.

#### **B. Hammām b. Munabbih (d. 132): pcl ‘Abd al-Razzāq (d. 211)**

The problem encountered in this *ḥadīth* is that ‘Abd al-Razzāq is the only transmitter from Ma‘mar and the latter is the only narrator transmitting the *ḥadīth* from Hammām. According to a strict *isnād cum matn* analysis, ‘Abd al-Razzāq is the common link. We cannot go further than ascribing the *ḥadīth* to ‘Abd al-Razzāq. Yet relying on a comparison with other versions of Abū Hurayra’s *ḥadīth* transmitted by ‘Abd al-Razzāq as well, we come to a different conclusion. By virtue of the fact that ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s *ḥadīth* from Ma‘mar – Hammām varies from three other *ḥadīths* transmitted by ‘Abd al-Razzāq from Ibn Jurayj – ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ, from Sufyān – al-A‘mash and from Ma‘mar – al-Zuhrī suggests that ‘Abd al-Razzāq indeed received Hammām’s *ḥadīth* from Ma‘mar. Likewise, the fact that Ma‘mar’s *ḥadīth* from Hammām differs characteristically from Ma‘mar’s *ḥadīth* from al-Zuhrī implies that they are independent transmissions. Put differently, Ma‘mar

probably received elements of Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīth* not only from al-Zuhrī, but also from Hammām. Hammām's *ḥadīths* are partly similar to Abū l-Zinād – al-A'raj's *ḥadīths*, but there are also differences suggesting that they are independent of each other. Hammām's texts contain the following elements:

#### HADĪTH A

- 1) *al-ṣiyāmu junnatun*
- 2) *fa-in kāna aḥadukum ṣā'iman*
- 3) *fa-lā yajhal wa-lā yarfuth*
- 4) *fa-in imru'un qātalahu aw shatamahu fa-yaqul innī ṣā'imun innī ṣā'imun"*

#### Ḥadīth B

- 5) *wa-l-ladhī nafsu Muḥammad bi-yadihi (13) la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā'imi atyabu 'inda Allāh min rīḥ al-misk*
- 6) *yadharu shahwatahu wa-ṭa'āmahu min jarrāya*
- 7) *fa-l-ṣiyāmu lī (6) wa-anā ajzī bihi"*

#### Ḥadīth C

- 8) *idhā aḥdatha aḥadukum islāmahu fa-kullu ḥasanatin ya'maluhā tuktabu bi-'ashri amthalihā*
- 9) *ilā sab'i mi'a dī'fin*
- 10) *wa-kullu sayyi'atin ya'maluhā tuktabu labu bi-mithlihā ḥattā yuqalqiya llāh 'azza wa-jalla.*

It has become clear that in this section only the *ḥadīth* ascribed to Hammām b. Munabbih can be dated and accordingly be used to reconstruct the transmission history of Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīths* in question.

#### **d. Traditions that are documented only by single strand ISNĀDS.**

The methodological problem we encounter in analysing single strand transmissions is that the claim of a particular transmitter that he received the text from the informant he names cannot be checked. In such a case, it is not secure to accept his claim. Yet a single strand transmission is not always to be rejected as the following might show. It depends on how it is comparable to other versions.

#### **A. Mūsā b. Yasār**

There are two single lines of transmission going back to Mūsā b. Yasār, one found in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* and another in Ibn Rāhawayh's *Musnad*. Because Ibn Ḥanbal is the only one who transmitted Mūsā b. Yasār's *ḥadīth* from Muḥammad b. Ishāq via Yazīd, Ibn Ḥanbal's ascription of the tradition to Yazīd cannot be checked. Yet Ibn Ḥanbal quotes Yazīd as his informant for three other versions of the *ḥadīths* under review: 1. Yazīd – Shu'ba - Muḥammad b. Ziyād, 2. Yazīd – Hishām - Ibn Sīrīn and 3. Yazīd - Salīm b. Ḥayyān - Sa'īd b. Mīnā. This enables us to compare them with Ibn Ḥanbal-Yazīd - Mūsā b. Yasār's *ḥadīth*. The comparison reveals that the latter differs considerably from any of the other three. This implies that Ibn Ḥanbal really received the *ḥadīths* from Yazīd. Likewise, though Yazīd is the only transmitter who claims to have transmitted the *ḥadīth* from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, his claim is likely to be reliable on account of the fact that his tradition from Ibn Ishāq differs conspicuously from his other versions transmitted from Shu'ba, Hishām and Salīm b. Ḥayyān. It is highly unlikely that Yazīd purposely invented four different *matns* and *isnāds* for the *ḥadīths* of Abū Hurayra. Thus, the *ḥadīth* ascribed to Mūsā b. Yasār probably goes back to Muḥammad b. Ishāq.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq is not the only one who transmitted the *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. Yasār. It is, according to a second *isnād*, corroborated by Dāwūd b. Qays. Yet because the tradition of the latter is too short to be compared with that of Ibn Ishāq, it cannot corroborate his ascription to Mūsā b. Yasār. Is the reliability of Ibn Ishāq's claim to be ruled out? We can compare his *ḥadīth* with other *ḥadīths* on the issue going back to Abū Hurayra. The comparison uncovers that Ibn Ishāq's *ḥadīth* varies in structure and content from the versions transmitted by other transmitters from Abū Hurayra, such as Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab, Ibn Ziyād, Ibn Sīrīn and others. This suggests that Ibn Ishāq did not receive his version from them or from their pupils. Thus, the possibility cannot be excluded that Ibn Ishāq really received his *ḥadīth* from the informant he named, his uncle Mūsā b. Yasār. Here are the texts of the latter.

o) *Yaqūlu Allāh 'azza wa-jalla*

1) *wa-l-ladhī nafsu Muḥammad bi-yadihi*

- 2) *la-kbulūfu fami l-ṣā'imi atyabu 'inda llāh min riḥ al-misk*
- 3) *kullu 'amal ibn Ādam labu*
- 4) *illā l-ṣiyām*
- 5) *fa-huwa lī*
- 6) *wa-anā ajzī bihi*
- 7) *innamā yatruku ṭa'āmahu wa-sharābahu min ajlī*
- 8) *fa-ṣiyāmuhu labu*
- 9) *wa-anā ajzī bihi*
- 10) *kullu ḥasanatin bi-'ashri amthāliba (3) ilā sab'i mi'a ḍi'fin*
- 11) *illā l-ṣiyām*
- 12) *fa-huwa lī*
- 13) *wa-anā ajzī bihi*".

## B. Dāwūd b. Farāhīj

The *isnād* is: Ibn Ḥanbal – Muḥammad b. Ja'far – Shu'ba – Dāwūd b. Farāhīj – Abū Hurayra. While no other versions of Dāwūd b. Farāhīj are available, Ibn Hanbal provides other four versions of Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīth* transmitted by Muḥammad b. Ja'far. The fact that Dāwūd's *ḥadīth* transmitted by Ibn Ḥanbal from Muḥammad b. Ja'far differs characteristically from the other four versions of Muḥammad b. Ja'far and that Ibn Ḥanbal distinguishes the texts of his informants meticulously suggests strongly that Ibn Ḥanbal did not fabricate the *ḥadīths*. The *ḥadīth* goes surely back to Muḥammad b. Ja'far. The same can be said about Ibn Ja'far's ascription of the *ḥadīth* to Shu'ba. Does the same argument apply to the latter's ascription to Dāwūd b. Farāhīj? A comparison between Shu'ba's version from Dāwūd and his version from Muḥammad b. Ziyād reveals a significant difference. This suggests that the two *ḥadīths* are independent from one another and that Shu'ba did not forge Dāwūd's *ḥadīth* according the model of Ibn Ziyād's *matn* or vice versa. Taking this assumption to be true, Dāwūd can be considered as a real transmitter from Abū Hurayra. His *matn* is short and contains only element 0, a fragment of element 5 and the elements 6, 7 and 13 of Abū Ṣāliḥ's version.

### C. Mujāhid

Mujāhid's *ḥadīth* has two fundamental problems preventing us from ascribing the *ḥadīth* to him. Firstly, no variant of the *ḥadīth* is available. Therefore, its *isnād* cannot be checked. Secondly, the *matn* of the *ḥadīth* is identical to that of al-Zuhrī's version of Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab found in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. It is thus possible that the *ḥadīth* is falsely ascribed to al-Layth and his alleged informant Mujāhid. Accordingly, the *ḥadīth* cannot be taken into account in our game of dating.

### D. al-Ḥasan

Though the *ḥadīth* ascribed to al-Ḥasan differs significantly and might be independent from other versions, it cannot be dated securely on account of the fact that no variant is found. The *isnād cum matn* method is not applicable here.

### E. Jābir b. Zayd.

In view of the fact that the two *ḥadīths* ascribed to Jābir are essentially similar to two of the three versions of Hammām b. Munabbih, the independence of the former from the latter cannot be established. Similarly, on account of the fact that no other variant of Jābir's *ḥadīth* is available, it cannot be dated securely. Accordingly, the *ḥadīth* cannot be included in the dating of Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīth*.

It has become clear in this section that even a *ḥadīth* transmitted through a single strand can be dated to an early transmitter and identified as real transmission. The versions of Mūsā b. Yasār and Dāwūd b. Farāhīj are such cases.

### e. Comparison of the MATNS of primary transmitters from Abū Hurayra.

When the texts of those transmitters who could be established as real transmitters from Abū Hurayra are compared, it appears that Abū Ṣāliḥ's *matn* is the longest of all. It contains all elements found with other transmitters from Abū Hurayra apart from element 3 (*ilā sab' mi'a di'fin*). The versions of Ibn al-Musayyab, Ibn Ziyād, and Ibn Sīrīn are shorter. Ibn al-Musayyab's version is missing the elements ٥, 7, 8, 9, ١٥, 11, 12, 14, 15 and 16.<sup>268</sup> Ibn Ziyād's *matn* is lacking the elements 2, 7, 8, 9, ١٥, 11, 12 and 14, 15, 16. Ibn Sīrīn's version is missing the elements ٥, 1, 4, 7 9, ١٥, 11, 12 and 14, 15, 16. It is conspicuous from this comparison that the version of Ibn al-Musayyab, Ibn Ziyād and Ibn Sīrīn lack two groups of elements found in Abū Ṣāliḥ's tradition: the elements 7 to 12 and 14 to 16.<sup>269</sup> Ibn al-Musayyab's, Ibn Ziyād's and Ibn Sīrīn's texts have almost the same elements and they are structurally very similar. Abū Ṣāliḥ's *matn* differs from them. This strongly suggests that the shorter version is an original form of the *ḥadīth* as circulated by Abū Hurayra. Taking as basis the texts of the four direct common links from Abū Hurayra alone, the textual elements of this original version can be reconstructed, abiding by the rule that if two transmitters from him transmitted an element, it goes back to him.

○ *Qāla/yaqūl Allāh.* (Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn Ziyād)<sup>270</sup>

1. *kullu 'amal ibn Ādam labu* (Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab)
2. *al-ḥasanatu 'ashru amthālihā* (Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab, Ibn Sīrīn)
4. *illā l-ṣawm* (Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab, Ibn Ziyād)
5. *fa-innahu/huwa/al-ṣawm/al-ṣiyām lī*
6. *wa-anā ajzī bihi* (Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab, Ibn Ziyād, Ibn Sīrīn)
7. *al-Ṣawm/al-ṣiyām junnatun* (Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab)<sup>271</sup>
8. *yada'u/yadharu ṭa'āmahu wa-sharābahu/wa-shahwatahu min ajli* (Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn Sīrīn)

<sup>268</sup> According to the list of elements on page 322.

<sup>269</sup> With the exception of the element 8 in Ibn Sīrīn.

<sup>270</sup> The numbers follow the list of elements on p. 322.

<sup>271</sup> However, we cannot surely determine whether this element goes back to Ibn al-Musayyab, for it is only Ibn Zayd who ascribes this element to the former.



13. *la-kbulūfu fami l-ṣā'imi atyabu 'inda llāh min rīḥ al-misk* (Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab, Ibn Ziyād, Ibn Sīrīn).

The question appears, from where Abū Ṣāliḥ's remaining groups of elements originate. Did he himself invent them? Did any of the other transmitters from Abū Hurayra transmit them as well? In other words, can these elements be ascribed to Abū Hurayra as well? The transmissions of the other transmitters from Abū Hurayra established in this study as real pupils of him can give an answer.

#### f. The MATNS of the other real transmitters from Abū Hurayra.

##### A. Abū l-Zinād – al-A'raj.

The *ḥadīths* going back to al-A'raj via Abū l-Zinād have several elements in common with those of the primary partial common links (elements 1, 4, 5, 6, 14, 15, 16, according the list on page 322). Abū l-Zinād's *ḥadīth* consists of nine elements, five transmitted by both Mālik and Sufyān and four only by Mālik. Mālik's *ḥadīth* is used as an argument here, because, as it was established, it can be safely attributed to Abū l-Zinād, though some of its elements are not corroborated by those of Sufyān

Abū l-Zinād's *ḥadīth*, which is transmitted by Mālik and Sufyān, begins with "*idhā kāna/aṣbaḥa aḥadukum ṣā'iman fa-lā yarfuth wa-lā yajhal*". This element is missing in the *ḥadīths* of Ibn al-Musayyab, Ibn Ziyād and Ibn Sīrīn. It is found in the *ḥadīth* of Abū Ṣāliḥ but the wording is different (Abū Ṣāliḥ's *ḥadīth* reads "*idhā aṣbaḥa aḥadukum ṣā'iman (idhā kāna yammu ṣawmi aḥadikum) falā yarfuth wa-lā yafsuq (yaskhab)*") and Abū Ṣāliḥ put it at the end of his *ḥadīth*. Furthermore, the sentence, "*fa-in imru'un shātamahu aw qātalahu*" is missing in any version of primary pcls, though it is indicated by Abū Ṣāliḥ's *ḥadīth* in different wordings: "*fa-in subba (sābbahu)*". Finally, Abū l-Zinād's *ḥadīth* misses Abū Ṣāliḥ's elements 1, 8, 9, 10, Ibn al-Musayyab's elements 2, Ibn Ziyād's element 1. It is highly unlikely that Abū l-Zinād received his *ḥadīth* from one of the primary pcls or their students, but skipped his real informant from the *isnād* and quoted his teacher al-A'raj instead. The considerable differences suggest that Abū l-Zinād's *ḥadīth* is not

copied from or modelled on the versions of one of primary partial common links.

Mālik's version of Abū l-Zinād's *ḥadīth* (numbering according to the list of elements on p. 322)

#### *Ḥadīth I*

7. *al-ṣiyāmu junnatun*
14. *fa-idhā kāna aḥadukum ṣā'imān*
15. *fa-lā yarfuth wa-lā yajhal*
16. *fa-in imru'un qātalahu aṭw shātamahu fa-l-yaqul innī ṣā'imūn innī ṣā'imūn*

#### *Ḥadīth II*

12. *wa-l-ladhī nafsi bi-yadihi*
13. *la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā'imi atyabu 'inda Allāh min riḥ al-misk*
8. *yadharu (yatruku) shahwatahu wa-ṭa'āmahu wa-sharābahu min ajli*
5. *al-ṣiyāmu lī*
6. *wa-anā ajzī bihi*
2. *kullu ḥasanatin bi-'ashri amthālihā*
3. *ilā sab'i mi'a dī'fīn*
4. *illā al-ṣiyām*
5. *fa-huwa lī*
6. *wa-anā ajzī bihi*

Abū l-Zinād's *ḥadīth* according to the common elements in Mālik's and Sufyān's transmission.

14. *Idhā kāna/aṣbaḥa aḥadukum ṣā'imān*
15. *fa-lā yarfuth wa-lā yajhal*
16. *fa-in imru'un shātamahu aṭw qātalahu (qātalahu aṭw shātamahu) fa-l-yaqul innī ṣā'imūn innī ṣā'imūn.*
- 1./2. *kullu 'amal Ibn Ādam labu (Sufyān) kullu ḥasanatin bi-'ashri amthālihā (Mālik)*
4. *illā al-ṣiyām*
5. *huwa lī*
6. *wa-anā ajzī bihi.*

## B. Ma‘mar – Hammām b. Munabbih.

The elements of ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s *matn* are:

### *Ḥadīth A*

7. *al-ṣiyāmu junnatun*

14) *fa-in kāna aḥadukum ṣā’iman*

15) *fa-lā yajhal wa-lā yarfuth*

16) *fa-in imru’un qātalahu aw shatamahu fa-yaqul innī ṣā’imun innī ṣā’imun”*

### *Ḥadīth B*

12) *wa-l-ladhī nafsu Muḥammad bi-yadihi*

13) *la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda Allāh min riḥ al-misk*

8) *yadharu shahwatahu wa-ṭa’āmahu min jarrāya*

5) *fa-l-ṣiyāmu lī*

6) *wa-anā ajzī bihi”*

### *Ḥadīth C*

1) *idhā aḥdatha aḥadukum islāmahu*

2) *fa-kullu ḥasanatin ya’maluhā tuktabu bi-‘ashri amthalihā*

3) *ilā sab‘i mi’a ḍi’fin*

*wa-kullu sayyi’atin ya’maluhā tuktabu labu bi-mithlihā*

11) *ḥattā yalqā llāh ‘azza wa-jalla.*

It is apparent that Hammām’s *ḥadīth*, which is divided into three parts, lacks only the elements 10, parts of 1 and 3 and the elements 8-10 of Abū Ṣāliḥ’s version (see the list on pp. 217-218). It is also conspicuous that Hammām’s *ḥadīth* resembles the structure and wording of Mālik’s – Abū l-Zinād’s *ḥadīth*. Hammām’s *ḥadīth* a) is equivalent to Mālik’s *ḥadīth* I, Hammām’s *ḥadīth* b) and c) corresponds to Mālik’s *ḥadīth* II, but c) shows strong differences in structure and wording.

If one takes the all three *ḥadīths* of Hammām into consideration and compares them with Mālik’s texts, one cannot regard them as identical and dependent from one another. Mālik’s and Hammām’s versions have a different division in single texts and deviate clearly at the end (Hammām’s text c) from one another. It is improbable that Ma‘mar, the transmitter of Hammām’s tradition took the version of Mālik as model or vice versa or that Hammām copied the traditions of Abū l-Zinād or vice versa.

It is conspicuous that both the traditions of Ma‘mar – Hammām b. Munabbih and that of Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna – Abū l-Zinād consist of three separate *ḥadīths*. In Mālik’s version from Abū l-Zinād they are combined to two traditions, in Ibn Ishāq’s version from Mūsā b. Yasār to one single *ḥadīth*. This speaks in favour of the thesis that the traditions of this branch consisted originally of three separate *ḥadīths*, which clearly differ in content from one another: *Ḥadīth* b) and c) are strongly related in content, as both have the reward for the fasting as the central thema. *Ḥadīth* a) has actually only one reference in content to the other both in element 7 (*al-ṣawm/ṣiyām junna*). This could explain why *ḥadīth* a) lacks in some combinations (for example, in Mūsā b. Yasār’s version). Knowing that tradition of the second branch consists of several short, independent *ḥadīths*, which were combined together to longer units by some transmitters, it is worth to look at the traditions of the first branch. If one questions, whether these could also consist of several originally separate *ḥadīths*, one comes to the conclusion that on the basis of the content, two parts can be distinguished. Part a) with the elements 0, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6 and part b) with the elements 7, 8, 13 (The numbers refer to page 322). Part a) has a clear parallel in *ḥadīth* c) of the second branch. Yet because the primary partial common link transmitters who transmitted the version of the first branch give both parts as a single *ḥadīth* from Abū Hurayra, this combination must already go back to the latter.

### C. Muḥammad b. ‘Amr – Abū Salama

Like Abū l-Zinād’s *ḥadīth* transmitted by Mālik, Muḥammad b. ‘Amr’s *ḥadīth* from Abū Salama is divided into two parts. While the first part is transmitted by Yazīd b. Hārūn and Yaḥyā alike, the second one is transmitted by Yazīd alone. Here are the elements of Yazīd - Muḥammad b. ‘Amr’s *matn*.

Part I.

9) *li l-ṣā’imi farḥatāni*

10) *farḥatun ‘inda fiṭriḥ*

11) *wa-farḥatun yawma l-qiyāma/hīna yalqā rabbahu*

13) *la-kbulūfu fami l-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda Allāh min riḥ al-misk*

## Part II

- 1) *kullu ‘amal ibn Ādam lahu*
- 2) *fa-l-ḥasanatu bi-‘ashri amthālihā* (3) *ilā sab‘i mi’a ḍi‘fīn*
- 4) *illā l-ṣiyām*
- 5) *huwa lī*
- 6) *wa-anā ajzī bihi*
- 8) *innahu yatruku l-ṭa‘āma wa-shahwatahu min ajlī, wa-yatruku l-sharāba wa-shahwatahu min ajlī*
- 5) *fa-huwa lī*
- 6) *wa-anā ajzī bihi.*

In part II the combination of elements 4, 5, 6, 8, 5, 6 is conspicuous. The combination of elements 8, 5, 6 is also found in the traditions of Abū l-Zinād - al-A‘raj and Ma‘mar – Hammām. That means that Muḥammad b. ‘Amr’s second *ḥadīth* is close to the versions of Abū l-Zinād and Hammām. On the other hand, it is equally apparent that Ibn ‘Amr’s version varies strongly from that of Mālik - Abū l-Zinād. While the latter lacks the elements 9-11, Ibn ‘Amr’s text miss the elements 7, 14-16 and 12 of the latter. The differences between Ibn ‘Amr’s *ḥadīths* and that of Ma‘mar – Hammām are also substantial. The independence of Ibn Amr’s versions from them can, accordingly, be established.

Is Muḥammad b. ‘Amr’s *ḥadīth* also independent from other versions ascribed to Abū Hurayra? The beginning of Ibn ‘Amr’s version with the elements 1, 2, 3 resembles greatly al-A‘mash’s version. But as we have seen these elements are found in several other versions as well, like that of Abū l-Zinād and Hammām. As we shall see later, Mūsā b. Yasār also knows the element 1, 2 and 3. Because context and wording differs in all that cases, Ibn ‘Amr’s version cannot be considered to be directly dependent on al-A‘mash’s or one of the others mentioned. On the other hand, the elements 9, 10, 11 are typical for Abū Ṣāliḥ’s tradition. Apart from Ibn ‘Amr – Abū Salama he is the only transmitter from Abū Hurayra, who has these elements. There are two explanations for the occurrence of elements 9, 10, 11 in the tradition of Ibn ‘Amr – Abū Salama: a) Ibn ‘Amr’s *ḥadīth* is partly dependent on al-A‘mash’s transmission from Abū Ṣāliḥ’s; b) the combination of the elements 9, 10, 11 was originally a separate tradition of Abū Hurayra, which he

combined from time to time with other statements about fasting. Since we argued against a dependence of Ibn ‘Amr’s *ḥadīth* from that of al-A‘mash for the elements 1, 2 and 3 it is not reasonable to assume such a dependence for the elements 9, 10 and 11.

#### D. Ibn Abī Dhi‘b - ‘Ajlān

Three elements can be ascribed to Ibn Abī Dhi‘b:

14-16) *lā tusābba wa-anta ṣā’imun wa-in kunta qā’iman fa-jlis*

12) *wa-l-ladhī nafsī bi-yadihi*

13) *la-khulūfu fam al-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda llāh min riḥ al-misk.*

Ibn Abī Dhi‘b’s tradition also belongs to the group of traditions that resemble Abū l-Zinād’s *ḥadīth*. The text is very short and accordingly more difficult to compare, but the order of the elements is the same as those of Mālik’s tradition from Abū l-Zinād and Ma‘mar’s tradition from Hammām. Ibn Abī Dhi‘b’s tradition begins with a summary of elements 14, 15, 16 and after that the elements 12 and 13 follow (*wa wa-l-ladhī nafsī bi-yadihi la-khulūfu fam al-ṣā’imi atyabu ‘inda llāh min riḥ al-misk*). While the elements 12 and 13 are identical to Mālik’s and Ma‘mar’s texts, the paraphrase of 14-16 differs strongly. Moreover, in Mālik’s and Ma‘mar’s versions the elements 14-16 and 12, 13 belong to separate traditions, which comprise more elements than the text of Ibn Abī Dhi‘b. It is accordingly less possible that it depends on them. However, the *matn* is too short to be of much use for the reconstruction of the transmission history of Abū Hurayra’s *ḥadīths*.

#### E. al-‘Alā’ b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ya‘qūb – his father.

Al-‘Alā’’s tradition contains the elements 0, 1 (partly), 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, [Rawḥ: 8, 5, 6], 7, 14, 15, 16. At first glance, one might tend to assume a dependence on Abū Ṣāliḥ’s tradition, because both the *qudsī*-element and the elements 14-16 are available, and the order of elements, at least in the beginning, is similar to that of Abū Ṣāliḥ. Yet the similarity to Mālik’s tradition from Abū l-Zinād and Ma‘mar’s tradition from Hammām is larger. The combination 7, 14, 15, 16 is typical for them and al-‘Alā’’s text resembles also their texts without

being identical to one of them. The repetition of the elements 5 and 6 after element 8 (in Rawḥ's version) is to be found also in Abū l-Zinād – al-A'raj's tradition, in that of Muḥammad b. 'Amr – Abū Salama and in that of Muḥammad b. Ishāq – Mūsā b. Yasār. Yet the clear differences from the mentioned parallel texts are not to be neglected. Al-'Alā's *ḥadīth* looks different from Abū l-Zinād's. The former misses the sentence "*wa-l-ladhī nafsu Muḥammad bi-yadihi la-khulūfu ... al-misk*". Besides, it has the formula "*jazaytuhu bihā*" and *ādhāhu*", which are missing in any other versions. Moreover, the order of elements is different as is the position of *ṭa'ām* and *shahwa* in element 8. This does not speak in favour of a direct dependence on Mālik's text. The elements of al-'Alā's *ḥadīth* are the following:

- 1) *Kullu ḥasanatin 'amilahā Ibn Ādam*
- 2) *jazaytuhu bihā 'ashru ḥasanatin*
- 3) *ilā sab'i mi'a ḍi'fīn*
- 4) *illā l-ṣiyām*
- 5) *fā-huwa lī*
- 6) *wa-anā ajzī bihi*

Rawḥ's version: 8) *yadhar al-ṭa'āma min ajlī wa-yadhar al-shahwa min ajlī* 5) *fā-huwa lī* 6) *wa-anā ajzī bihi*

- 7) *al-ṣiyāmu junnatun*
- 14) *fā-man kāna ṣā'imān*
- (15) *fā-lā yarfuth wa-lā yajhal*
- 16) *fā-in imru'un shatamahu aw ādhāhu fā-l-yaqul innī ṣā'imun innī ṣā'imun.*

#### F. Shu'ba - Dāwūd b. Farāhij.

The elements transmitted by Shu'ba from Dāwūd b. Farāhij are:

- o) *yaqūlu llāh 'azza wa-jalla*
- (4), 5) *al-ṣawmu huwa lī*
- 6) *wa-anā ajzī bihi*
- 13) *wa-la-khulūfu fami l-ṣā'imi atyabu 'inda llāh min riḥ al-misk*".

This *ḥadīth* is similar to Ibn Ziyād's version but lacks its elements 1 and 2. This difference speaks in favour of an independent transmission from Abū

Hurayra. If so it supports some elements of the versions spread by the primary pcl's.

#### G. Ibn Ishāq - Mūsā b. Yasār.

As was shown above, though Muḥammad (b. Ishāq) was the only reliable transmitter from Mūsā b. Yasār, the *ḥadīth* goes back to the latter. The elements of the *matn* are:

- o) *Yaqūlu Allāh 'azza wa-jalla*
- 12) *wa-l-ladhī nafsu Muḥammad bi-yadihi*
- 13) *la-kbulūfu fami l-ṣā'imi atyabu 'inda llāh min riḥ al-misk*
- 1) *kullu 'amal ibn Ādam labu*
- 4) *illā l-ṣiyām*
- 5) *fa-huwa lī*
- 6) *wa-anā ajzī bihi*
- 8) *innamā yatruku ṭa'āmahu wa-sharābahu min ajlī*
- (4), 5) *fā-ṣiyāmuḥu lahu*
- 6) *wa-anā ajzī bihi*
- 2) *kullu ḥasanatin bi-'ashri amthāliha*
- 3) *ilā sab'i mi'a dī'fīn*
- 4) *illā l-ṣiyām*
- 5) *fa-huwa lī*
- 6) *wa-anā ajzī bihi*".

It is apparent that the Mūsā b. Yasār's *ḥadīth* is similar to those of Abū l-Zinād – al-A'raj and Hammām. It is, however, different from them. Mūsā b. Yasār's *ḥadīth* lacks Mālik's (Abū l-Zinād) *ḥadīth* I). Moreover, while Mūsā's *ḥadīth* is expressly *qudsī*, Mālik's is not. Mūsā b. Yasār's *ḥadīth* is also different from Hammām's. The former misses the latter's *ḥadīth* a) and Mūsā's *qudsī* element. Its wording and structure are also different from Hammām's. Thus, Mūsā b. Yasār's *ḥadīth* is to be considered an independent transmission from Abū Hurayra.



**g. The results of the reconstruction of Abū Hurayra's original text.**

The transmission of Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīths* on fasting can be classified into two branches. The first one consists of eight elements and is transmitted by the primary partial common links (Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab, Ibn Sīrīn and Ibn Ziyād). The second branch consists of 13 elements and is divided into two or three parts. It is transmitted by al-A'raj, Hammām, Mūsā b. Yasār, Abū Salama, 'Ajlān, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ya'qūb and Dāwūd b. Farāhīj. The elements of the first branch are already given on p. 344. The elements of the second branch are as follows:

*ḥadīth a)*

- 7) *al-ṣawmu junnatun* (al-A'raj, Hammām, 'Abd al-Raḥmān)
- 14) *fā-idhā kāna aḥadukum ṣā'imān* (al-A'raj, Hammām, 'Abd al-Raḥmān)
- 15) *fā-lā yarḥuth wa-lā yaḥṣuq* (al-A'raj, Hammām, 'Abd al-Raḥmān)
- 16) *fā-in-imru'un qātalahu aw shātamahu fal-yaqul innī ṣā'imun* (al-A'raj, Hammām, 'Abd al-Raḥmān)

*ḥadīth b)*

- 12) *wa-lladhī nafsī bi-yadihi* (al-A'raj, Hammām, Mūsā, 'Ajlān)
- 13) *la-khulūfu fam al-ṣā'imi atyabu 'inda llāh min riḥ al-misk* (al-A'raj, Hammām, Mūsā, Abū Salama, 'Ajlān)
- 8) *yada'u ṭa'amahu wa-sharābahu min ajlī* (al-A'raj, Hammām, Mūsā, Abū Salama, 'Abd al-Raḥmān)
- 5) *fā-innahu lī* (al-A'raj, Hammām, Mūsā, Abū Salama, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Dāwūd)
- 6) *wa-anā ajzī bihi* (al-A'raj, Hammām, Mūsā, Abū Salama, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Dāwūd)

*ḥadīth c)*

- 1) *kullu 'amal Ibn Ādam labu/ kullul 'amal kaffāratun* (al-A'raj, Hammām, Mūsā, Abū Salama, 'Abd al-Raḥmān)
- 2) *al-ḥasanatu 'ashru amthālihā* (al-A'raj, Hammām, Mūsā, Abū Salama, 'Abd al-Raḥmān)
- 3) *ilā sab'i mi'a dīfin* (al-A'raj, Hammām, Mūsā, Abū Salama, 'Abd al-Raḥmān)
- 4) *illā l-ṣawm/ṣiyām* (al-A'raj, Mūsā, Abū Salama, 'Abd al-Raḥmān)

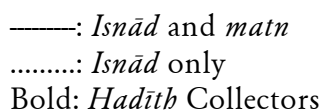
- 5) *fa-innahu lī* (al-Aʿraj, Hammām, Mūsā, Abū Salama, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān)
- 6) *wa-anā ajzī bihi* (al-Aʿraj, Hammām, Mūsā, Abū Salama, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān)

It seems plausible to assume that the structure of the second branch reflects an earlier stage of textual development and that the structure of the first branch is the result of fusing the different topics into one comprehensive *ḥadīth*. Our investigation has shown that the traditions of both branches go back to the Companion of the Prophet Abū Hurayra. If so we must conclude that Abū Hurayra sometimes taught separate *ḥadīths* on different topics of fasting, yet sometimes combined some of them to larger units. This explains the existence of the two branches of traditions with their different number and order of elements, and also the fact that there are many short traditions preserved about particular topics of fasting all ascribed to Abū Hurayra. Some pupils of Abū Hurayra must have followed his example of fusing separate traditions. Abū Ṣāliḥ's version which is the most rich of elements, marks the culmination of this development. He has the elements 14-16 which are typical for the traditions of the second branch but which are missing in the other traditions belonging to the first branch. In his *ḥadīth* he also transmits the elements 9-11 which are not found in other transmissions from Abū Hurayra except in the version of Muḥammad b. ʿAmr from Abū Salama.

Whether Abū Hurayra gave the *ḥadīths* of fasting explicitly as *qudsī* cannot be established. The *ḥadīths* of the partial common links Abū Ṣāliḥ and Ibn Ziyād are *qudsī*, while that of Ibn al-Musayyab and Ibn Sīrīn are not. Moreover, while Mūsā b. Yasār's and Dāwūd b. Farāḥij's *ḥadīths* are *qudsī*, al-Aʿraj's, Hammām's, Muḥammad b. ʿAmr's, Ibn Abī Dhi'b's and al-ʿAlā's *ḥadīths* are not. Either Abū Hurayra has transmitted his *ḥadīths* differently, i.e., only sometimes explicitly as *qudsī*, or some transmitters from him added this element because the elements "*al-ṣawmu lī wa-anā ajzī bihi*" must be spoken by God.

The element "*ilā sabʿi miʿa dīʿfin*" is proven in the second branch but is lacking in the transmissions of the primary partial common links, except in the version of al-Aʿmash, Abū Ṣāliḥ's pupil. Yet because no other transmitter from Abū Ṣāliḥ has the element, it surely does not go back to the

### B. The ḤADĪTHS that are not ascribed to Abū Hurayra, but to other Companions and Successors.



There are some *ḥadīths* ascribed to other Companions of the Prophet found in the canonical, post- and pre- canonical collections, and even in Shiite *ḥadīth* collections. Yet the lack of variants is the methodological problem we invariably encounter in analyzing these *ḥadīths*. Put otherwise, almost all traditions are transmitted through single strand *isnāds*, and we have no textual variants to compare and, therefore, cannot reconstruct their transmission history. Furthermore, we have come across several versions that have great similarities to Abū Hurayra's versions and the suspicion cannot be dispelled that the *ḥadīths* in question are modelled on Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīths*. In other words, no other Companion *ḥadīth* can be taken to corroborate Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīths*. Furthermore, it is conspicuous in this group of transmission that certain combinations of elements occur more often. For example: elements 9, 10, 11, 13 (according to the list of element on p. 322) occur in tradition ascribed to Ibn 'Abbās, 'Alī and Ibn Mas'ūd. This is conspicuous, as the elements 9, 10, 11 occur in the transmission of Abū Hurayra only rarely: they are only to be found only in the *ḥadīths* of Abū Ṣāliḥ and Muḥammad b. 'Amr - Abū Salama. Likewise, the combination of the elements 0, (4), 5, 6 occurs in the *ḥadīths* of Ibn Mas'ūd, 'Alī and Abū Dharr. Among the traditions transmitted from Abū Hurayra it is only found in that of Shu'ba from Dāwūd b. Farāhīj.

#### **a. Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī**

According to the *isnāds*, two *ḥadīths* are ascribed to Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī: the *ḥadīth* of Abū Ṣāliḥ and that of 'Aṭīyya. The former cannot be regarded as a reliable transmission, for Ibn Murra is the only transmitter from Abū Ṣāliḥ, who claims that Abū Ṣāliḥ had the *ḥadīth* not only from Abū Hurayra but also from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī. Because all of Abū Ṣāliḥ's students, except Ibn Murra agree that Abū Ṣāliḥ received the *ḥadīth* from Abū Hurayra, Ibn Murra's claim cannot be considered to be reliable. 'Aṭīyya's *ḥadīth*, despite of its independence from Ibn Murra's, is similar to those of Mālīk - Abū l-

Zinād, Hammām and Jābir, who all ascribe the *ḥadīth* to Abū Hurayra. Therefore, we must conclude that both Ibn Murra – Abū Ṣāliḥ's and Mu'āwiya – 'Aṭīyya's traditions are erroneously ascribed to Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī.

#### **b. Ibn Mas'ūd**

According to the *isnāds*, five strands go back to Ibn Mas'ūd. Applying the *isnād cum matn* method on them leads to the result that 'Amr b. 'Abd Allāh Abū Ishāq al-Sabī'ī (d. 127) has spread the *ḥadīth* of Ibn Mas'ūd. Whether he really received it from his alleged informant Abū l-Aḥwaṣ cannot be established.

#### **c. Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh**

According to the *isnād*, two *ḥadīths* go back to Jābir. Because no variant is available, no *ḥadīth* can be dated with some precision.

#### **d. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib**

According to the *isnāds*, two *ḥadīths* go back to 'Alī: that of Abū Ishāq — 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥārith and that of Zayd b. 'Alī - father – grandfather. Yet their transmission cannot be reconstructed. The first *ḥadīth*, provided with a long single strand by the collector (al-Nasā'ī), is almost identical to Ibn Murra's *ḥadīth*. It might be dependent on the latter. This is, however, a hypothesis, which is merely based on the great similarity of the texts. Because no variant of Abū Ishāq's *ḥadīth* is available, we cannot say about it anymore. The second *ḥadīth* ascribed to Zayd b. 'Alī cannot be examined with the *isnād cum matn* method either, as no other variants are available. Both *ḥadīths* contain almost the same elements in a different order. Interdependence between them is possible.

#### **e. Ibn 'Abbās.**

There are four variants of a *ḥadīth* ascribed to Ibn ‘Abbās, found in three Shī‘ī collections. The *isnād* and *matn* are almost identical. With the *isnād cum matn* method this tradition cannot be dated earlier than ‘Abdūs, a scholar of the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and the source of all three collections. Because of the *Sunnī* scholar Muḥammad b. Yūnus (286) in the *isnād* we may assume that the breeding ground of this *ḥadīth* were *Sunnī* scholar of the third century or earlier. In view of the fact that no other variants are available, the origin of the *ḥadīth* remains uncertain.

**f. ‘Ubayd b. ‘Umayr.**

The *ḥadīth* ascribed to ‘Ubayd cannot be dated satisfactorily with the *isnād cum matn* method, as no other variants are available. ‘Ubayd is not a Companion but an early Successor. While it is possible that ‘Ubayd had the *ḥadīth* from Abū Hurayra without naming his source, it is equally possible that ‘Amr b. Dīnār has the *ḥadīth* from someone other than ‘Ubayd, for the text is similar to a part of Abū l-Zinād’s version.

**g. ‘Ā’isha**

Four *ḥadīths* found in three *ḥadīth* collections are ascribed to ‘Ā’isha. However, since variants of the *ḥadīths* are lacking, the *isnād cum matn* method is not applicable here. For this reason the transmission history of these *ḥadīths* cannot be reconstructed. One *ḥadīth* goes back to Ja‘far b. Burd, another to Muḥammad Bakr and the third to Muḥammad b. Yazīd. The fourth is equipped with the problematic *isnād* Ibn Lahī‘a – Abū l-Aswad – ‘Urwa. The texts have different lengths, two of them contain the elements 12 and 13, one only 13.

**h. ‘Uthmān b. Abī l-‘Āṣ and Mu‘ādh b. Jabal.**

The lack of variants still faces us here. Accordingly, the *ḥadīths* are not datable with the *isnād cum matn* method. In view of the fact that both *ḥadīths* are only to be found in the late *ḥadīth* collection of al-Ṭabarānī’s *al-Mu‘jam*

*al-kabīr*, the possibility that they are later fabrications cannot be excluded. The text ascribed to ‘Uthmān is very similar to the first part of Abū Ṣāliḥ’s and Ibn al-Musayyab’s traditions and might be adopted from them. The *ḥadīth* ascribed to Mu‘ādh consists only of element 13 that most versions of Abū Hurayra have. The wording of this short phrase is almost always identical.

#### i. al-Ḥārith al-Ash‘arī

There are five variants going back to al-Ḥārith al-Ash‘arī. A comparison of them, applying the *isnād cum matn* method has brought us to conclude that Zayd b. Sallām (d.?) must be the earliest common link. The latter was likely the contemporary of Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr (d. 129/131). The *ḥadīth* is, therefore, to be dated in first quarter of the second century. Because no other variants of Zayd b. Sallām’s *ḥadīth* are available, nothing more with regard to its prehistory can be securely said. It is a long *ḥadīth* on different topics, among them element 13 of Abū Hurayra’s *ḥadīth* on fasting.

#### C. Final conclusion about the ḤADĪTH under scrutiny

It has become evident that in many cases there is a strong correlation between texts (*matns*) and the names mentioned in the chains of transmission (*isnāds*). This is to assume that many common links reflect a real process of transmission. Likewise, it seems that from the second half of the second century onward many traditions of a particular transmitter were transmitted in a more meticulously way than in the century before. This is reflected in the transmissions of his students that show great similarities.

Applying the *isnād cum matn* method to reconstruct the transmission history of the *ḥadīths* under review, we come to the conclusion that they circulated already in the first half of the first century A.H. It was the Companion of the Prophet, Abū Hurayra (d. 58/59 A.H.), who circulated the *ḥadīths*. This conclusion goes fundamentally against the assumption of most Western non-Muslim scholars who regard the *ḥadīths* ascribed to the Prophet as fabricated from the first half of the second century onwards. *Pace* this

assumption, there is good reason to ascribe the *ḥadīths* under review to Abū Hurayra. A comparative analysis of the variant texts of the *ḥadīths* ascribed to Abū Hurayra by his alleged students and their transmitters reveals that of 18 transmitters from Abū Hurayra, who allegedly transmitted the *ḥadīths* from him, eleven of them (Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab, Ibn Ziyād, Ibn Sīrīn, al-Aʿraj, Abū Salama, ʿAjlān, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yaʿqūb, Hammām b. Munabbih, Mūsā b. Yasār and Dāwūd b. Farāhīj) surely or probably really received and transmitted the *ḥadīth* from him. Their *ḥadīths* have their own characteristic features, distinguishing them from one another. Their significantly distinctive features suggest their independence of each other. On the other hand, though they vary characteristically, they share essential similarities in content. This is to assume that they are derived from the same informant, who is, according to the *isnād*, Abū Hurayra. Accordingly, the elements of *ḥadīths* shared by them must go back to Abū Hurayra. Beside traditions transmitted by many people and therefore showing common links in the *isnāds*, some texts preserved only with single strand *isnāds* have been used to date some elements of the *ḥadīths*. Conclusions on the basis of single strands might be dangerous in a pure *isnād* analysis but can be justified in cases of texts that can be compared with other variants.

Two branches of traditions differing structurally from one another could be established. Both go back to Abū Hurayra. The first consists of eight elements and is transmitted by primary partial common links. They are the common elements of the four transmitters from Abū Hurayra (Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn Musayyab, Muḥammad b. Ziyād and Ibn Sīrīn), which are partial common links, as their *ḥadīths* are respectively transmitted by several students, some of whom are in turn partial common links. The large number of variants available for the primary partial common link gives to the reconstruction of their transmission history a high degree of certainty.

The other branch of traditions consists of 13 elements in partly different order from the first. The traditions making up this branch present the topic of fasting originally not in one single *ḥadīth* as the traditions of the first branch but as three (or two) separate *ḥadīths*. The traditions of the second branch go back to mainly seven transmitters from Abū Hurayra: al-Aʿraj, Hammām b. Munabbih, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yaʿqūb, Mūsā b. Yasār



and Abū Salama b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, ‘Ajlān and Dāwūd b. Farāhij. The transmission history of this branch of traditions was more difficult to reconstruct as its traditions become widely spread only in the second or third generation after Abū Hurayra, i.e., they have in their *isnād* bundles relatively late common links. Even so, the reliability of such a common link’s transmission could be substantiated in several cases by comparing it with other transmissions of that common link on the same topic. Even if this methodical procedure to assess the reliability of a common link is not as safe as the strict *isnād cum matn* analysis, its result should not be dismissed summarily. As shown in the investigation of the traditions belonging to the second branch of traditions, the single results of this methodological procedure confirm each other.

Several *ḥadīths* ascribed to other alleged students of Abū Hurayra, some are prominent ones, cannot be proven to be real transmissions. The reason is either that they are mostly lacking corroborative variants or that their independence from other *ḥadīths* seems questionable: Sa‘īd b. Mīnā’s *ḥadīth* can only be dated to his alleged pupil Salīm b. Ḥayyān, Sa‘īd al-Maqbūrī’s *ḥadīth* only to his pupil Ibn ‘Ajlān. The claims that Successors such as ‘Ajlān, Qays b. abī Ḥāzim, Mujāhid b. Jabr, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, and Jābir b. Zayd have transmitted parts of the *ḥadīths* under review from Abū Hurayra cannot be substantiated. Put differently, they might or might not be responsible for the *ḥadīths* ascribed to them. What we only can establish is that their alleged students ascribed the *ḥadīths* to them.

Similar *ḥadīths* ascribed to other Companions of the Prophet found in the canonical, as well as in post- and pre-canonical *Sunnī* collections and in Shiite *ḥadīth* collections could not be shown to go back to these Companions. Put otherwise, by means of the *isnād cum matn* method, no other *ḥadīths* can be taken to corroborate Abū Hurayra’s *ḥadīths*. That means that the *ḥadīths* of Abū Hurayra cannot be securely ascribed to the Prophet, for Abū Hurayra’s claim that he heard the Prophet say it cannot be checked. It may be or not. We do not have conclusive evidence to decide it on the basis of empirical methods. Thus, if the term *mutawātir ḥadīth* is taken to mean a *ḥadīth* that was massively transmitted in each generation after the Prophet until the compilers of *ḥadīth* collections, the *ḥadīths* under review

cannot be classified as *mutawātir*. We can only establish that they are *ḥadīths* of Abū Hurayra.

## IX. Conclusion

As a rule, the methods the classical Muslim scholars used to ascertain whether the ascription of a *ḥadīth* to the Prophet is true, has gone unchallenged in any significant way by modern Muslim scholars. Admittedly, some modern Muslim scholars argued against the reliability of the classical *‘ulūm al-ḥadīth*, yet they failed to gain the sympathy of the majority of Muslim scholars. Though *matn* criticism received the attention of some Muslim scholars, it is *isnād* criticism that has gained the main attention. The quality of transmission is essentially determined by the quality of the transmitters. Their quality is largely assessed on the basis of the judgments of classical *ḥadīth* critics, though the transmission of a particular transmitter has allegedly to be compared with that of others. To some extent, there is a gap between what *ḥadīth* critics claim they have practiced or want us to follow in order to assess the reliability of a *ḥadīth* and what *ḥadīth* literature shows.

The general feature of *isnāds*, which mostly consist of a single strand in the first generations (until the level of the younger Successors), seems to argue against the notion that the prophetic *ḥadīths* were massively transmitted in the first generation. Yet single strands does not have to be seen only as fabrication. Their historicity cannot be ruled out merely because no other transmission is found. Non-occurrence does not necessarily mean non-existence. In contrast, the fact that a particular *ḥadīth* was massively transmitted at every level according to the *isnāds*, does not necessarily mean that it is genuine. We need to establish the independence of each transmission from the other ones. The investigation of the independence or dependence of each transmission line must be undertaken from the youngest transmitter, i.e., the *ḥadīth* collectors, to the oldest one. The possibility that later generations invented transmission lines or added fictitious informants cannot be simply ruled out, but in the case that two or more transmitters can be proven to have independently transmitted a *ḥadīth* from one and the same informant, the ascription of the *ḥadīth* to the latter must be regarded as historical.

In our dealing with the methods of two modern Muslim scholars, al-Albānī and al-Saqqāf, which led us to check more than four hundred *ḥadīths*, it became apparent that the transmission terminology that is considered a decisive criterion by Muslim scholars does not seem to apply to the scholars of the first century and the first half of the second century. This is to say, it does not make any difference whether these scholars used a term that allegedly implies direct contact (*samāʿ*) such as *ḥaddathanā*, *akhbaranā* and the like, or whether they said *ʿan*, *anna* and the like. Referring only to biographical dictionaries in their judgments of a particular transmitter, both al-Albānī and al-Saqqāf alike fail to grasp this fact.

Unlike most Muslim scholars who believe that the process of transmission of *ḥadīths* in the first century was mainly oral, Fuat Sezgin, M.M. Azmi and Nabia Abbott advocate the view that many *ḥadīths* were transmitted in writing from very early times onwards. Yet they fail to convince their Western counterparts and the latter accuse them of resorting to mere ascription and circular argument.

While the concept of common link and its methodological implications have not been completely comprehended, let alone systematically used in Muslim scholarship of *ḥadīth*, it has been extensively used as a powerful research tool in Western scholarship of *ḥadīth*, though some Western scholars reject it. However, the common link has been differently interpreted. The differences lie not only in the question how to determine the common link but also whether or not the common link must be regarded as the originator of a specific *ḥadīth*. Interestingly, taking recourse to the concept of common link, some Western scholars recently dated particular *ḥadīths* earlier than Schacht, the champion of this concept, whereas other Western scholars dated them later. The recourse of several Western scholars to the *argumentum e silentio* has proven to be dangerous, particularly with regard to investigations of early Islam.

The second part of this study attempts to scrutinize the “*ṣawm ḥadīth*”, which is reportedly transmitted massively from the time of the Prophet onwards. At a first inspection of the *isnād* bundle the Prophet seems to be the common link of the *ḥadīth*. No fewer than eleven Companions reportedly transmitted the *ḥadīth* from the Prophet. Some of these

Companions, especially Abū Hurayra transmitted the *ḥadīth* to more than one pupil. Investigating the *ḥadīth* according to the methods of Muslim scholars, we came to the conclusion that the *ḥadīth* can be securely ascribed to the Prophet. But with regard to the Muslim methods, a few critical questions have not yet been answered satisfactorily: On what basis did the scholars of the third and later centuries assess the quality of the scholars living in the first and second centuries. To what extent are their judgments subjective? On what evidence are their judgments based. Are they verifiable? Are the judgments of the classical *ḥadīth* scholars independent of one another? On what evidence are the statements about the relationship between students and teachers in the biographical works based? Did they use historical reports or did they conclude on relationship on the basis of *isnāds*? No general answer can be given to such questions. The study of these issues must be left for future research. Suffice it to say that the information provided by scholars of the third and fourth centuries about earlier *ḥadīth* scholars is not devoid of values for historical reconstruction. As was shown in the foregoing pages, an investigation of the transmission ascribed to early scholars often coincides with the information found in biographical works. Yet this is not to conclude that all information found in biographical works is reliable.

The “*ṣawm ḥadīth*” has also been analyzed in view of Juynboll’s recent methods of dating. Juynboll advocates the view that only the transmission of a common link, which is corroborated by more than one partial common link, can be regarded as historical. After having analyzed four bundles of the *ṣawm ḥadīth* according to Juynboll’s methods, we have identified only two real common links: al-A‘mash and the younger Shu‘ba. While Shuba’s claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from al-A‘mash is corroborated by other students of al-A‘mash, his claim to have received it also from Muḥammad b. Ziyād is not corroborated by any other strong common link. Likewise, al-A‘mash’s claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from Abū Ṣāliḥ is not corroborated by any other common link. The alleged pupils of Abū Hurayra, Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab, Muḥammad b. Ziyād Muḥammad b. Sīrīn are all seeming common links. Because al-A‘mash is the oldest real common link, he is responsible for the *isnād* and the *matn* of the *ṣawm ḥadīth* ascribed to Abū

Hurayra. Taking al-A‘mash who died in 148 A.H. as the real common link and considering him as the fabricator of the *ḥadīth*, Juynboll would conclude that the *ḥadīth* under review was circulated in the first half of the second century A.H. at the latest. That means that the transmission line that goes back from the common link al-A‘mash to the prophet is fictitious, and that all the other single strands or spiders that make up the *isnād* bundle are historically doubtful. Applying Juynbolls methods, our dating of the *ḥadīth* cannot go further back than the al-A‘mash’s time.

This dating is challenged by the results achieved following the *isnād cum matn* method. An essential part of this dissertation is chapter eight, which scrutinizes the “*ṣawm ḥadīth*” in terms of the *isnād cum matn* method. Unlike the Muslim scholars’ and Juynboll’s approaches, the *isnād cum matn* analysis tackles seriously the variant *matns* of a particular tradition. An application of the method to the *ṣawm ḥadīth* led us to date the *ḥadīth* much earlier than the time of al-A‘mash, though we cannot prove that it really goes back to the Prophet. After classifying the *isnāds* and comparing all textual variants of the *ḥadīth* under review, we come to the conclusion that the *ḥadīth* circulated already in the first half of the first century. It was the Companion Abū Hurayra (d. 58/59 A.H.) who brought the several elements of the *ḥadīth* into circulation. He taught these elements separately and in different combination and later transmitters made new arrangements of the elements.

There are several variants of the *ḥadīth* under review, which are reportedly transmitted by Companions other than Abū Hurayra. Yet with the *isnād cum matn* method it cannot be proven that they are reliable transmissions. They may be the result of false ascriptions ascribing Abū Hurayra’s texts to other Companions, intentional inventions of *isnāds* by later generations or even reflections of a real transmission. We cannot prove any of these possibilities. Accordingly, there are no secure variants to corroborate Abū Hurayra’s claim to have received the *ḥadīth* from the Prophet. Yet that does not necessarily mean that Abū Hurayra invented the elements of the *ḥadīth*. It is possible that he really heard the Prophet say so, but we cannot be sure about it.

Studying the provenance of the *ḥadīth* according to the *isnād cum matn* method, some points of criticism concerning other approaches have

come to light: Joseph Schacht's theories of 1) "back projection or backwards growth of *isnāds*", 2) "the most perfect and complete *isnāds* are the latest", 3) "spread of *isnāds*", 4) "*isnāds* by-passing the common link are later" do not seem to be tenable in the light of the new method. Likewise, Michael Cook's generalization of the "spread of *isnāds*" and Juynboll's concept of the "diving strand" seem to be problematic in their generalization. They have occurred, it is true, as some cases show, but their generalization seems to be unjustified. We found that real processes of knowledge transmission did occur in the earliest period of Islam, though fabrication happened as well. Finally, Juynboll's argument that single strand transmissions must be rejected outright has proven to be exaggerated.

The *isnād cum matn* method, which studies seriously the different variants of *isnāds* and texts as well as their relationship, has proven to be a powerful research tool for historical reconstruction which enables us to distinguish in several cases between real and possibly fabricated transmissions. In other words, in a scrutiny of knowledge transmission in early Islam, *matn* analysis, which compares variant texts, seems to be as important as *isnād* analysis on which Muslim and some Western scholars focused. *Isnād* analysis alone does not seem to be sufficient, as it can lead us to false ascription of particular texts to particular transmitters. The case of Sa'īd b. Mīnā and Sa'īd al-Maqbūrī's *ḥadīth*, which has been ascribed to Sa'īd Ibn al-Musayyab by Mustafā Muḥammad Azmi, for instance, is a clear example. In addition, information contained in biographical literature has repeatedly proven to be valuable and reliable. Our judgments on particular transmitters, based on comparative analysis of variant texts and *isnāds*, often coincided with what is found in biographical literature. This is not to say that the reliability of a particular transmitter can be decisively determined by what classical *ḥadīth* critics have told us.

Dating is a formidable task to undertake. As well as being a strenuous work it is also a contentious issue. The results achieved may convince some scholars and others not. The method used by a scholar is the decisive factor that dictates the direction and the result of a research. This study which has dated a *ḥadīth* according to different methods of both Muslim and Western non-Muslim scholars has demonstrated this fact.

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### Education:

**Junior high school:** Madrasah Thanawiyah As'adiyyah Sengkang (1984-1987)  
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**Doctorandus:** Alauddin State Institute for Islamic Studies, Makassar, Indonesia. (1990-1994)  
Subjects: Islamic Studies: Islamic Thought, Islamic History, Islamic Theology, Qur'anic Studies, Classical *ḥadīth* Sciences, Islamic Jurisprudence, Culture/Language.  
**Master of Art (M.A.):** Leiden University, The Netherlands (1996-1998)  
Subjects: Islamic Studies: Empirical Study, Islam and the West, Method in Islamic Studies, Philology, Islam in South East Asia and Middle East, Islamic Fundamentalism, Dutch.  
**Doktor. phil:** Bonn University, Germany. March 2005  
Subjects: Islamic Studies, Comparative Religion, Islam in South East Asia, Language (Persian and French).

Guest Student of Al-Azhar University Cairo, Egypt (two months of research for Ph.D. dissertation. 2003).

### Training:

1. Intensive Arabic and English Pre-departure Training, conducted by Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs, Directorate General of Islamic Higher Education, in cooperation with Sharif Hidayatullah State Institute for Islamic Studies, Jakarta. 1995-1996.
2. Super Intensive Dutch Pre-departure Training, conducted by University of Indonesia in cooperation with Directorate General of Islamic Higher Education. Jakarta. May-August 1996.
3. Dutch course, conducted by Indonesian-Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies in cooperation with Leiden University. 1996-1997.

4. Intensive German Pre-departure Training, Goethe Institute Jakarta, successfully passed “ZD Prüfung” 1999-2000.
5. Intensive German Course, Goethe Institute Mannheim, Germany, successfully passed “DSH Prüfung”. March-August 2000.
6. Intensive Training for Memorizing and Understanding the Quran, conducted by Institute of Quran Sciences (IIQ) Jakarta in cooperation with Directorate General of Islamic Higher Education. November-April 1996.
7. Intensive Training on Leadership, conducted by Islamic Student Association. 1993.

### **Professional Experience**

1. Lecturer at Alauddin State Institute of Islamic Studies, Makassar Indonesia (1994-1996, 1998-2000).  
Subjects taught: Arabic, Classical *Ḥadīth* Sciences, Islamic History.
2. Teacher of English and Arabic in *al-Ittiḥād* English and Arabic intensive Course. Makassar 1993-1994.
3. Trainer in Workshop on Leadership, organized by Islamic Student Association, Makassar Indonesia, 1994.
4. President of Arabic Student Association, IAIN Alauddin Makassar. 1992.
5. Vice President of Faculty of Literature (adab) Student Association. 1993.
6. Organizer and Instructor of a monthly discussion on Islam and Indonesia, held by Indonesian Student Association, Bonn 2000-present.
7. Organizer of International Seminar on Religious Plurality in Indonesia, sponsored by Indonesian Association of Scholars (ICMI) in cooperation with Zending Huis Leiden, Leiden September 1997.
8. Invited by Indonesian Embassy in Brussel to speak about Islam and the West. 2002.
9. Invited by Indonesian Embassy in Berlin to speak about Islam and democracy, 2003 Berlin.
10. Invited by European Christian Association to speak about Islam and terrorism, Holland 2004.
11. Invited by Indonesian Consulate in Hamburg to speak about Islam in European countries, 2002 Hamburg.
12. Attending and presenting an article in an international Seminar conducted by German Oriental Studies Association, Halle 2004, Germany.
13. Attending the international seminar on “Kalimantan and Karakorum”, conducted by DAAD and Bonn University, December 2004 Germany.
14. Invited by Indonesian Student Association (PPI Cairo) to speak about Islamic Studies in Germany. 2003.

### **Publications and Writings:**

1. “Nāṣiruddīn al-Albānī on Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ*: A Critical Study on his Method.” *Islamic Law and Society*, EJ. Brill: Leiden, Boston, 2004.
2. “Non-Muslim (Western) Scholars’ Approach to *Ḥadīth*: An Analytical Study on the Theory of Common Link.” *Al-Jamiah Journal of Islamic Studies*, Sunan Kalijaga State Institute of Islamic Studies, Yogyakarta, volume 40, No. 1, January-June 2002.



3. "The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence (Harald Motzki). A review article." *Al-Jamiah Journal of Islamic Studies*, Sunan Kalijaga State Institute of Islamic Studies, No. 4, June-December 2003.
4. "The Origin of the System of *Isnād* in the Science of *Ḥadīth* Criticism", *Uswa Journal of Islamic Studies*, Fakultas Adab IAIN Alauddin Makassar, 1999.
5. *Sībawayhi wa-āra'uhu al-naḥwiyya fī kitābihi "al-Kitāb"* (Doctorandus thesis). Makassar, 1994.
6. *The Authenticity of Ḥadīth. A Reconsideration of the Reliability of Ḥadīth Transmission.* (M.A. thesis). Leiden 1998.
7. *The Historicity of Ḥadīth. A Reexamination of the Reliability of the Methods to Determine the Authenticity of Ḥadīth.* (Ph. D dissertation). Bonn 2005.
8. Naqshabandiyya Sufi Order and its Implementation in The Netherlands. A paper presented for a seminar in Islamic Studies at the University of Leiden. 1996.
9. Slaughtering Animal According to Islamic Law: A Study on the *Fatwā* of Jād al-Ḥaq. A paper presented in front of graduate students of Islamic studies at the University of Leiden. 1997.
10. „Initiation in den islamische Mystik“. A paper presented in a seminar for Vergleichende Religion des Universität Bonn.
11. "The Sufistik Thought of Yusuf al-Makassari" A paper presented for a seminar in Malailogi, Universität zu Köln, Germany.
12. "Menyoal Originalitas Hadis." A paper presented in a seminar conducted by Himpunan Mahasiswa Jurusan Tafsir Hadis (Tafsir-hadis Student Association), Faculty of Usul al-din (Theology) Alaudin State Institute Makassar, Indonesia. 1999.
13. "Pandangan Barat terhadap Otoritas Hadis", A paper presented in front of lecturers of the Faculty of Literature (Adab). 1999.
14. Metodologi Ulumul hadis, Islam versus Barat. A paper presented in a seminar conducted by IAIN Alauddin Makassar. 1999.



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